Social Movements and Peace Journalism: News Framing of Gezi Park Protests in Turkey

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ABSTRACT

The immediate aim of this research is to develop a novel Peace Journalism Model associated with the representations of social movements in the Turkish press. Newspapers addressing the case of the Gezi Park protests serve as the main focal point of the study.

14 daily newspapers from the Turkish press were examined with respect to their coverage of the Gezi Park protests from 28 May 2013 to 30 June 2013. The analysis centered on front pages and the publications of newspaper columnists.

By examining the front pages and columnist publications, a quantitative framing analysis was conducted to illuminate the areas of headline formation, dominant frames, and official or unofficial sources usage. Regarding the front pages data were derived from an initial sample of 41 daily newspapers from the Turkish press. Regarding the columnist publications, 222 articles dating from 28 May 2013 to 7 June 2013 were obtained from the 5 most circulated Turkish newspapers and evaluated independently. Also, same 5 newspapers dating from 28 May 2013 to 30 June 2013 were been used for physical content analysis of photographs.

The results indicate that the dominant frames used in the 14 newspapers when covering the Gezi Park protests were conflict and information frames; the preferred form was quotation form; and official sources were most the most prevalent source type in front page news stories and column articles.

An interpretation of these results in terms of Peace Journalism, Gatekeeping Theory, and Framing Theory suggests that the coverage of peace-oriented news pertaining to social movements in the Turkish news media is insufficient.

Keywords: Peace Journalism, Social Movements, News Framing, Gezi Park protests

ÖZ

Bu araştırmanın amacı Türk basınında toplumsal hareketlerin temsili ile bağlantılı yeni bir barış gazeteciliği modeli geliştirmektir. Gezi Parkı protestoları bağlamında gazeteler, araştırmanın ana odak noktasını oluşturuyor.

28 Mayıs 2013'ten 30 Haziran 2013'e kadar olan Gezi Parkı protestoları bağlamında 14 günlük gazete incelendi, ön sayfalar ve gazete köşe yazarlarının yayınları üzerine analizler yapıldı.

Ön sayfalar ve köşe yazıları incelenerek, başlık oluşturma, baskın çerçeveler ve resmi veya gayri resmi kaynak kullanımı alanlarını aydınlatmak için niceliksel bir çerçeveleme analizi yapıldı. Ön sayfalarla ilgili olarak, 28 Mayıs 2013'ten 30 Haziran 2013'e kadar olan 14 gazete, Türk basınından 41 gazete evreninden seçildi. Köşe yazılarıyla ilgili, 28 Mayıs 2013 - 7 Haziran 2013 tarihleri arasında yayınlanan 222 yazı, tirajı en yüksek 5 Türk gazetesinden elde edildi ve ilk sayfalardan bağımsız olarak değerlendirildi. 28 Mayıs 2013 ve 30 Haziran 2013 tarihleri arasında yayınlanan aynı 5 gazete, fotoğrafların fiziksel içerik analizi için kullanıldı.

Elde edilen sonuçlar, 14 gazetede Gezi Parkı protestolarını kapsayan baskın çerçevelerin çatışma ve bilgilendirme çerçeveleri olduğunu gösteriyor; Tercih edilen başlık şekli alıntılama biçimindeydi; ve resmi kaynaklar en çok ön sayfa haberlerinde ve köşe yazılarında yaygın kaynak türü olarak belirlendi.

Bu sonuçlar barış gazeteciliği, eşik bekçiliği teorisi ve çerçeveleme teorisi açısından yorumlandı, Türk basınındaki toplumsal hareketlerle ilgili barış yanlısı haberlerin kapsamının yetersiz olduğu ortaya koyuldu.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Barış Gazeteciliği, Sosyal Hareketler, Haber Çerçeveleme, Gezi Park Protestoları

to my family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Throughout the history, humanity places among conflicts between religions, nations, races and social classes. Nowadays these kinds of conflicts continue in different forms. News media plays a crucial role in the dissemination of war and conflict idea by its coverage. Peace Journalism Model tries to reclaim traditional news values and journalism norms. It is necessary to bring it to the agenda of journalism literature that; peaceful and non-violent social movements also can be examined in the context of Peace Journalism.

Drawing on the conceptual framework of New Social Movements (NSM) theory, the fundamental supposition of this study is that the Gezi Park protests of 2013 were an example of non-violent civil disobedience. This overarching stance has been primarily informed by an examination of the speeches given by protesters, along with contemporaneous news reports, articles, documentaries, and other resources. However, this study does not overlook to the fact that inflammatory acts of violence took place between 27 May 2013 and 30 June 2013, the official dates of the Gezi Park protests. As such, certain features of the protests are connected to the phenomenon of NSM, where cases of violent acts are often attributable to external provocation. In the Turkish press, the coverage of the Gezi Park protests was diverse, with each approach to the coverage of the event reflecting the ideology and ownership structure of the newspaper.

This research seeks to gain insight into the ways in which the Gezi Park protests were covered in 14 daily newspapers from the Turkish press. In order to do so, front pages, columnist publications and first page photographs are examined using a quantitative framing analysis, while various characteristics of the target newspapers − including editorial structure, ownership structure, and ideological stance − are evaluated with respect to their impact on the organization's perceptions and representation of civil disobedience. Given that 14 daily newspapers are analyzed, the study comparatively examines their features, motivations, and perceptions, subsequently connecting these characteristics to their construction of news frames. It is expected that a newspaper's editorial policy, along with governmental pressures, predicts the motivations which guide the selection of news.

1.1 Background of the Study

Public pressure for fundamental rights − including the right to free assembly, to free speech, and to free media − is pervasive in many of those countries which are conspicuously lacking in these areas. Due to this, the social movements born from this pressure ought to be regarded as another way to realize and safeguard democracy, especially when legal pathways to freedom and justice cannot be pursued. History serves as a lengthy testament to the efficacy and legitimacy of social movements, including protests, which range from the Abolitionist Movement, Effective Altruism, and the Shahbag Movement to the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign and the Zeitgeist Movement. Moreover, since numerous aspects of human life have been illuminated by the actions taken by participants in social movements, it is not unreasonable to expect that a knowledge of prior success, combined with the strength of a body politic unified by common values and a goal, will engender protest. A final note on protest should underline that two thoughts exist regarding the role of violence:

on the one hand, some consider it to be a legitimate form of protest; while on the other, violence is explicitly forbidden.

1.2 Motivation of the Study

One of the most interesting aspects of the Gezi Park protests, which took place between 27 May 2013 and 30 June 2013, is that they were not characterized by active protest for the whole period. In fact, by mid-June, the initial tendency towards active protest had given way to regional discussion and information sharing forums. In view of this, the Gezi Park protests can be regarded as a novel type of social movement, typified by non-violence, creative activism, and an intelligent rather than a brute-force approach to the achievement of the initial goals. Nevertheless, since the primarily non-violent nature of the Gezi Park protests was disturbed by the occasional cases of violent activity arising from external provocation, the motivation of this study is to examine how the event was covered in 14 daily newspapers from the Turkish press. A comparative examination is conducted with respect to the connection between a newspaper's ideological stance and its coverage of the event.

1.3 Problem of the Study

In the context of a protest, the natural tension that exists between the goals of protesters and the goals of a state creates a situation in which the latter tends towards a suppression of the former. This is especially relevant in authoritarian states (or even those states drifting towards authoritarianism), where the dynamic relationship protesters and states are engaged in proceeds along the lines of a non-zero-sum game. As such, when governmental control over the media is part of the social landscape in an authoritarian state, the tools of communication (television and newspaper coverage) double as the tools of suppression.

For those democratic states which appreciate a free media environment, however, the coverage of protesters is frequently impacted by the news organization's ideology and ownership structure. The news frame constructed by each media organization arises from their consideration of events within the framework that it initially identifies, and these frames can be conveyed to audiences in such a way as to impact their interpretation of reality. From this, the phenomenon emerges whereby the public perception of events – in this case, social movements – is determined by the news organization's framing strategy. According to limited effect theory, the media does not have a uniform impact across society (Perse, 2008), and several frameworks, including gatekeeping (Schudson, 1989) and agenda setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), have been proposed to limit the influential nature of the media. Ultimately, since the media landscape and the practice of framing have such a consequential impact on politics, culture, economics, and general attitudes, this area constitutes an important domain of investigation.

As emphasized by Althusser (2014), who set forth the notion of Ideological State Apparatuses (ASA) in the field of "pool media", the tendency of the media is to reinforce the mainstream ideology. Importantly, this tends to correspond to the ideology held by those in power. Althusser's theory is consistently borne out in the Turkish context, where all the most popular Turkish newspapers (defined in terms of circulation) reproduce the dominant ideology.

Following the establishment of the new government (YSK, 2002) in Turkey in 2002, namely, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), its administration has been implicated in expropriation, taxation issues, and censorship. Many of the AKP's policies designed to target the Turkish media landscape have created a situation in

which the power of the mass media organizations has been firmly entrenched. The present researcher maintains that the problematic publication policies of newspapers ought not to be restricted by governmental pressure. Moreover, it is evident that the newspapers, insofar as they do not extend beyond the framework of the events, are structured in an ineffective way, with the ideological stance of many organizations impacting the transmission of accurate information. Common headlines (See Figure 1) taken by these newspapers during the Gezi Protests continued with different examples as the research continued (Newspaper List with same headline "Demokratik Taleplere Can Feda / We give up our lives for democratic demands", Haber Türk, Türkiye, Sabah, Zaman, Yeni Şafak, Star, Bugün, June 7th 2013).

Figure 1: Seven Newspapers, same headlines (7 June 2013)

1.5 Research Questions

This study's major research questions and related minor questions are about coverage of Gezi Park protests by different group Turkish daily newspapers that published between 28 May-30 June 2013 according to Peace Journalism, Gatekeeping and Framing theories.

Major Question 1: Which dominant frames used by Turkish national newspapers to cover Gezi Park protests in news stories?

> **Minor Question 1:** Do Turkish religious/conservative (Zaman, Yeni Şafak, Star) newspapers have more political parallelism with respect to official discourse based on their proximity to the government than secularist (Cumhuriyet, Sözcü), nationalist (Yeni Çağ), and leftist (Birgün) newspapers?

> **Minor Question 2:** Do government adherent Turkish newspapers prefer to cover the Gezi Park protests as othering protestors?

> **Minor Question 3:** Do newspapers use blame oriented news about the Gezi Park protests according to their ideological stance?

> **Minor Question 4:** Which sources (official/unofficial) have a stronger impact on newspaper content in the Gezi Park protest coverage?

> **Minor Question 5:** Which newspaper used more conflict-oriented news when compared to its counterparts in the Gezi Park protest coverage?

Major Question 2: Which dominant frames are used by Turkish national newspapers to cover Gezi Park protests in columns?

Minor Question 6: Which sources have a larger impact on columnist publication source usage in the coverage of the Gezi Park protests?

Minor Question 7: Which newspapers use conflict-oriented columns more frequently than their counterparts in the Gezi Park protest coverage?

1.6 Significance of the Study

The first pages of the newspapers reach to more readers than the other pages. Even those who do not buy newspapers can look at news headlines and photos on the first pages of newspapers in the cafés, or other public spaces. Therefore, the news that is placed on the first pages of the newspapers is more important than the news on the inside pages. Develotte & Rechniewski (2017) argue that headlines reach an audience significantly wider than those who read the articles, since all those who buy the paper, if only fleetingly, at the headlines. Moreover, their impact is even wider than on those who actually buy the paper.

Although Peace Journalism Model is not a new subject in Turkey, there is no much research on the framing of social movements in newspapers in the context of Peace Journalism Model. In this study, question of how the social movements (Gezi protests) are framed by the newspapers using the Peace Journalism Model was investigated was been examined. Thus, in the process of coverage the social movements in the Communication Studies literature, it was tried to contribute what should be paid attention.

Since most audiences of newspapers tend to assume that they are being presented with an objective view of reality, the power that newspaper organizations have to influence perceptions is enormous. This is even more so the case when the newspapers in question are widely circulated (Özel & Deniz, 2015), as was the case throughout the protests. According to circulation reports, between May-June 2013, more than 20 million newspapers were sold around the country (Medya Tava Newspaper Circulation Archive, 2013). As the reader will recognize, the front pages of newspapers are especially influential owing to their prominence, so they constitute one of the focal points of this study. The sample of 14 daily newspapers from the Turkish press drawn on in this research was derived using the criteria of political/ideological stance and circulation. By examining front pages and columnist publications, a quantitative framing analysis was conducted to illuminate the areas of headline formation, dominant frames, and official or unofficial source usage. Against the findings in the literature, a comparative examination will outline the primary features of the Turkish news media in terms of ownership structure, ideological stance, and the impact these factors have on content. Furthermore, the study will draw on a combination of the Peace Journalism model and gatekeeping theory.

1.7 Limitation of the Study

This research is limited with Gezi Park protests as a case study. Main theoretical frame is limited with Peace Journalism Model. News stories are limited between end of May to end of June. Column articles are limited between end of May to first week of June. Sampling for news stories limited with fourteen most circulated newspapers. Only first page news stories, column articles and photographs on front-page have been analysed.

Chapter 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study's theoretical framework centers around Johan Galtung's (1998) Peace Journalism Model for the examination of headlines, while gatekeeping theory and framing theory are drawn on to examine editorial decision-making processes and editorial policies, respectively. Regarding the content analysis method utilized for the research, comparative frame analysis is used. The purpose of this chapter is to outline the fundamental tenets of Peace Journalism, News Framing Theory, and Gatekeeping Theory.

Peace journalism is commonly classified as a rights reporting method that can be used to illuminate the news media in international conflicts, cease-fire situations, social movements, and the internal conflicts of countries. Nevertheless, when attempting to present a holistic perspective regarding all the consequential factors which impact the editorial policies of newspapers, the degree to which the Peace Journalism Model is applicable is not extensive.[1]

Ultimately, the immediate aim of this Chapter is to establish the foundation on which the coverage of protests in newspapers can be understood. Hence, Peace journalism, Gatekeeping Theory, New Social Movements (NSM) theory, and framing theory will be explored. At the outset, Peace Journalism's status as a normative approach (İrvan,

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[1] A critical model for the process of producing news was formulated by Bläsi (2004), the chief purpose of which is to outline the challenges associated with conflict coverage in a step-by-step fashion.

2006) will be examined, and this will take place by drawing on statements and research questions relating to the way the Gezi Park protests of 2013 were covered in the Turkish press. Gatekeeping Theory will present a way to examine the process of headline creation and selecting news. Finally, NSM theory was been used to gain insight into the dynamics of the Gezi Park protests.

2.1 Peace Journalism

As noted by Christians et al. (2009), media diversity constitutes one of the fundamental components of the social responsibility dimension of modern normative theory. Furthermore, the researchers argue that the most effective case of diversity, as promoted through governmental policy, demonstrates how the following socio-cultural advantages can be derived: first, it ensures the fragmentation of media ownership; and second, it facilitates the provision of an environment in which diverse media services can emerge. The researchers further emphasized that normative theory of public communication must be established on conceptual grounds, where the explanatory justification of a certain communication institution in a democratic society relates to the justification of media roles. In this context, Peace Journalism can be regarded as a normative theory that supposes journalists have the social responsibility. In terms of how this operates in reality, it is suggested that newspapers must have an acute awareness of how their coverage will intensify or de-escalate conflicts. As such, based on the knowledge that the news media is a crucial disseminator and shaper of attitudes and ideas about war and conflict, the implication is that the coverage of peace journalists should function so as to solve many of the problems which arise due to conflict. According to Lynch and McGoldrick (2005), the news media is obligated to promote peace under the Peace Journalism Model. To be specific, the researchers (ibid,

p. 5) argue that the implications of journalistic coverage should be brought into editorial decision-making processes.

While Peace Journalism is not theoretically novel, the ethical codes for the functioning of the mass media that it gives rise to are new. In view of this, peace journalists have not created new journalistic techniques; rather, these individuals continuously seek to address many of the problems which are produced from the status quo in the media industry.

A consequential point was raised by Azgın (2005), who stated that reality in journalism is a pivotal issue. When reality is taken as a starting point, the researcher argued that it is crucial for journalists to acknowledge that was is omitted from their coverage is as impactful as what they include. In this way, another approach to conceptualizing Peace Journalism is that it examines those aspects of reality which are not covered in the mainstream.

In view of this, Peace Journalism can be viewed as an approach which enhances the reporting, selection, and framing of news. When incorporated into the current climate of journalistic practice, therefore, Peace Journalism serves as a way to imbue the situation with a new ethic for gaining insight into how reporting should proceed. As a case in point, in contrast to a conventional journalist, a peace journalist will adopt a multi-perspective viewpoint when covering conflict, perhaps outlining the multiplicity of reasons why the conflict emerged. From the purview of Peace Journalism, it is counterproductive to emphasize the negative and unfavorable aspects of the conflict, primarily because this serves to promote further conflict. Rather than adopting this perspective, then, peace journalists tend to engage in problem-solving, investigative

practice, and responsible coverage. According to Peace Journalism Model negative sides, violence, clashes while journalists writing they attend as deadlock of conflicts more than the solution. Peace journalism suggests more excellence, investigative and responsibility is suggested by Peace Journalism Model (Ersoy, 2016).

Lynch & McGoldrick (2005) explains their arguments about Peace Journalism in a "how to make" or "step by step" format with case studies. The book consists 7 chapters. In the first chapter, authors designed a model for Peace Oriented journalism. In second chapter they define conflict and theories of conflict. Chapter 3 is about reporting violence and understanding it. The fourth chapter shows key claims of war propaganda, its recognition, and understanding how propaganda is working in conflicts. Chapter 5 applies learned concepts to real life situations like deterioration (beginnings of violence), massacre, crossfire, refugees etc. They are a series of dilemmas that encountered by the journalist when reporting on conflicts. The sixth chapter shows how practical reporting options fit in to sliding scale from War Journalism to Peace Journalism. According to this scale War Journalism concentrating on direct violence behavior, Peace Journalism focusing on contradictions and issues of structural violence. While War Journalism uses official political discourse and agenda, Peace Journalism gives space for grassroots activism and perspectives. War Journalism writes headlines and news about 'terrorist' plots and conspiracies, Peace Journalism writes about rights, freedoms and power imbalances. Finally, War Journalism underlies sectarianism, Peace Journalism underlies inequalities. Chapter 7 traces some important theoretical branches to the body of ideas they present as Peace Journalism, in particular. They consider these concepts in the context of real issues: Gatekeeper theory, the propaganda model, the liberal theory of press freedom,

Journalistic Objectivity, objectivity and War Journalism, structuralism and the linguistic turn, feedback loops of cause and effect, deconstruction.

Johan Galtung's Peace Journalism Model was examined by Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) with respect to four items for comparison, and table of Galtung is constituted of the following frames: first, peace/conflict journalism; and second, war/violence journalism. As suggested by the name, the former centers around the peace/conflict dichotomy and the purpose of this frame is to provide the audience of news with a holistic perspective; this tends to center around empathy, an understanding of the etiological underpinnings of the crisis, and a recognition of the humanity of both parties. Another characteristic feature of the peace/conflict frame is that it seeks to illuminate the intangible impacts of violence, which include cultural damage, societal degradation, and the trauma sustained by individuals. The second frame – namely, the war/violence frame – is preoccupied with an "us-them"/" insider-outsider" presentation. In dehumanizing the "other", the insider perspective is foregrounded, and it tends to focus only on the tangible aspects of violence (namely, casualties and physical degradation).

Regarding the second comparative item, this indicates that the peace/conflict frame is centered around the quest for truth (truth oriented). In contrast to this, the war/violence frame seeks to expose truths about the "other" while producing propaganda for the "insider" group. In terms of the third comparative item, the peace/conflict frame centers around all types of people (suffering of all women, aged, children). Moreover, while it addresses the people and peacemakers, the war/conflict frame tends to emphasize the role played by elite peacemakers. This highlights the elite-centered nature of the latter frame. In terms of the final comparative item, the researchers argue

that the peace/conflict frame seeks to target solutions while the war/violence frame centers around the idea of victory. In this way, the implication of the latter frame is that peace can only arise from victory and subsequent ceasefire.

It is noteworthy at this stage that Galtung (1998) described Peace Journalism as healthy journalism. More specifically, other commentators have referred to the practice as a form of advocacy journalism, characterized by the way in which it foregrounds pertinent public issues and the potential non-violence reactions to conflict and war (Zelizer and Allan, 2010). Insofar as peace journalists seek to gain insight into the structural causation of conflict, the practice can also be viewed as a safeguard against the primary way in which war and conflict are covered in contemporary journalism. Ultimately, while Peace Journalism seeks solutions and remedies, the outcome of conventional journalistic approaches is the perpetuation of violence, conflict, and drama (ibid, p. 110). Bläsi (2004) designed a model (See Table 1); which sought to address the process of producing news.

Table 1: Six factors on conflict situations and conflict coverage

Factors	Description
Structure	legal parameters; type of media; existing formats and spaces within the specific medium; editorial strategies and procedures; publishers' strategies and expectations and their impact on editors; the criteria of news selection in general; and the overall issue of the media economy.
Situation on-site	It begins with the geography of the conflict area, which sometimes determines whether there will be any coverage at all.
Person	(1) Journalistic competence (2) General conflict competence (3) Specific conflict competence
Political Climate	Public attention the conflict receives, by the amount of political activity elicited, the amount of coverage given, the diversity of opinions, the degree of polarization and also the potential sanctions imposed on dissenters.
Lobbies	Actions of people, statesmen, parties, organizations, etc.
Audiences	It rather affects their choice of topics, decisions about which issues are to be covered to what extent and which are to be covered at all, and choices in regard to the layout and presentation of reports.

Based on interviews with German journalists to gathered qualitative data, the researcher argued that news production is impacted by the following factors: first, the structural features of the media; second, the nature of the conflict on-site third, the characteristics of the journalist; fourth, political climate; fifth, lobbies; and finally, the audience.

2.1.2 Recent Peace Journalism Research

The purpose of this section is to provide an overview of the recent literature addressing Peace Journalism. For the most part, the Peace Journalism Model is utilized to examine international conflict in nation states, terrorism, or conflict situations between a minimum of two nations. In this section you will find the works selected from the articles published in recent years about Peace Journalism as a result of the screening made from Web of Science that include academic articles.

Thapthiang (2013) published a study which used content analysis to examine the coverage of a pair of bombings that took place at Thailand's Lee Gardens Hotels. A sample of 4 newspapers were investigated, and news items were categorized into the war journalism category using the following language use indicators: first, emotive language; second, demonizing language; and third, victimizing language. One of the most notable findings of the study was that the newspapers lay greater stress on negative news, with this combined with the creation of sensational headlines that elevate circulation. Furthermore, the researcher observed that the external sources on the sample of newspapers were often depended on to define problems, including prominent individuals, government discourse, and influential officials. The conclusion drawn by the researcher was that greater attention is paid to daily events at the expense of investigative journalism.

To examine the way in which Western news agencies covered the Sri Lankan Civil War, Neumann and Fahmy (2012) applied a visual framing and content analysis. The findings indicated that while Reuters spent most time covering concrete aspects of the conflict, Getty-AFP addressed external events, thereby conforming to the Peace Journalism Model. In addition, Getty-AFP was characterized by a high likelihood of presenting images to media outlets using peace-oriented frames.

In their study of conflict-oriented television news in Cyprus, Millioni et al. (2015) used content analysis to examine 6 national stations (namely, CyBC1, Sigma TV, Mega TV, ANT1 Cyprus, Capital TV, and Extra TV). The researchers' findings indicated that conflict-oriented news was prevalent in terms of social conflict, violent crime, political unrest, and war. Owing to these findings, the researchers concluded that the television stations in Cyprus engage primarily in conflict-oriented journalism, emulating the artificial types of conflict most typical among political professionals. In view of this, television journalism in Cyprus was found to neglect the solutions-oriented approach that characterizes Peace Journalism.

Drawing on a sample of 156 web-based articles from outlets including The Guardian, The New York Times, and Haaretz, Fahmy and Eakin (2014) sought to gain insight into the coverage of the 2010 Mavi Marmara incident. The three previously mentioned news agencies were found to be distinct with respect to 8 of the 16 indicators for war and peace frames examined, and Haaretz tended to employ war journalism at a greater rate than the other outlets. Moreover, Haaretz drew more frequently on the tangible outcomes of war, and this was paired with dichotomization, victimization, and emotive language. Nevertheless, with its people-oriented reporting, avoidance of dichotomization, victimization, and objective rather than emotive language, indicators

of Peace Journalism were more prevalent than they were in The New York Times and The Guardian.

In an examination of the coverage of the Russian airplane incident in a sample of Turkish newspapers, Ersoy (2016) used a framing analysis to demonstrate that the key variables impacting coverage were political considerations, the values of the mainstream news outlets, market conditions, regulations, and owner structure. One of the most notable findings of the study was that the general tendency of the Turkish newspaper outlets is to engage in blaming and "othering".

By using a measurement index of conflict reporting that integrated practices associated with peace/war journalism, Neumann and Fahmy's (2016) recent study assessed the attitudinal features of journalists towards Peace Journalism. The purpose of the research was to examine the self-perceptions of the journalists towards their utilization of peace and war journalism, and the key finding was that journalists tend to underestimate their use of peace reporting.

In a study which sought to deconstruct and classify the general framework for news narratives, Weinblatt, Hanitzsch, and Nagar (2015) employed a quantitative content analysis to examine the Israeli media's coverage of Middle-Eastern conflicts. The sampled newspapers included Haarezt, Israel Hayom, and Ynet, and the timeframe of the study was 6 months. The findings of the researchers highlighted the following categories of narrative: journalistic narratives of violence; a reflective ethnocentric narrative; an outward-looking narrative; and finally, an interactional and outward-looking narrative.

In Lynch and McGoldrick's (2012) notable research conducted using Australian and Philippine participants, audience reactions to the television coverage of war and Peace Journalism were examined using critical discourse analysis. The findings indicated that the attitudinal outcome of Peace Journalism was not characterized by anger or fearfulness, and it contrastingly engendered feelings of hope and empathy.

Drawing on a sample of 10 newspapers, Lee and Maslog (2015) analyzed the coverage of Asian regional conflicts as detailed in 1,338 articles. For the most part, the results indicated that almost all articles adopted the war journalism frame, but it was noted that Sri Lankan and Philippine articles tended to utilize a Peace Journalism frame. In terms of the pertinent characteristics of Peace Journalism, the researchers highlighted the following: the absence of demonizing language, non-partisanship, people-centeredness, and a multi-party orientation. Contrastingly, the pertinent characteristics of war journalism were the following: the use of demonizing language, partisanship, elite-centeredness, and a "good-bad" dichotomization.

In a study examining the use of Peace Journalism in the coverage of the Iraq war by news agencies based in the United States, Fransius (2013) explored peace studies and conflict analysis, and this was followed by a focus on journalistic content rather journalistic structure.

The above researches, selected articles since the beginning of 2000, focused on conflict zones and wars in general. There are no researches have been found in the context of Peace Journalism related to social movements in this period. This study tries to fill this gap in Peace Journalism literature.

2.2 Gatekeeping Theory

Rather than serving as a synonym for media censorship, "gatekeeping" refers to the intricate and multifaceted process by which press-state power relations determine what is published and what remains unpublished. According to Schudson's (1989) definition, gatekeeping can be conceptualized from the following viewpoints: first, from the political economy; second, from the examination of organizations via mainstream sociology; and third, from anthropology.

It is important to recognize that news is not produced in a vacuum. In particular, it should be noted that the following entities all have an external influence on the way in which news is produced and, consequently, the nature of the coverage pertaining to a certain topic: namely, governments, politicians, individuals, special interest groups, and non-governmental organizations. Insofar as this is the case, the gatekeeping role played by those in editorial positions is especially crucial.

Regarding the first viewpoint, the perspective from political economy sees gatekeeping as intimately connected to the economic structure of the news agency. As such, the fundamental tenet of this viewpoint is that the news product, insofar as it has a consequential impact on the economic structure of the organization, profoundly impacts the question of what is published and how it is published. The second viewpoint – namely, that from the examination of organizations via mainstream sociology – attempts to gain insight into the way journalistic activities are limited by professional practices. The third viewpoint – namely, that from anthropology – posits that the limiting factor is the presence of broad cultural symbols (pp. 9-10). At the same time, it is important to recognize that ownership structure has a powerful impact

on media policy due to the way in which it raises conflicts of interest. In view of these considerations, the idea of gatekeeping as the practice by which editors decide what is published is insufficient; any theory of gatekeeping must take into consideration the fact that external forces perpetually sway the motivations, orientations, and inclinations of the news media.

In their discussion of event-driven news, Livingston and Bennett (2003) proposed the idea that almost all news relates to official proceedings and reports. In view of their discussion, the researchers argued that the primary factors that influence gatekeeping are as follows: first, that the journalists themselves engage personally and professionally with what they report; second, that the data collection routines engaged in by news agencies create relationships between journalists and sources; third, that news production is constrained by economic factors; and fourth, that information and communication technologies (ICT) bound the capabilities of data collection. Livingston and Bennet (2003) listed the factors on Gatekeeping with 4 items: (i) The reporter's personal and professional news judgment, (ii) Organizational news-gathering routines that establish the working relations between reporters and sources, (iii) Economic constraints on news production, (iv) Information and communication technologies that define the limits of time and space in news gathering (p. 368).

In Turkey, there is a state oriented journalism in mainstream media. The majority of news sources come from official sources like the prime minister, president, ministers, and officials. There is an unbalanced news source usage by media. There are no much radical thoughts against state's idea similar with American media. American media conglomerate system can be seen as the macro model of similar circumstance. There are 6 big conglomerates in the USA, thousands of TV channels, and newspapers.

One of the fundamental characteristics of journalism in the mainstream media in Turkey is its state-oriented nature. For the most part, news sources are official (namely, the prime minister, president, or government ministers), and this is not balanced by unofficial source utilization. In addition, most news organizations' political views are consistent with the government's. An examination of the media conglomerate system in the United States is comparable to this, primarily because 6 large corporations control multiple subsidiaries. In view of this, it is important to acknowledge that one of the key influences on gatekeeping practice is the presence of state power. In contexts such as the United States and Turkey, then, the objective of the gatekeeper is not to conform to the perspective of powerful entities. In addition, gatekeepers must acknowledge a range of considerations relating to culture, religion, belief, and history. Effective journalistic practice revolves around a multiplicity of perspectives, but it should always be the case that gatekeepers identify with citizens as opposed to the powerful. The fact that news organizations operate in a corporate and competitive market framework should serve as cause to facilitate greater diversity and greater press freedom.

2.3 Framing Theory

It is always important to acknowledge that irrespective of how objective a news story is; it represents a construction that is not free from bias. Dursun's (2004) study usefully illuminated the process by which this takes place by employing critical methods motivated by political economic factors. The researcher argued that capitalism and class exploitation mean that bias is never entirely eliminated from the process of news reporting. Moreover, when journalists engage in news production, writing, and the reporting of news texts, these assemblages should be seen as reflections of certain aspects of reality or a certain way of interpreting reality (pp. 70-71). Since the process

of interpretation is impacted by a range of considerations, ranging from the educational background, age, and experience to ideology, culture, and editorial policy, the way in which what is referred to as "framing" operates should always be borne in mind. According to O'Sullivan et al. (2006), the presence of news framings can be regarded as the principal selection, where news frames serve as the organizing foundation of the output and discourse of the media. Ultimately, the study (pp. 122-123) demonstrates that frames are a crucial component of the encoding of mass media texts in the context of the institutionalized news media.

The notion of framing originated with Gitlin's (1980) influential paper. In the following decade, McCombs and Bell (1996) argued that one's knowledge of farming should center around the acknowledgement that anything covered in the news can be presented differently based on the strategic approach that is adopted towards framing. As one example, the researchers (p. 106) emphasized how the decision to describe, critique, or contextualize a particular event all feeds into the framing strategy adopted.

In the context of conflict coverage, news media framing is crucial because it shapes the way in which the audience thinks about the phenomenon in question (Parenti, 1993, p. 201). According to the researcher's (ibid) conceptualization of framing, it involves the way in which news is presented, exposed (in terms of frequency), placed (namely, its positioning in the news cycle or in news product, such as a television report or newspaper), articulated (in terms of tone), labelled, and described. One of the most notable definitions of framing was offered by the aforementioned Gitlin (1980, cited in Wolfsfeld, 1997, p. 33)

Gitlin (1980) defines media frames as persistent patterns of perception, understanding and presentation of choice, prominence and marginalization by which symbol managers regularly organize discourse, whether verbal or visual.

Entman (1993) argues that the use certain techniques and strategic approaches to the presentation of the material invariably has an impact on the way in which the news audience thinks. He states that, framing concept offers a way to describe the power of a media text. Framing analysis illuminates influence on human consciousness by speech, exclamation, news report (pp. 51-52).

Another notable conceptualization of framing was proposed by Gamson et al. (1992, cited in Sieff, 2003, p. 263), who suggested that the way in which frames foreground and side-line certain aspects of reality facilitates the economization of the processing requirement that news audiences would otherwise require. This is comparable to Entman's (1993) definition in that they both recognize how the choice of framing has an impact on the cognition of the news audiences.

Chapter 3

LITERATURE REVIEW

An often-posited yet entirely valid supposition is that media coverage is necessary, and this is especially the case for non-violent social movements. Nevertheless, since framing and gatekeeping considerations are pervasive, along with the consistent dichotomy that exists between Peace Journalism and War Journalism, the way in which events are covered in the news is paramount. The immediate aim of this chapter is to outline the historical role played by non-violent social movements, including protests, and this will be paired with an examination of how these events have been covered by the news media. Since the present research addresses the case of the Turkish press coverage of the Gezi Park protests, this event will be detailed, and the positioning of the protesters will take place with reference to NSM theory.

In addition, the structural shift in the Turkish press that took place in the period following the entrance of the new government in 2002 will be discussed, with a particular focus on the issues of the ownership structure of media organizations and media corporations. Finally, opposition newspapers, external impacting forces on the media, and the notion of cohesive (namely, government adherent) media will be outlined.

3.1 Social Movements, Civil Disobediences & Media

As noted by Ashley and Olson (1998, p. 263), a society's media infrastructure has always performed a crucial function in exposing social movements, but it is important not to overlook the fact that the issues of framing, gate keeping, and the peace/war orientation of the coverage impacts the consciousness of the audience. The purpose of this section is to define what is meant by the term social movement, and the concept of new social movements (NSM) will be explored. It will be emphasized that in the contexts of NSM, peaceful civil disobedience serves as a complement to the right of citizens to democracy, and the researcher will describe the key features of civil disobedience: namely, non-violence, non-legal, publicly open, and calculable.

One of the notable definitions of civil disobedience was proposed by Dağtaş (2008), who stated that for an event or action to classify as civil disobedience it must satisfy one of the following conditions: first, that it conforms to a forbidden rule of law order; or second, it contravenes the law. Another important feature of civil disobedience is publicity, which is also conceptualized as a call to public conscience. This stems from the way in which the chief intention of civil disobedience is to open a channel of communication to the government in a non-violent and peaceful manner. In this way, since civil disobedience is inherently a communicative act, its publicity is one of its defining characteristics. The reader will note that the communicative act takes place on the basis of the supposition that justice is defined in a uniformly understandable way throughout society.

Calculability in terms of the implications of the civil disobedience is another defining feature, primarily because of the importance associated with explaining the process by

which the goals of the act will come about. Moreover, the individuals who engage in the act cannot bypass the political and legal implications it will lead to, and the entire process must be consistent. In this way, activists who engage in civil disobedience must be accountable for the acts they engage in.

Another significant feature of civil disobedience is that when it is conducted in the state of law, it must proceed in a non-violent manner. Ultimately, the physical and psychological integrity of the third persons must be respected. This is consistent with the strand that runs throughout all activities associated with civil disobedience: namely, that it is a tool by which hostile parties can be persuaded to another position. Hence, violence is inconsistent with persuasion.

It is also noteworthy that civil disobedience activists do not rally against systemic issues, rather they combat individual instances of injustice. The underlying assumption of civil disobedience, therefore, is that justice is a pervasive feature of the system. An important implication of this is that civil disobedience activists are not necessarily ideologically homogeneous; ultimately, the link is the drive towards democracy. Hence, various political and ideological perspectives are held by those who participate in civil disobedience, with the unifying strand being the motivation to combat injustice (Dağtaş, 2008, pp. 47-49).

Gezi Park protests were not considered as important by the newspapers at the beginning, but after the movement gained a social dimension, the newspapers considered as an important movement. The moment of the slightest violence is immediately foregrounded in newspapers, civil disobedience does not violate the

media and reduces the value of the news. Traditional news values are obstacles on the representation of peaceful movements.

3.1.1 Relevant Civil Disobediences around the World

As an adaptation of the work of Ökçesiz (2011), who collected information pertaining to civil disobedience events worldwide (particularly in states operating under legal conventions), Table 2 provides an overview of the relevant civil disobediences that have occurred worldwide. It is notable that in democratic states, civil disobedience events are regarded as viable and, moreover, they are permitted. Although numerous cases abound from around the world, the events outlined in Table 2 (compiled from Ökçesiz, 2011) are all related to the Gezi Park protests. The researcher's list of non-violent civil disobedience approaches proceeds in the following way:

> Avoidance of military service and civil service instead of collecting signatures, banned demonstrations and marches, political strikes, general strike, solidarity strike, publication self-denunciation, boycott, blockade, occupation of the plenary session at general assembly meetings, avoidance of military service, To block the flight pistol, to prevent the loading and unloading of ships, to set up clubs and tents for construction sites, to partially pay the electricity bill, to burn military trousers, to plant military posts, to plant trees, to blockage and occupation of construction vehicles, Bloody occupation, burning of subpoenas, short-lived blockade of trams, bloodshed, abuse of uniforms, lying in the dead form, attempting to smile at missile bases, establishing peacekeepers, leaving work, fencing, To climb trees that are carrying atomic bombs, to set up settlement centers, to hand in hand with children, to be able to work with children, to wreck the destroyed chambers of the bridges, to show in the forbidden area, to hang balloons, Cut the way... (Ökçesiz, 2011; p. 96)

Table 2: Civil Disobedience examples around the World

State	Civil Disobedience
Germany	Prevention of open space operations for the establishment of an atomic energy plant and occupation of the first area in Whyl. (1975)
USA	The climbing on a Polaris submarine on the way down the sea. (1960)
Australia	Strikes and sit-ins to prevent the loading of Uranium mines into the ships. (1977)
Austria	To hugging to the trees to prevent tree cutting necessary for port construction works. (1983)
Belgium	4th International Nonviolent Antimilitarist March: The withdrawal of relief bureaucracy at the Brussels railway station to draw attention to the pace of Brussels-Warsaw disarmament. (1979)
Denmark	The invasion of a forest with the request of public park instead of parking. (1970)
France	The tent camping and seating action in front of the Malville atomic reactor. (1976)
Netherland	Blocking military transport trains by outlying or standing groups on rails. (1983)
Britain	Taking the block to the Carbon Black coal factory. (1971)
Israel	The publication of the secret plans of atomic weapons in Israel by an engineer who participated in the production. (1987)
Switzerland	People Carpets in front of the gun show. (1981)
Italy	Occupation by the students of the University of Rome for the purpose of changing the learning conditions and protesting extreme right acts of violence. (1977)
Japan	"Greenpeace" prevents a Japanese whaling ship from sailing with a 15-meter rubber whale. (1987)
Norway	The occupation of a hydroelectric power plant is claimed to have destroyed the reindeer's plateaus. (1981)
Turkey	"3 January General Resistance" of miners. (1990)

3.1.2 New Social Movements and Civil Disobediences

Although the concept of civil disobedience was not formally stated until the writings of Henry David Thoreau (Thoreau, 2014), the first recorded act of civil disobedience can be attributed to Socrates, the Athenian philosopher. Thoreau's conceptualization of civil disobedience was famously implemented by prominent activists such as Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. The purpose of the present section is to outline important cases of civil disobedience that have occurred in the international sphere, and the way in which these events were represented in newspapers will be explored. It will be noted that civil disobedience constitutes one of the key approaches

used in new social movements (NSMs), which is a term that has been examined by various researchers to gain insight into the functioning of social movements in recent decades (Onal, 2016).

Fadee (2011) identifies environmental movements as New Social Movements Theory. She researched on environmental movements in Iran and examined New Social Movement Theory in the Non-European context. The article defines the problem as Euro-centric assumptions on the social structure of social theory and theory neglects other countries. The article indicates Iranian case and emergence of environmentalism. She states that society needs of democratization of social life where activists struggle for the legitimacy of movements. We can argue similar statement about Gezi Park protests and other possible social movements in Turkey for future. The democratization of social life will also be represented in the press, and it will reduce the distortion of the reality for peaceful social movements.

Erden (2015) mentions Robin Cohen's six key characteristics that make new social movements generally new and distinguish them from old social movements.: (a) they are directed towards cultural and personal identities; (b) defend culture and civil society against the technological state; (c) focus on the need for quality of life; (d) have democratized decision-making processes; (e) are nourished by the production in the daily life of alternative meanings, and (f) they are experiencing democratic and participatory forms.

Handler (1992) identifies the origins of the new social movements as student movements of the 1960s in Berkeley, Paris and Berlin:

These movements advocate a new form of citizen politics based on direct action, participatory decision making, decentralized structures, and opposition to bureaucracy. They advocate greater attention to the cultural and quality-of-life issues rather than material well-being. They advocate greater opportunities to participate in the decisions affecting one's life, whether through direct democracy or increased reliance on self-help groups and cooperative styles of social organization. (p. 791)

The Gezi Park protests, which we can evaluate in the definition of New Social Movements, came to the forefront with participatory decision making, decentralized structures, and opposition bureaucracy. Protestors used technology as much as they could reach to hear their voices and self-help groups. In particular, the application platform called Zello, which has voice messaging and chat rooms and twitter platform for text and photographs have become the protestors' instant communication tools over the internet.

3.2 New Social Movements in Turkey: Gezi Park Protest

Social movements that have recently taken place in Turkey (from the 1990s onwards), with the main focal point being non-violent events. The movements proposing that the gold should not be taken out of cyanide (siyanür in Turkish) in Bergama has been referred to in view of the existing literature pertaining to various cases of civil disobedience, including the "Cumartesi Anneleri" sittings and the "I want my radio" movements (Dağtaş, 2008). Despite the fact that certain activities are not referred to as civil disobedience, they are incorporated into this review on these grounds.

Gezi Park is one of the limited green area in İstanbul Taksim (See Figure 2). After demolition attempt for pedestrianizing it has been started within the scope of the post-demolition people started to watch the police and after the violent police intervention

and the government's repressive attitude to spread throughout the country and perhaps the most comprehensive.

As previously noted, this research regards the Gezi Park protests as a representative example of a non-violent NSM. NSM theory and civil disobedience are related aspects to the activists who participated in the Gezi Park protests.

Figure 2: Gezi Park (left side) from the Marmara Hotel, Taksim, İstanbul, Turkey (2012). Photo: Canan Ekin Yılmaz

3.2.1 Chronology of Gezi Park Protests

The origins, development, and completion of the Gezi Park protests constitute the focus of this section. Initially, the Gezi Protests were environmentalist movements initiated in Taksim Gezi Park. Fearing the desecration of one of the few remaining green locations in Istanbul, protests erupted in which numerous activists stood guard within the park. Many pitched tents and following the intervention of the state security authorities to disperse the crowd, the sentiment – along with the protests – spread across Turkey. According to Aydıntaşbaş (2013), the Gezi Park protests would not

have arisen to the degree and severity that they did had it not been for disproportionate violence by the authorities, the banning of the labour day celebrations, the naming of the third bridge as Yavuz Sultan Selim, and the unreasonable national laws regarding alcohol consumption.

Aziz (2014) summarizes the Gezi Park protests as a starting point, the first spark of the events was born from the 90's and a minority of young people between the ages of 18 and 25, called "Y" youth, tried to prevent the trees in Gezi Park by removing tents. This movement, which did not receive much support in the first days and ignored by mainstream media, grew exponentially in the following days. The number of activists and tents has increased day by day. One of the biggest reasons for this rapid increase was the calls made from social media. Particularly in the Twitter platform, the tweets about the topic opened the way for the young people to organize faster. The tents of the young people who were laid early in the morning of May 31 were burned by police raids. The burning of the tents spread rapidly both in Turkey and abroad on the internet platforms such as Twitter, Facebook and Ustream.

Gökay and Xypolia (2013) summarizes protests as chronologically. Protests started against Government's plan to redevelop one of the last green spaces in Istanbul. Between 28-31 May 2013 Amnesty International is concerned with police's excessive use of force against protestors. Police used the pepper gas on the protestors. In June 2nd, former Prime Minister Erdogan calls protesters 'chapulcu' (looters) and blames social networks as a 'menace'. Between 4-12 June protests have spread to 78 cities across the country. Fans of the 'Big Three' Istanbul's football clubs, Galatasaray, Besiktas and Fenerbahce unite together to join the protests. Solidarity rallies with the protests in Turkey are taking place all around the globe, from Athens to New York and

London and from Buenos Aires to Tokyo and Beijing. In June 13th, former Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan issues a 'final warning' to protesters demanding to end the occupation of the Park. In 15th of June, police officers move into the Park firing water cannon and tear gas. Within half an hour Gezi Park is being evacuated. In 17th of June, trade unions launched a general strike in response to police's crackdown on protestors. In 18th of June, standing man ('duran adam' in Turkish) inspires protestors by becoming a symbol of peaceful and silent resistance and attracts international attention. In 22nd of June police officiers break up mass demonstrations firing water cannons. After 29th of June, mass demonstrations spread again all across the country and police officers' firing teargas and water cannons disperses protestors from the Gezi Park. After June, active protests have been finished and local forums about Gezi Park protests have been continued in İstanbul and other cities

After word spread about these factors, an eclectic range of individuals gathered in support of the Gezi protesters. These included anti-capitalist Muslims, labour unions, women's rights groups, and the fans of various football teams, all of whom were adamant in their condemnation of the government's plans. It is notable that prior to the Gezi Park protests, many features of the national landscape – including considerable oppression from the government – prepared the groundwork for such an expansive, extensive, and widespread protest event. As recommended by Temelkuran (2013), a representative initiation ought to have been formed by the independent individuals who were sympathetic to the aims of the Gezi protesters. The author argued that cohesion would be ensured by issuing collective statements, thereby indicating that the aims of the protesters were consistent across the diverse ideological ground.

According to Tuğal (2013), the destruction of the trees and the violence of the police, which combines the two negatives that create and sustain the Gezi movement. The movement expressed the desire for common areas and for democracy over their opposition to them.

The AKP was widely regarded as a threat to secularism by many of the secular protesters in Turkey, primarily because of its theocratic leanings. Although they supported the Gezi protesters, secularists simultaneously rallied against a range of issues, including the illegality of alcohol consumption and the oppressive social policies. Ultimately, the Gezi Park protests will be remembered as a landmark in the democratic advancement of the Turkish nation, and as this study is a testament to, they will continue to serve as a valuable case study with which to gain insight into the Turkish media. During the period of the protests a range of perspectives, frames, and orientations were distributed by Turkish newspapers in the form of headlines, columns, articles, and interviews, and there are currently dozens of books and video documentaries covering the event. In referring to the moment at which the protests broke, Coşkun (2013) identified 31 May 2013 as the critical point.

3.2.2 Symbols of Gezi Protests

The purpose of this section is to explain many of the symbols that were prominent during the period of the Gezi Park protests. With respect to the first symbol, this is undoubtedly the tents that were pitched at the outset of the event, and which were later dismantled by order of the state. The nomadic and free connotations associated with tents that were capitalized on the protesters set up a notable situation in which their burning struck an important note across the country. The second notable symbol of the protest was the deputy Sırrı Süreyya Önder, who stated that "I am also deputy of these trees" (Alkaya, 2016). Following the proclamation, the protesters started to plant trees,

and when Önder waited for Gezi Park in front of the demolition officers, he was firmly established as one of the most prominent symbols of the event.

Every social/political movement creates a representation area with symbols first of all. Some of these symbols turn into codes, forming a crisis area that provides continuity of movement; Some of them produce a jargon that will move those involved in the movement out of the original language. The symbol always builds a sense of being and existence beyond being a symbol. (Alkaya, 2017)

Ceyda Sungur, the Woman in Red (Kırmızılı Kadın in Turkish), was another prominent symbol (see figure 3) of the protests. Sungur served as a lecturer in a university throughout this period, and from the point when a Reuters reporter published an image of her being assaulted by a security official, she became one of the symbols of police violence (Kongar, 2013).

Figure 3: Woman in Red (Ceyda Sungur)
Photography: Osman Orsal, retrived from http://www.sozcu.com.tr/2013/gundem/o-muhabir-de-vuruldu-304629/ in June 2017

In addition, the Beşiktaş supporters group "CARŞI" and the group's "Drummer Vedat" has since emerged as a notable symbol. This group coordinated a range of

actions over the course of the protests, including capturing a bulldozer and hindering the police's advance towards the protesters. POMA was the nickname given to the bulldozer against the police vehicle.

Duran Adam (Erdem Gündüz) constituted a crucial symbol (See Figure 4) during the Gezi Park protests, primarily because his preference of standing silently at the entrance to the Taksim Metro station epitomized non-violent protest.

Figure 4: Standing Man (Erdem Gündüz)
retrieved from http://gcube.milliyet.com.tr/Detail/2013/06/19/kim-bu-duran-adam--erdem-gunduz-duran-adam-1369518.jpg in June 2017

Following the emergence of "Standing Man", many Turkish citizens began to do the same, and a notable result of this was the emergence of the opposing symbol: namely, the man standing against the standing man (Duran Adama Karşı Duran Adam in Turkish).

3.2.3 Identification of Gezi Park Protests

One of the defining features of the Gezi Park protests conforms to the previously mentioned definition of civil disobedience, namely, that it operated within the law and proceeded in a non-violent way. Since this is the case, it is appropriate to examine the protests within the framework defined by NSM theory and the notion of civil

disobedience. Castells (2013) defines the Gezi Park protests as a new kind of social movement because it has an autonomous capacity to communicate and self-organize in the network society.

Social movements constitute informal social networks that are interlinked in terms of notions, sentiments, and aims, and they commonly result in organized protests directed towards the perceived source of an injustice. As noted by Alpuncu (2013), the elements of social movements are groups, organizations, and individuals which operate in a strategic manner by engaging in teleological decision-making. In view of this, social movements do not arise as a result of misdirected and uncoordinated activities. The Gezi Park protests were aligned with this description, and they can reasonably be viewed as the establishment of a democratic order that sought rights, political participation, and decision-making power.

It is important not to neglect the fact that the purpose of a social movement is to secure rights in a non-violent way, and this is one of the characteristics of the Gezi Park protests. Speaking in general terms, when protests do not proceed along these grounds, the claim to a certain right becomes illegitimate and – sooner or later – the entire process is likely to become misdirected and uncoordinated.

3.2.4 Relevant Researches about Gezi Protests in Literature

Gezi Protests have an important area for researchers. During protests and following days, communication, political science and in the other fields, researchers published articles from different perspectives. There are a lot of significant researches, books, book chapters, documentaries, special magazine issues about Gezi Park Protests. This part is limited with academic researches on international journals and academic books, master and doctorate thesis. After June 2013, dozens different books and articles about

the protests have been published. Most of them look at the protests from environmentalist and non-violent perspective. Moreover, they criticize Turkish news media, because of ignoring the protests by Turkish newspapers. These books and articles can be used for understanding Gezi Park Protest from different perspectives. (See Abat et al. 2014; Acar 2014; Celebi and Soysal 2013; Kongar and Kucukkaya 2013; Ozbank 2013; Ozturk 2013).

Varnalı & Görgülü (2015) conducted a research about online political participation in Twitter in the case of Gezi Protests. According to their research social identity and group, norms are significantly related to political participation in the Twitter platform, but subjective norms had no effect. They applied an online survey to twitter users after the end of clashes between the protesters and police. They selected twitter accounts with large follower numbers from pro and against AKP. They used these accounts as the distributor of the online survey. They found that political pressure on Turkish Twitter users belong to their political participation to Gezi Park protests during this period.

Tunç (2013) critically evaluates restrictions on freedom of the press in Turkey. This article shows the chronic diseases of the media in Turkey with the ownership structure, legal constraints on journalists, self-censorship, media owners' close links with the political establishment and erosion of editorial independence. She saw the solution as social media as an unrestricted source of news for civil anti-government movements like Gezi Park protests. According to this article, social media can well present an effective strategy for distributing information and support during a time of crisis and this social media might offer new hopes as an alternative platform in this restricted media environment.

Gürcan & Peker (2015) point out to the class configuration of the Gezi Park Protests within left ideology in Turkey and look presence and dominations of classes and fractions. According to their research mainstream accounts look protests as the uprising of "middle class" with secularist idea but they argue that the Gezi Park Protests were not an uprising that only depicted by middle-class or secularism-centered. Their paper looks from a Marxist framework to the transformation of classes and ideologies in Turkey. They prefer to use instead of the "middle classes", there was a cooperation of various groups, class fractions, educated youth, white and blue-collar workers in the Gezi Park Protests.

Another study is conducted by Özbudun (2014) focuses on the AKP's recent orientation to the majoritarian conception of democracy. The paper includes the Gezi Park Protests, the conflict between AKP and the Gülen movement, the investigation against government ministers, restrictions on freedom of expression, and the 30 March 2014 local elections.

Özen (2015) tries to find the answer to this two questions: "How did a particular struggle against the demolition of a park spontaneously turn into nationwide mass protests? And why was this mobilization unable to transform itself into a popular counter-hegemonic movement?" (p. 533) Paper demonstrates that mobilization of the various group in Gezi Protests has been realized by transforming to the symbol of the repressive responses of the hegemonic power to various social demands.

Gezi Protests were started by a young generation, supported by labor unions, artists, sports teams, anti-capitalistic Muslims and there was a strong woman presence at the movement. Göle (2013) published a commentary about Gezi Protest and she saw

protests as a pluralist and civilian public square movement. She argues that the park represents the physicality of the public sphere that can be identified as an open space where citizens freely manifesting their presence and interaction place with creative experiences. She defines protests as a criticism of majorities' democracy from an individual and minority perspective and compares to other social movements like, "May 68" movement in France; the "Tahrir Square" movement in Egypt; "Arab Spring" in Tunisia, Egypt, Yemen, Libya, and Syria; "Occupy Wall Street" in New York City; and the "Les Indigenes" came from Spain. These social movements are examples of anti-capitalist stand like Gezi Protest movement. It has similarities and differences with other "Occupy" movements.

Ors (2014) points out some of the challenges carried up by Gezi protests to rethink the concept of democracy that people involve with urban public spaces in Turkey. The crisis of democracy turns into public spaces of the world, seeking an effective redefinition, an update of the concept, a way to bring the public back into the concept of democracy. The article takes Gezi protests as a critical moment of re-conceptualizing democracy in Turkey through the changing ways in which people engage with public spaces in the urban sphere. She argues that the people engage in the democratic debates taking place over public space with Gezi protests. Ors (2014) also mentions about contemporary protest movements as grounded in material places like Tahrir Square, Gezi Park, Wall Street. According to article active citizens who debate public space redefine the democracy more directly than ever before.

Çolak (2013) has a research about artistic interventions during Gezi Park Protests. He asks that question: "what was special in Gezi, what made it distinct from the other?" and emphasize the significant role of the usage of art, literature, and humor

(exhibitions, songs, illustrations, graffiti, cartoons, paintings, sculptures etc.) in protests. The article finds three main consequences of these interventions: Firstly, Gezi Park Protests showed constructing the counter-hegemony by protestors with the role of the art, literature, and humor. Secondly, circulation of artistic creations and reproduction in social media help to keep the consciousness alive. Finally, these interventions ensure criticizing of the legitimacy of the government. The article discusses the capability of these artistic interventions for enlargement of a resistance and investigates the usage of art and humor in new social movements and discusses them by the consequences of the Gezi Park Protests.

İnceoğlu (2015) looks from ethnographic perspective to Gezi Park as a public space and examine the resistance in relation the politics of identity and democratic liberation. In this research, participant observation, unstructured spot chats with participants and some of the audio-visual material produced by the participants of Gezi Protests were used by İnceoğlu. Also, she mentions about political struggle around Gezi Park area and Taksim Square in history.

Özkaynak et al (2015) link to Gezi Park to other environmental conflicts and social movements in Turkey like mega-projects, mining, energy projects and environmental degradation. Also, they discuss economic growth dynamics and social metabolism in the context of the structural change of Turkey. Finally, the article discusses longer-term effects of the Gezi protests on the environmental politics in Turkey. According to this article linkage between environmental conflicts in Turkey and the Gezi Park protests became more apparent when local environmental movements supported the Gezi Protests. (Black Sea Rebellion, Urban Movements, Life Instead of a Third Bridge

Platform and the Istanbul Right to Shelter Council) either by actively protesting at the park or by joining the protests with local demonstrations.

Özel & Deniz (2015) defines how 19 national newspapers presented the Gezi Park protests on front pages between May 27-June 16. They used content analysis method on 1811 news items about this social movement and asked that question: How important were the Gezi Park protests for the national newspapers? What kind of news and information about the Gezi Park protests appeared on the front pages of the national newspapers and in what proportions? First-page news stories were coded by two researchers as (A) criticizing the Gezi Park protests, (B) affirming Gezi Park protests and (C) impartial/unbiased. In addition, the headlines from the news on the page were also coded and entered into the system to determine which words were used more frequently in the headlines. They evaluated the first-page news stories about Gezi Park protests separately. Hence, from the 27th of May to the 16th of June, 1811 news on the subject were found in the first papers of 19 newspapers. This research is the most similar in terms of the method and the theory used in the literature. In content analysis, however, there are differences in the number of news stories, theoretical framework and the number of samples. The results in official news sources are the same with this research. Journalists gave more importance to the statements of former Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan than other sources.

At the beginning and at the end of this research, a thesis research database has been searched from Council of Higher Education in Turkey. The first search was made in July 2013 immediately after the Gezi Park protests, and the same search engine was looked at repeatedly as the research progressed. There were a limited number of researchers in the theses database during the first searches. In the last search, thesis

search engine had 43 types of research related to Gezi Park protests. 34 of these researchers are the master thesis and 9 doctoral theses. Detailed information on some theses could not be reached because some authors did not allow to download until a certain date. As shown in Table 4 (compiled from YÖK, 2017), a lot of research on Gezi Park protests has been conducted so far in the field of Communication Science and Journalism between 2013-2017.

Table 3: Master & Doctorate Research about Gezi Park Protests in Thesis Center.

Author	Year	Title	Degree	Field
Tuğçe Çalışkan	2013	The comparison of milliyet.com news site and bianet.org news site upon Gezi Park movements in terms of social aggression	Master	Journalism
Yıldırım Tozkoparan	2013	The attitude and approach of Turkish media towards Gezi protests and content analysis	Master	Political Science
Mevlüde Batur	2014	Evaluation of reflection way into social media of Taksim Gezi Park events in context of societal gender	Master	Communication Sciences
Edibe Deniz Cereb	2014	Framing Taksim Solidarity platform's Gezi Park protest: Exploring the extent of environmental concerns in the movement	Master	Political Science
Duygu Furuncu	2014	New social movement, globalization and digital activism: The case of 'Gezi Park'	Master	Communication Sciences
Sevgi Altınöz	2014	The represantation of the 'Gezi Park Protest' in written press	Master	Sociology
Yasin Barış Göğüş	2014	A review of the transformation of public spaces in the globalizing cities in term of socio-spatial segregation: The case of Taksim Gezi Park	Master	Sociology
Mahmut Korkmaz	2014	Social media-public policy interaction: An evaluation of Gezi Park demonstrations	Master	Public Administration
Ali Kemal Tanış	2014	Civil disobedience in printed media case study of Gezi Park	Master	Journalism
Ezgi Berivan Kesgin	2014	The cultural production and alternative forms of resistance in Taksim Gezi Park protests	Master	Undefined

Murat Sarı	2014	The impact of social media on social movements: The case of Gezi Park Platform	Master	Sociology
Kemal İlter	2014	The impacts of social media on the security of nation states within the framework of The Arap Spring and Gezi Park	Doctorate	Communication Sciences
Edibe Deniz Cereb	2014	Framing Taksim Solidarity platform's Gezi Park protest: Exploring the extent of environmental concerns in the movement	Master	Political Science
Ayşegül Duru Civan	2014	An analysis of the Turkish Prime Minister as an authoritarian figure in the light of Gezi Events	Master	Communication Sciences
Cemile Erden	2015	Representation of the identity of police in media during Gezi park protests	Master	Journalism
Onur Karakaş	2015	Social media and citizen journalism: A research on 'Gezi Park' events	Master	Journalism
Hakan Akçay	2015	Presentation style of Gezi Park events on the Turkish Television News Bulletin	Master	Communication Sciences
Sami Çöteli	2015	Social media's creating of a new type of social sphere and its contribution to social movements: The case of Taksim Gezi Parkı resistance	Doctorate	Communication Sciences
Duygu Karakeçili	2015	The transformation of Maçka Demokrasi Park in terms of public use and meaning since the Gezi Park events	Master	Communication
Özgür Yalçın	2015	Islamic proletariat & the new middle class dynamics in the context of Gezi park protests in neoliberal Turkey	Master	Sociology
Şebnem Yardımcı Geyikçi	2015	The crisis of representation in southern europe: Gezi Park protests and 15M movement in comparative perspective	Doctorate	Political Science
Merve Sezer	2015	Take a look at the gezi park incident over urban rights and city justice	Master	Sociology
Denizcan Kabaş	2015	Mainstream media in the relationships between the power and the capital: Movements Gezi Park and digital activism	Master	Communication Sciences
Bertan Koyuncu	2015	As a sign of a new urban space: Taksim Gezi Park protests	Master	Architecture
Okan Kılıç	2015	A reading of Gezi Park actions as indicators	Master	Communication Sciences

Özge Dertdeğil	2015	The role of graphic design in the process of 'Occupy gezi' resistance	Master	Fine Arts
Esra Vona Kurt	2015	Representation of the urban movement Gezi Park protests in the printed media	Doctorate	Journalism
Meriç Burçin Nuran	2015	The interaction between traditional media and new media examined in the context of the Gezi Park demonstrations	Master	Journalism
Aslı Advan	2015	Within the framework of social movements and use of social media 'Taksim Gezi Park Protests'	Doctorate	Communication Sciences
Ece G. Sahadetyan	2015	A discourse analysis of Gezi Park protest	Master	Communication
Fatih Şahan	2015	Digital media and activism: An examination of the use of facebook and twitter in the case of Gezi Park occupation	Master	Undefined
Ezgi Kaplan	2016	New city right size with urban social movements: Gezi Park activism perspective on an analysis from the people's assembly experience	Master	Political Science
Gözde Kurt	2016	Applications of digital diplomacy in Turkey within the context of public communication: The example of Gezi Park	Doctorate	Radio Television, Political Science
Dileknur Ceylan	2016	Analysis of messages about the Gezi protests on Turkish press	Master	Journalism
Elif Soyseven	2016	Social media impact on Gezi Park protests	Master	Journalism
Vehbi Görgülü	2016	Contemporary social movements and online participatory media: Case study on Çapul.tv of Gezi Park movement	Doctorate	Communication Sciences
Nil Yüce	2016	The role of twitter in civil organization at Gezi Park protests in the context of new social movements: The case of Taksim solidarity	Master	Communication Sciences
Cahide Zeynep Enginar	2016	From a local protest to an anti-government mass movement: A discursive analysis of Gezi Park protests	Master	Sociology
Damla Işıklılar	2016	Heterotopic practice of space: Taksim Gezi Park revisited	Master	Urban and Regional Planning
Mete Sefa Uysal	2016	Collective actions, leadership and social media: Gezi park case	Master	Psychology

Ayşe Sucu	2016	The role of effective use of social networks in the process of Gezi Parkı events in Turkey within the framework of the network society of Manuel Castells	Doctorate	Communication Sciences
Merve Çakır	2016	The attitude of the conservative media in Turkey towards social movements: Gezi Park instance	Master	Sociology
Tirşe Erbaysal Filibeli	2017	New social movements and Peace Journalism: Journalistic practices during the Gezi Park protests	Doctorate	Journalism

Below you can find detailed information on the work that has been compiled from the databases downloaded from the master and doctoral theses about social movements and Gezi protests prepared in the Communication field and the ones allowed to use by authors.

Batur (2014) has addressed the reflection of the Gezi Park protests on the Facebook platform of gender-related developments. Batur, standing on six incidents, has put the concepts of Facebook, Gezi Park protests, and gender into the center of the research. The six events are as follows: Woman in Red Dress, Woman in Black Dress, FEMEN group (Feminist Activists), Mother's Chain, Feminist Response to Hate Speech, Standing Man and Standing Women. The analysis of the shares made through these six events on the Facebook platform has been done through content analysis method. He tried to reveal the gendered point of view in the social media. According to the results of Batur's research, the second position of the woman, who sustained her existence in every field of the society, also manifested itself in the protest of Gezi Park. Expressions used throughout the events reflect gender stereotypes determined by society regarding gender roles.

Another research on Communication Science related to the Gezi Park protests is the master thesis prepared by Furuncu (2014). Furuncu focuses on the influence of the activists in the Gezi Park protests on the use of new media and on the globalization of the social movements of the new media. Occupy Gezi-New York Action Group, Occupy Gezi-Deutschland, Occupy Gezi-Milano groups have launched a new digital media activism on the subject of the Arab Spring, Wall Street Involvement, and London revolt, which are considered as examples of digital activism in the world. As a result of the research, it is observed that the examples of the Gezi Park, physical contacts, the use of symbols, the speed of communication, the ease of finding information together, and the similarities of the actions taken in Turkey have been globalized.

Civan (2014) examines the authoritarian posture of former Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan with critical discourse analysis through Althusser's Ideological State Apparatuses approach. In this context, the Prime Minister's speech at the opening of the 3rd Bridge in İstanbul and the speech he made at the opening of the Ottoman Archive are analyzed with discourse analysis method.

Erden (2015) aims to reveal the identity of the police officers built in internet news sites in the Gezi Park protests on the identity issue. The starting point of investigating the assumption that Media rebuilds the truth according to ideologies and constructs a new reality. The news on the internet sites are analyzed by the method of critical discourse analysis. The news that is being reviewed reveals that the truth has been reproduced and the identities have been built with an ideological framework.

Karakaş's (2015) study aims to examine the role of Twitter in Gezi Park protests in terms of Citizen Journalism. The research is conducted on the trend topics in Twitter's agenda, using the #Resistance hashtag. According to results, "Police", which is the most used word in tweets sent from Turkey during the movement, was accepted as a keyword and only "Turkish" tweets including "police" were included in the study. Content analysis method was used in the study and tweets were examined thematically. As a result of the study, it was observed that "786" tweets about "police intervention" took place in the first place and it was observed that the citizens who assumed the role of a journalist tried to fill the void created by the mainstream media by sending them through Twitter to document the police violence.

In his work Çöteli (2015), discusses how the virtual public space formed by social media, who contributed to this formation, and how the public space formed within social media was moved to the real public space. Social movements, such as the public space that is redeemed from the regeneration, have also moved from the virtual environment to real life. The contribution of the virtual public space in the social media to the emerging social movements has been interpreted with the sample of Gezi Park protests. According to the results included in his study, Y generation youth was upset and organized mass demonstrations in line with political reasons and claims of seeking rights. The reasons driving them to organize the demonstration were examined in the context of how they used social media in favor of events and the ensuing public sphere.

Kabaş (2015) has a master thesis about main stream media in Turkey and digital activism topics are investigated based on the process of Gezi Park protests. Nature, government & capital relations and development processes of mass communication in Turkey are discussed with censorship and auto-censorship examples of the media.

According to results of research, it is pointed out that the new media activities on the axis of digital activism are positioned as a force against the mass media. In addition, Gezi Park movements are both on the axis of power-capital relations; It is also seen that many differences on the communication phenomenon, for example, are influential in the reflection of masses.

Kurt (2015) deconstructs Gezi Park protests as an urban social movement within the media defined in the context of news production process criteria and news texts. The research utilizes critical theory by focusing on how social consent and consensus is achieved through newspapers to enable a hegemonic struggle. She uses 6 different newspapers from different ideological positions in order to perform the analysis. The findings obtained that the priorities and choices made by newspapers when relaying meanings and definitions regarding the nature of the Gezi Park protests are shaped by their ideological stance. This adopted stance goes beyond political opinion or party support and operates by excluding all social and economic inequalities.

Nuran (2015) examines the traditional media and new media interaction during the Gezi Park protests and the differences between the new media and traditional media in setting agenda. It also examines the interaction between the modern media and the new media and the primary criteria for choosing individuals' communication channels. The interview technique is asking 17 samples of 100 people sample of university students and university graduates. According to the results of the research, it has proved that the new media is influential in preparing the grounds for the social movements in the formation and development of the actions and proved that the mainstream control and non-objective cancel the trust in these channels. Results show

that all findings prove that the traditional media is not enough to set the agenda and news reports, lose credibility and most importantly cannot fulfill its basic function.

Advan (2015) exhibits the effects of social media in the emergence and expansion of social movements. She conducted a survey with 484 people face to face and 13 people by e-mail, making a total of 497 people who are from Taksim Solidarity Platform, the leading initiative with the participation of other organizations in Taksim Gezi Park protests. According to the result of this research, 67% of the 497 participants in the survey conducted by Taksim Solidarity Initiative showed the pressure of "the government imposed collective action" as the reason for the start of the Gezi Movements. 86% of the participants also argue that their movement was a non-violent civil disobedience action, but that the police officers changed direction with disproportionate use of force. It has come to a conclusion that people are against anti-democratic practices with 94% as the reason for participating in the action. In short, the Gezi Movements began as an environmental movement initiated by activists gathered to express dissatisfaction with this situation by initiating the removal of the trees in the park to spread Taksim Square, without taking the people's thoughts into consideration, and then by interfering with the activists by means of non-democratic methods, has been transformed into movements aimed at preventing and reacting to this initiative.

When we look at completed master and doctoral theses about the Gezi Park protests, it seems that the research results generally evaluated the protests in the context of nonviolent civil disobedience action or new social movements. In the theses on which protests are examined in the context of media, there are arguments about new media and traditional media. It is argued that the new media, especially the platforms used

by individual users such as Twitter and Facebook, are more preliminary than traditional media. It was observed that in master and doctorate thesis content analysis and critical discourse analysis was used. It is not possible to make too many generalizations because the theses cannot be accessed completely from the database. However, it is clear that the Gezi Park protests and the new social movements will not be lost currency in the coming years to be updated for researchers. Social movements, complementary to democracy, will continue to be platforms where all kinds of expressions and thoughts can be expressed in full. They will continue to be represented in different formats in newspapers and other media. Therefore, especially in the field of communication, this problem should continue to be investigated by the problematic point.

3.3 Structure of the Turkish Media

Given that market power is the predominant force in the contemporary Turkish media environment, social movements and civil disobedience events are insufficiently covered (in both written and visual forms). Furthermore, when the Turkish news media covers such events, the structure of the industry distorts the event in such a way as to reproduce the dominant ideology (Dağtaş, 2008).

> The political economic shifts that had been underway since the 1980s created new opportunities for political actors, specifically the Islamist AKP, to rise to power. The AKP's election victory in 2002 and consecutive wins in 2007 and 2011 created an amenable setting for it to establish its electoral hegemony and deepen the existing authoritarian neoliberal order (Yesil, 2016: p. 72).

3.3.1 Conglomeration of the Turkish Media

One of the pervasive peculiarities of the Turkish news media is the way in which it functions as a "conglomerate press". This term refers to the fact that the industry is heavily impacted by external stakeholders, most notably in the form of owners who

employ the power of the press to safeguard their personal interests. In this way, interference in the workings of the press and, as such, the representation of events such as the Gezi Park protests, are frequent, and one of the most alarming consequences is that its normalization among the journalism profession has already taken hold. Nevertheless, with the rise of social networking platforms, the degree to which external intervention is a defining feature of the Turkish news media has been identified by most citizens, thereby leading to widespread discontent. In view of these factors, it is important to recognize that the structure of the Turkish news media is largely determined by political and economic interests, with the main activities of these interests being the limiting of freedom. In addition, power relations between the state authorities, the owners of media companies, and other companies in the business environment are a pertinent aspect of the overall structure of the Turkish news media.

A range of important statements was emphasized by Topuz (2003) in the author's discussion of the issues of media monopolization and media conglomeration. They are pertinent to the present research because they outline the nature of the Turkish press with respect to these issues. The first statement suggests that monopolization in the media is positioned in opposition to the diversity of expression. The implication of this is that conglomeration in the industry impairs diversity of thought and opinion, thereby resulting in a decreasing number of staff. With respect to the second statement, Topuz argued that monopolization is naturally opposed to the unionization of labor in the media. The newspapers of Aydın Doğan are a case in point regarding the issue of conglomerate firms which employ journalists without a union. The third one maintains that the power relation between mass media holders along with their interests with state authorities inevitably breeds considerable pressure. Regarding the fourth statement, the researcher argued that media founded on significant capital results in

tabloidization, sensationalism, and, as a natural consequence, the degradation of culture. The fifth statement suggests that the monopolization and conglomeration of a media landscape suffocate the developmental capacity of small and medium news companies. As suggested by the researcher's sixth statement, a parallel power structure has been established by the Turkish news media. This is most notable regarding the issue that the media pressurizes officials in such a way as to create a situation in which they must conform. The researcher's final statement maintains that the foreign commitments associated with monopolized capital and conglomerates are not consistent with the longevity of a sovereign state (ibid, pp. 347-348).

Another notable feature of the Turkish media, and for Turkish newspapers, in particular, is that it is strongly bound up with the political landscape. This gives rise to a conflict of interest that sets the stage for mutual agenda setting and, consequently, the setting of agendas in such a way so as to conform to political and corporate interests. A case in point to illustrate this relationship is the "Peace Process", in which former Prime Minister Recep T. Erdoğan's request for the media to advocate peace with the Kurds in 2012 was met with widespread acceptance.

The Doğan Media Group (DMG) recently modified its principles pertaining to written and visual media. As revealed by Article 20 of its "Written and Visual Broadcasting Principles", the DMG's stance towards the reporting of terror news is as follows:

About terror news, the newspaper must deliberate the freedom of shared information for the public and not propagandizing terror in news stories. Peace Journalism and humanitarian affairs should predominate.

(a) The bloody consequences of terrorist acts have not been highlighted in a sensational way. Language that is used in news should be given against ethnic discrimination.

(b) In an equivalent way to other acts, the names of people who pass away owing to terrorist acts should not be published before their relatives have been informed. Funeral news should be published in an imperturbable way and should not create new traumas and sufferings.

3.3.2 Categorization of Turkish Media

The purpose of this section is to outline the ideological stance and ownership structure of the 14 daily newspapers sampled from the Turkish press. In terms of ownership, the connection journalists had to individuals, firms, or holdings during the Gezi Park protests is examined, and a range of other groups and conglomerates are presented in Table 5 (compiled from Sözeri & Kurban, 2012). As the table indicates, numerous Turkish companies are engaged both in media and non-media operations, with the latter ranging from energy, commerce, and industry to property development and automobile manufacturing. In this way, many media companies have considerable interests in non-media activities, and they are becoming more powerful as a result of their effective relationships with government officials. When these features are displayed by a media company, it is almost always the case that they refrain from countering the dominant ideology propagated by the government, thereby seeking to grow their non-media operations. Therefore, to gain insight into the issue of why media content tends to reproduce the dominant ideology, it is necessary to examine these power relations. This section focuses on the media of the main disposition that Turkey holds and controls, and the publishing policies of the conglomerate newspapers and the pressures made by the state administrations of the newspapers have been discussed. The process that led to the transformation of the publishing policies of the newspapers controlled by power after the elections in 2002 and led to the publishing understanding of Gezi Protests has been examined.

Table 4: Media Ownership in Turkey

Company	Media	Other Fields
Doğan	Newspapers: Hürriyet, Hürriyet Daily News, Radikal, Posta, Fanatik, TME Newspapers TV: Kanal D, TNT, CNNTürk, Cartoon Network, Fix TV, Dijital TV Platfor D-Smart, Doğan Teleshopping Radio: RadyoD, CNNTürk Radyo, Slow Türk, Radyo Moda TV-Music Production: D Productions, Kanal D Home Video, DMC News Agency: DHA (Doğan News Agency) Magazine & Book Publishing: Doğan Burda Dergi, Doğan Egmont, Doğan Kitap internet: Hürriyet.com.tr, yenibiris.com.tr, Hürriyetemlak.com, Hürriyetoto.com, arabam.com, anneyiz.biz, Hürriyetkiyasla.com, Tipeez.com, arakibulaki.com, hangisinegitsek.com Digital Platforms: Doğan Platform, Doğan Telekom, Smile ADSL, Birpa Müşteri Hizmetleri (Call Center) Distrubution and Retail: YAYSAT (Doğan Dağıtım) Dergi Pazarlama Planlama D&R Printing: Doğan Printing Center (DPC), Doğan Ofset Other: Doğan Dış Ticaret (Foreign Trade) Doğan Factoring Social Field: Aydın Doğan Vakfı (Foundation)	Energy Investments, Production and Trade, Industry, Automotive Supplier Industry, Organic Products, Trade, Finance, Tourism.
Doğuş	Television: NTV, Star TV, CNBC-E, NTV SPOR, Kral TV, e2 New Media: NTVMSNBC, NTVSPOR.net, Oley.com, Footbo.com, Enmoda.com Radio: NTV Radyo, Kral FM, Virgin Radyo, NTV SPOR Radyo, Radyo Voyage, Radyo Eksen, Capital Radio Magazine: Vogue, National Geographic, National Geographic Kids, Robb Report, CNBC-e Business, Motor Boat & Yatching, GQ NTV Publications: NTV Tarih (History)	Banking and Finance, Management Services, Fleet Management Services, Automotive, Logistics Services, Production, Construction, Consultancy, Tourism and Services, Clothing, Real Estate, Energy Generation, Wholesale.
Çalık	Newspapers: Turkuvaz Medya Grubu (Sabah, Sabah Avrupa, Yeni Asır, Takvim, Fotomaç) Magazines: Turkuvaz Dergi Yayıncılık TV: ATV, ATV Avrupa	Textile, Energy, Construction, Finance, Telecommunication.

	Radio: Turkuvaz Televizyon ve Radyo İşletmeciliği Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş (Radyo Turkuvaz, Radyo Romantik) Distribution: Turkuvaz Dağıtım Pazarlama A.Ş. Book Publishing: Turkuvaz Kitapçılık Yayıncılık Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş., Turkuvaz Matbaacılık Yayıncılık Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. Production: Turkuvaz Prodüksiyon ve Tanıtım A.Ş. News Agency: Turkuvaz Haber Ajansı Digital Media and Mobile Services: Turkuvaz Medya Digital, Turkuvaz Mobil Hizmetler	
Ciner	Newspaper: Turkuvaz Medya Grubu (Sabah, Sabah Avrupa, Yeni Asır, Takvim, Fotomaç) Magazine: Turkuvaz Dergi Yayıncılık TV: ATV, ATV Avrupa Radio: Turkuvaz Televizyon ve Radyo İşletmeciliği Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş (Radyo Turkuvaz, Radyo Romantik) Distribution: Turkuvaz Dağıtım Pazarlama A.Ş. Book Publishing: Turkuvaz Kitapçılık Yayıncılık Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş., Turkuvaz Matbaacılık Yayıncılık Sanayi ve Ticaret A.Ş. Production: Turkuvaz Prodüksiyon ve Tanıtım A.Ş. News Agency: Turkuvaz Haber Ajansı Digital Media and Mobile Services: Turkuvaz Medya Digital, Turkuvaz Mobil Hizmetler	Energy and Mining, Trade, Industry and Service, Air Transport, Tourism, Insurance, Maritime
Çukurova	Newspaper: Akşam, Güneş Magazine: Alem, Stuff, Platin, FourFourTwo, Autocar (Turkmedya gazete ve dergileri bünyesinde bulunduran şirket) Digital Platform: DIGITÜRK TV: Show TV, Show Max, Show Turk, Show Plus, Sky Turk360, Lig TV, Spor Max, Türk Max Radio: Alem FM, Lig Radyo Production: Eksen Media Marketing: Zedpaş, Mepaş	Energy, Telecommunication, Transport and Service, Sports, Aviation, Industry, Construction Machinery, Consultancy, Industrial Works, Chemistry, Finance, Construction.
Feza Gazetecilik	Newspaper: Zaman, Today's Zaman, Zaman Azerbaycan, Zaman Kazakistan, Zaman Avusturya, Zaman Avrupa Zaman	

	Bulgaristan, Zaman Romanya, Zaman Türkmenistan, Zaman Amerika Magazine: Aksiyon, Sızıntı, Gonca TV: STV, STV Avrupa, STV Amerika, S Haber, Mehtap TV, Ebru TV, Yumurcak TV, Küre TV, Hazar TV, Dünya TV News Agency: Cihan Haber Ajansı Radio: Burç FM, Dünya Radyo, Samanyolu Haber Book Publishing: Zaman Kitap	
Albayrak	Newspaper: Yeni Şafak TV: TVNET Internet: Yenişafak.com.tr	Construction, Industry, Logistics Chartering, Waste Management, Meter Reading, Tourism.
Koza İpek	Newspaper: Bugün TV: Kanaltürk, Bugün TV Radio: Kanaltürk Radyo	Printing house, Mine
Fox	Television: Fox TV, Fox life, FX, National Geographic Channel, Baby TV Internet: Myspace.com	
İhlas	Newspaper: Türkiye TV: TGRT Haber, TGRT Haber TV EU, TGRT Belgesel News Agency: İHA Advertising: İhlas Reklam Ajansı Medya Marketing: TGRT Pazarlama Magazine Group Internet: İhlas.net	Construction, Manufacturing, Health & Tourism, Education, Mining
Hayat Görsel Yayıncılık	TV: Kanal 7, Kanal 7 Avrupa, Ülke TV Radio: Radyo 7 Internet: Haber7.com, Haber7Emlak Marketing: Mepa Medya A.Ş	Education, Publishing
Demirören	Newspaper: Milliyet, Vatan	Gas, Industry, Heavy Industry, Construction, Education
Dünya	Newspaper: Dünya Printing: Dünya Süper Web Ofset A.Ş Dünya Yayıncılık A.Ş., Dünya Aktüel A.Ş., Distribution: Dünya Süper Dağıtım e-world: kobiden.com, dunyastore.com, pcworld.com.tr, computerworld.com.tr, byte.com.tr, dunyagida.com.tr, dunyainsaat.com.tr, makinamagazin.com	

MNG	Olay TV, Olay FM	Construction, Tourism, Transportation, Finance, Aircraft Maintenance, Energy, Production Distribution, Marketing Industry and Trade
Termikel	KTV Broadcasting: Kanal A, RadyoA	Industry
Mediasa (Sabancı)	TV: Fashion TV Türkiye, Fashion TV Magazine, Z TV	Textile
Spectrum Medya	Radio: Süper FM, Metro Fm, Joy Fm, Joy Türk FM	Liquor (alcoholic drink), G2M, LBT Asset Management
Power Group	Radio: Power FM, Power Türk, Power XL, Radyo Fenomen	Clothing
Saran Group	Radio: Radyo Spor, Radyo Tatlıses, Radyo Time ve Radyo Pink Dubbing: Saran Digital Studios	Tourism, Energy, Defense Industry, Health
Bir Numara Yayıncılık	TV: Number One TV, Fashion One TV Radio: Number 1 FM, Radyo Klas	

The present study has categorized newspapers in the Turkish news media on the basis of their ideological stance, ownership structure, and power relation with the government. Although one of the implications of the ambiguity associated with the Turkish news media is that categorization in this way is not a straightforward task, facilitating this process will greatly elucidate the research findings from a range of perspectives. According to Çarkoğlu et al. (2014), it is a viable option to draw on three categories for Turkish national newspapers, including the following: (i) conservative; (ii) mainstream; and (iii) opposition. The categories in the present research are as follows: (i) secular; (ii) mainstream/commercial; (iii) religious/conservative; (iv) nationalism; and (v) left-wing. In addition to this, there are government adherent and opposition newspapers in the main items.

According to Yeşil (2016), the Turkish media has a polarized and political structure. At the same time, this media continues as the business owner-client relationship. Cross media ownership, horizontal and vertical integrations dominate the transformation

process of the current structure of the Turkish media. Yeşil also talks about Albayrak, Hedef and Kalyon, who have close links to the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and own media companies. These media groups are actively propagating the Justice and Development Party. Ciner, Demirören, Doğan and Doğuş groups in mainstream category continue to broadcast under the pressure of AKP since 2007. It is known that the mainstream group of newspapers has been hired columnists and editors by recommendations of government officials. The media groups close to the Fethullah Gülen (nowadays named as FETÖ Terror Organization) community are Koza-İpek, Feza and Samanyolu (after the coup attempt in 15th of July 2016 these channels have been closed). The newspapers and TVs in this group that supported the AKP until 2013 and included the anti-AKP group from this date. Apart from these large media groups, small companies, leftist newspapers and Kurdish newspapers and TV channels that we can call Kemalist or secular are the structures in the Turkish media.

We can see in which group they are based on the fact that the newspapers communicate the events in the Gezi Park protests. Aziz (2016) examines TV channels and newspapers published during Gezi Park protest under 3 items. In the first item, there are pro-government media groups. In the second place, there are media groups that do not want to upset the government. In the third place, we see the media, who are not supporters of government power.

The pro-government media group has TV channels like the Samanyolu TV, Kanal 7. The newspapers in this group can be given as examples of Akit, Zaman and Yeni Şafak. This group media underestimated the protests. They claimed that the opposition parties were behind the events.

In the media group that does not want to upset the government, there are TRT, NTV, CNN Türk, Haber Türk, Kanal Türk, ATV, Kanal D, Show TV, TV8. The newspapers are Hürriyet, Milliyet, Star, Akşam and Posta. This media initially did not give the events without seeing the news value. After the reactions from the citizens, they made limited news about Gezi Park protests.

Although the number of the anti-government media is small, the news about the incidents has become a reliable source of news for the public. The TV channels in this group are Public TV, National TV, +1 TV and Cem TV. Republic, Spokesman, Aydınlık, Left Newspaper are examples of newspapers.

3.3.4 Turkish Newspapers and the Mediterranean Model Journalism

In the media and political analysis of Hallin and Manchini (2004), the researchers proposed the Mediterranean model of journalism. This will be investigated in the present section with respect to the Turkish media environment, mainly regarding the question of whether Turkish newspapers fit the model. Afterward, the researcher will examine the potential associated with developing a new Turkey-specific journalism model based on the literature.

As documented by Yesil (2016), the number of national newspapers, local newspapers, periodicals, news publications, and commentaries relating to political, sporting, financial, and fashion matters is high in Turkey, with approximately thirty national newspapers and numerous local iterations. However, it is important to recognize that the circulation for these newspapers is not extensive.

The discussion of media models presented by Hallin and Manchini (2004, pp. 10-11) presents an exploration and categorization of various types of media structure in

several countries. Mediterranean journalism (also referred to as Polarised Pluralist journalism) is associated with all countries with a maritime border against the Mediterranean Sea, but it is not clear in the present study whether Turkey fits this model; the Liberal model, typical of countries including the United Kingdom, Ireland, and North America, involves the simultaneous impact of marketplace instruments and commercialise media; the Democratic Corporatist model, practiced in North Europe, describes the connection between the media and independent social and political groups, along with an involved but restricted state; finally, the Polarised Pluralist model, characteristic of the Mediterranean states of southern Europe, is typified by the close connection between media and party politics, powerful state intervention, and relatively weak commercial media.

The Mediterranean model (namely, the Polarised Pluralist model) is distinct in several ways when considered in relation to the others. Perhaps the most important difference is the way in which news media in the model relates to the industry of newspapers, and it accounts for the way in which circulation is low; namely because it is closely connected to party politics and, as such, elite-oriented. Another difference relates to the presence of political parallelism, where newspapers are politically parallel with government sources. This is referred to by Hallin and Manchini (2004, p. 67) as commentary-oriented journalism. The level of professionalism is lower among journalists operating in the Mediterranean model when compared to their counterparts in other models, along with less instrumentalisation. The final notable difference relates to the powerful state intervention that characterizes the Mediterranean model, which often involves censorship.

The literature categorized the issues associated with the Turkish news media into the following five dimensions: (i) pressure of conglomerations; (ii) suppression of court; (iii) banishment for online materials; (iv) surveillance defamation; and (v) discrimination on accreditations (Akser and Hawks, 2012). Tokgöz (2003) demonstrated that over the course of information collection, journalists typically gather sources from elites (for example, government officials, the prominent citizen, and businesspeople). Additionally, a shared yet unofficial contract exists between the elites and the media, where the media requires sources and the sources require the distribution of their messages to an audience. This relationship is favorable for the elite sources, but it is important to recognize the harmful effects it has on the media. Nevertheless, the lacking professionalism of many journalists operating in Turkey means that they choose to go for the straightforward option in contacting readily-reachable elites as sources. The author further pointed out the following issues: (i) journalists serve as a mouthpiece for the political, business, and social elite; (ii) journalists are defined by passivity rather than activity; and (iii) journalists lack critical engagement with the subject matter they are reporting on.

In addition to the Mediterranean model journalism, the journalism system in Turkey follows Southern European and Latin American models. Another research is conducted by Hallin & Papathanassopoulos (2002) about political clientelism and the media systems in Southern Europe and Latin America. They consider Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal as Southern Europe countries and Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico as Latin America countries. They identify common characteristics of Latin American and Southern European media systems as following: (i) Low levels of newspaper circulation, (ii) Tradition of advocacy reporting, (iii) Instrumentalization of privately-

owned media, (iv) Politicization of public broadcasting and broadcast regulation, (v)

Limited development of journalism as an autonomous profession.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The traditional dominance of quantitative methodology as a way of empirical research in Social Sciences began to be debated in the 1960s. Quantitative research is based on measurable data, findings are analyzed and transformed into statistical data (Punch, 2014). Thus, it is possible to generalize from the sample. The quantitative method, which is the path of empirical research, was chosen in order to be able to find generalizations in the news and column articles about the social movements of the newspapers published at the national level in Turkey with a descriptive study. Having adopted a quantitative research design that draws on framing analysis, the purpose of this chapter is to outline the relevant methodological details. This includes the sampling strategy, the approach to newspaper categorization, frames, coding scheme, and the overall research process.

This research is primarily concerned with examining the connection between news framing and its impact on the coverage of the Gezi Park protests of 2013. Newspapers addressing the case of the protests serve as the main focal point of the study, and a non-random sample of 14 daily newspapers from the Turkish press was examined with respect to their coverage from 28 May 2013 to 30 June 2013. These dates have been chosen because they represent the initiation, dissemination, and completion of the protests, and content analysis is applied to headlines and the first sentences of headline news. It should also be acknowledged that the sample of newspapers was chosen based

on daily circulation rates and ideological stance. As noted by Entman (1993), newspapers seek to promote a certain perspective among their readers, and when combined with an understanding of framing theory, one can be certain that news agencies generally adopt frames in their coverage of stories. Hence, this research will employ a quantitative framing analysis to examine the dominant frames used in Turkish daily newspapers with respect to Peace Journalism. For columns 5 most circulated newspapers have been used from sampling and columns have been limited between May 28th – June 7th as first responses of columnists.

Framing method suggests that the news media covering the news stories with in particular frames. This study uses framing method to analyze Turkish Newspapers' dominant frames in the context of Peace Journalism. Entman (1993) argues about perceived reality and makes them more salient by newspapers, in such a way as to promote a particular definition. As a sociological concept in Goffman's (1974) Frame Analysis states, life experiences are classified, organized and interpreted by individuals as "schemata of interpretation" and this interpretation is labeled as "framing" (p. 21). We organize our experience within the boundaries of the frames that we have determined by we have formed and internalized by the culture we live in. Gitlin (1980) use framing concept to analyze news media and students' social movements. According to Gittlin's research, journalists work on large amounts of information and eliminate them with frames. It has been proven by Gittlin and later researchers that framing analysis is one of the most appropriate methods to analyze the representation of social movements and other news stories in newspapers. Gamson (1992) argues that the meaning of the news is shaped through framing. Therefore, the ideological stance, ownership structure and news pattern of the newspapers can be analyzed by analyzing the dominant frameworks used in the news.

For this research, totally 30 days' headlines and have been analyzed. There are more than 30 national newspapers in Turkey. Newspaper samples have been selected as non-random judgmental sampling according to their daily circulation rates and different ideological stances for news stories and columns.

4.1 Research Design

With the overarching application of content analysis, comparative frame analysis is employed as the primary method in this research with case study of Gezi Park protests. Firstly, study has been decided on journalism and all newspapers has been looked for population and sampling, a coding sheet has been developed from previous research on Peace Journalism. The headlines of 14 daily newspapers from the Turkish press were comparatively examined based on the Peace Journalism model, with this sample of 14 taken from over 35 national newspapers which public daily issues. In terms of the selection process for the derivation of the newspaper sample, 5 of the 35 were sport-focused and, consequently, they were removed. Based on the 30 remaining newspapers, these were analysed based on circulation rates and ideological stance. In terms of the total number of news stories that were to be analysed from the target period (28 May 2013 to 30 June 2013), this amounted to 462 (33 first page for each newspaper), and the number of column articles amounted to 222. Regarding the number of first pages, this was lowered to 419 for the analysis phase because certain publications on certain days had no Gezi Park protest news on the front page. Columnist publications are limited to 28 May 2013 and 7 June 2013, and headlines and columnists are included in the sample based on contextual relevance. Ultimately, a non-random judgmental sampling method has been employed for this research.

4.2 Population and Sample

Newspaper population consists 43 newspapers (See Appendix D). The final sample of 14 Turkish newspapers used in the present study involves those daily newspapers which have the highest circulation rates. With this numbers sampling include close to all of the population. The newspapers are as follows: Cumhuriyet, Sözcü, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Haber Türk, Star, Akşam, Taraf, Zaman, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak, Yeni Çağ, and Birgün. 5 newspaper columns and photographs are examined from the most circulated newspapers in several categories. In addition, the sales rate of the newspapers is also a consideration, primarily because many circulation rates belong to a subscription system which includes unpaid distribution.

Newspaper samples have been chosen to represent varying ideological stances. The categorisation in the present research takes place based on the editorial structure and ownership structure, and 5 categories are used. In terms of the first category, secular, the newspapers are Aydınlık, Cumhuriyet, Sözcü and Yurt Newspapers (with Cumhuriyet and Sözcü selected); for the second category, mainstream/commercial, the newspapers are Hürriyet, Milliyet, Posta, Radikal, Vatan, Sabah, Haber Türk, Star, Takvim, Akşam, Güneş, Taraf (with Hürriyet, Milliyet, Sabah, Haber Türk, Star, Akşam, and Taraf selected); for the third category, religious/conservative, the newspapers are Zaman, Milli Gazete, Yeni Asya, Bugün, Türkiye, Yeni Şafak (with Zaman, Türkiye, and Yeni Şafak selected); for the fourth category, nationalist, the newspapers are Yeni Çağ and Ortadoğu (Yeni Çağ is selected); and for the fifth, left-wing, the newspapers are Birgün and Evrensel (Birgün is selected). The Peace Journalism Model was used to guide the data collection process, and the frame analysis

is divided into the following sections: first, questions relating to general newspaper information; and second, statements relating to peace and conflict frames.

4.3 Instruments and Data Gathering Procedures

Questionnaires are employed for data collection, and 14 items are included as the "content analysis coding schema". Q1-3 address the newspaper's name, publication date, and headline; Q4-9 address news sources, official sources, unofficial sources, experts, non-governmental organizations, and citizens; and Q10-14 cover the main frames (for example, informative frame, peace frame, conflict frame, and relevant subitems for the frames, for details see Appendix C).

4.5 Reliability Test

Cohen's (1960) formulate inter-rater reliability test. In this test, there are two researchers. The first researcher analyzes all data and second researcher looks 10% of main data. For this Research's data, a second scholar coded 10% sampling from same data (first pages and column articles) (n=10) for reliability check of the "Content Analysis Coding Schema" the formula of kappa was used.

k = (Po - Pc) / (N - Pc). N = the total number of judgments
made by each coder
Po = is the observed proportion of agreement by coders,
Pc = is the proportion of agreement expected by chance.

14 judgments and 1 agreement was expected $0.88 = (9 - 1) / (10 - 1)$. Values more than 0. represent outstanding agreement beyond chance (Banerjee et al., 1999).

4.4 Research Procedures

This research started with a collection and the reading of the relevant literature review about theoretical framework and history of social movements and civil disobediences around the world. Council of Higher Education Thesis Database has been researched with "Gezi Protest" keyword in the beginning of thesis and repeated regularly until the end of research. Secondly, questionnaire and coding sheet was carried out with newspapers' headline news and columns. Newspaper data were collected from Atatürk Library in Taksim İstanbul and online media monitoring site (Medya Takip Merkezi). Sözcü newspaper has not found in Atatürk Library. Also, Hürriyet newspaper's online newspaper searching system has been used with the permission of advertising unit. Data were entered on the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) 22.0 program and analyzed comparatively.

Chapter 5

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

At the outset, this chapter outlines the evaluation items for the 14-newspaper sample group pertaining to the period from 29 May 2013 to 30 June 2013. Informative, peace and conflict frames are the dominant frames, and sub items are associated with these. In addition, there are 2 primary items for source usage (official and unofficial) along with relevant sub items. Following the introduction of the evaluation items, the chapter presents a frame analysis of 419 news stories published on the front pages of the sampled newspapers in the target period. In those situations, where the front-page stories continue onto other pages, the additional text is not incorporated into the analysis.

The second section of this chapter is chiefly concerned with conducting a frame analysis of 222 columnists chosen from the five newspapers with the highest circulation in the 29 May 2013 to 7 June 2013 period. Dominant frames, subitems, source usage, and sub items for columns relating to the Gezi Park protests will be examined.

The third section of this chapter is concerned with conducting a physical content analysis of first page photographs about Gezi Park protests between 29 May 2013 to 7 June 2013 period. For the physical content analysis number of photographs on first page, number of photographs about Gezi Park protests, total area measurement of first

pages of 5 most circulated newspapers and total area (cm^2) of photographs about Gezi Park protests have been examined.

5.1 Evaluation Items for Analysis of the Turkish Newspapers

To facilitate the identification of dominant frames in the selected news stories, the following evaluation items have been employed: (i) peace frame; (ii) conflict frame; and (iii) informative frame. When a headline suggests a positive solution to an issue, this is classified as a peace frame. As a case in point, the "Mesaj Alınmıştır" (Message is received/understood) headline from Milliyet constitutes a peace frame (see Figure 5). The decision to classify this as a peace frame stems from Ersoy's (2010) suggestion that an attempt to understand the other side in a conflict is indicative of an attempt to bridge the gap.

Figure 5: Milliyet's front page, 4 June 2013 (Peace Frame example)

With respect to the conflict frame, this is applied to headlines associated with self-other, win-lose, or status quo orientation. For example, the "Ağacın altından tahrik

çıktı" (Provocation appeared from the tree) headline from Star is classified as a conflict

frame (see Figure 6) since it levels blame at the protesters.

Figure 6: Star's front page, 2 June 2013 (Conflict Frame Example)

Regarding the third frame, this is chosen to designate neutral and descriptive frames

which do not involve judgments. For example, "5 Günde Taksim" (Taksim in 5 days)

from Hürriyet is a representative case (see Figure 7). The article simply outlines what

has taken place at the Gezi Park protests for the first days of the event using images

and captions.

Figure 7: Hürriyet's front page, 2 June 2013 (Informative Frame Example)

The use of sources is categorized into the following: (i) official source usage; and (ii) unofficial source usage. It should be noted that official sources are classified as those individuals who are members of the elite class, for example, the President, the Prime Minister, Public Officials, Minister(s), or Members of the Opposition Political Party.

The initial item for official sources is president. During the period of the Gezi Park protests, Turkey's president was Abdullah Gül (MFA, 2017). At the outset of the 1990s, Gül became a member of parliament who represented the Refah Partisi (Welfare Party) Kayseri deputy. In the same year that this took place, 1991, Gül held a seat on the Planning and Budget Commission of the Turkish Grand National

Assembly (TBMM). One of the defining features of the Refah Partisi is its Islamic roots (Britannica, 2009). In the following decade, Gül served as an active and founding member of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), and in the following year, 2002, he rose to the position of Prime Minister. In 2007, Gül won an election to become the 11th President of Turkey, held by the Turkish Grand National Assembly. In the evaluation section, comprehensive information will be presented about the previous President's statements and dominant frames regarding newspapers.

The next item for official sources is the prime minister. Over the course of the Gezi Park Protests, Recep T. Erdoğan served in this position, who was then leader of the AKP. This politician had a comparable background to Gül, but his statements pertaining to the Gezi Park protests were associated with conflict. Prior to founding the AKP, Erdoğan was active in the National Salvation Party and the Welfare Party, and he served as the mayor or Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in the 1994 to 1997 period. One of the key features of the National Salvation Party was its Islamic roots, as was the case with the Welfare Party. A notable event that took place on 12 December 1997 was Erdoğan's imprisonment for a speech he delivered to the public in Siirt. The speech involved the recitation of a poem associated with Islamism, war, and nationalism, and this resulted in his removal from his position as mayor. Since Erdoğan could not serve as a deputy candidate in the 2002 general election owing to a pending court decision, he instead took part in the Siirt province deputy renewal election in 2003. The notable result from this activity was Erdoğan's receipt of 85% of the votes in the election, and he then entered parliament as a 22nd term Siirt deputy. Following this, he began to operate as Prime Minister and the leader of the AKP. As the current and 12th President of Turkey, Erdoğan was elected to this position in 2014 (Presidency, 2017). In the evaluation section, comprehensive information will be

presented about the previous Prime Minister's statements and dominant frames regarding newspaper presentation.

The third item is minister(s), which is notable since 40 ministers gave statements about the Gezi Park protests in this study's sample of 14 daily newspapers.

The fourth item pertaining to official sources is public officials. In terms of who is included here, this involves the Governor of Istanbul during the Gezi Park protests, namely, Hüseyin Avni Mutlu; and the Metropolitan Mayor of Istanbul during the protests, namely, Kadir Topbaş.

In terms of the final item for official sources, this constitutes leaders and members of the opposition party. Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu from the CHP (leader of Republican People's Party), Devlet Bahçeli from the MHP (leader of Nationalist Movement Party), Sırrı Süreyya Önder from the BDP (Peace and Democracy Party), and other oppositional party members have been evaluated with this item.

Unofficial sources represent non-elite sources and following items have been used: Experts, Non-Governmental Organizations, Journalists/Newspapers/Other Media, Wo/man on the street and protestors.

Regarding the expert item, this involves sociologists, political scientists, economists, and other highly-qualified individuals. With respect to the second item, NGOs are pertinent to consider. For the third, this includes reporters, photojournalists, journalists, freelance journalists, and alternative media platforms (including Çapul TV and Gezi Postası). Regarding the fourth item, this involves tourists, citizens, and any

other individuals who did not participate in the protests. The final item is the protesters themselves (activists, sport fan groups and individual activists).

Three main items were used to identify dominant frames: Informative, Peace and Conflict. No sub-items were used under the Informative item. This title was observed in news that defined events in the most neutral way (See Figure 4). There are sub-items in the Peace and Conflict frameworks.

Under the main item of the Peace frame, there are 5 sub items. (1) Solution Frame, (2) Balance-Descriptive Frame, (3) Empathy Frame, (4) Win-win Frame and (5) Anti-nationalist Frame.

News and columns that highlighted the solution-oriented statements were analyzed under the "Solution Frame" item. Haber Türk (See Figure 8) newspaper's news story about former President Abdullah Gül's statement can be given as example of solution frame. "İyi niyetli mesajlar alınmıştır". "Good faith messages have been received". (Haber Türk, June 4, 2013) This kind of news stories have been evaluated under "Solution Frame".

Figure 8: Haber Türk Newspaper's Solution Frame Example, June 4 2013

The news that the sides were equally promised was examined under the "Balance-Descriptive Frame". Citizens protesting at the Gezi Park protests and government officials trying to stop and overcome the demands of this protest, instead of listening to them. Another side of the incident was President Abdullah Gül and Prime Minister Bülent Arınç who both agreed that the message given by the protesters was understood. Taksim Solidarity Platform is a platform composed of a combination of many NGOs working to pass the protestors' demands. Zaman newspaper (See Figure 9) has a "Balance-Descriptive Frame" example. They quoted from former President Abdullah Gül. "Eylemcilere sükunet, hükümete 'kaygılara kulak ver' çağrısı". "Call for tranquility to the activists, call to pay attention for concerns to the government". (Zaman, June 2, 2013)

Figure 9: Zaman Newspaper's Balance-Descriptive Frame Example, June 2, 2013

Another framing item was "Empathy Frame", which puts itself on the other side of the story, and the news and columns in which feelings were tried to be understood were evaluated. Nebahat Koç from Akşam newspaper has an interview with Political Scientist Prof. Dr. Ersin Kalaycıoğlu. Kalaycıoğlu identifies Gezi Protests as first unorganized, unplanned, non-leaderless civil society movement. (Akşam, June 6, 2013)

Under the "Win-win Frame" item, mutual earnings during the protests were evaluated and the news that the success was the forefront. Hürriyet newspaper(See Figure 10) has a news story example for this item. Former Prime Minister's statements about environmentalism. "Çevrede ortak olalım". "Let's make a partnership about environment". (Hürriyet, June 8, 2013)

Figure 10: Hürriyet Newspaper's Win-win Frame Example, June 8, 2013

Another peace frame was identified as an "anti-nationalist frame". Under this item, news and columns were contained, which included messages that support the forgiveness and unity of the different sides. Zaman newspaper (See Figure 11) has an example for this item. The former governor of İstanbul, Hüseyin Avni Mutlu's statement about forgiveness by protestors. "Bir gönül için bin özür dilerim". "I apologize thousand times for a heart." In the introduction of news story, Mutlu continues: "Her birey bizim için değerli ve özeldir". "Every individual is valuable and special for us". (Zaman, June 10, 2013)

Figure 11: Zaman Newspaper's Antinationalist Frame Example, June 10, 2013

When we look at the sub items for the solution frame, which is evaluated under the main items of Peace frame, we see (1) Inclusive Oriented, (2) We are friend oriented, (3) Common ground oriented, and (4) Friendly speech oriented.

The newspapers that supported government policies under the "Inclusive" item and saw the newspapers which did not want to disturb the government regarded the protestors as the other, but at the same time, they saw protesters that they viewed it as an integral part of the whole. At the same time, the news that the newspapers criticizing the government regarded the editors as complementary parts of the common problems were also evaluated under the same item. Haber Türk newspaper (See Figure 12) has a news story example for this item. Singer Sezen Aksu state that "Gezi'deki dayanışma ve sevgi dilini öğrenelim. Özgür ve sivil geleceğe bu dil taşıyacak bizi". "Let's learn the language of solidarity and love in Gezi Park. This language will carry us a free and civilian future." (Haber Türk, June 6, 2013)

Figure 12: Haber Türk Newspaper's Inclusive Example, June 6, 2013

Under "We are Friend" item, news stories of different ideological newspapers were seen as friendly to the other side. In the context of interpersonal communication, it is sometimes necessary to consider that there may be disagreements among friends and that these disagreements can be resolved through mutual negotiation. In the definition of "other", it is important to see the other side as negotiable. Taha Akyol from Hürriyet newspaper mentions about seeing the society social life. You look from perspective of sociology, at societies as an expression of a social and political problem. You will try to socialize, to dialogue, to calm with them and separate hooligans and militants. (Hürriyet, June 6, 2013)

Under "Common ground" item, news was emphasized that common values were put in the foreground instead of conflict, and actions for common purposes should be taken. Zaman newspaper (See Figure 13) has a news story example for this item. Mayor of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality Kadir Topbaş has a statement in this news: "Durakların yeri değişse bile halka soracağız". "We will ask to the public even if the bus stops change place".

Figure 13: Zaman Newspaper's Common Ground Item Example, June 21, 2013

Under "Friendly Speech" item, news stories were reported about producing constructive solutions for the other side's requests. There were also moments when the Taksim Solidarity Platform was trying to produce constructive solutions to the park-related requests in the Gezi Park protests, which were also reported. Especially during this period when Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan went abroad, President Abdullah Gül, Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınc and Governor of İstanbul Hüseyin Avni Mutlu were evaluated under "Friendly Speech" item. Nilüfer Narlı from Milliyet newspaper has an interview with protestors in front of tents with a friendly picnic. "Bizde farklı bir şey var". "We have something different". This kind of news stories and columns were evaluated in "Friendly Speech" item (Milliyet, June 9, 2013).

The sub-items for the "Balance Descriptive" frame, which is evaluated under the Peace frame main title: (1) Fair Play Oriented, (2) Self-Criticize oriented, and (3) Applaud oriented.

Under the "Fair Play Oriented" item, news and columns were evaluated as being the frontline of justice. In other words, news and columns from the perspective of fairness to events during the Gezi Park protests were evaluated under this item. Justice includes equality of rights according to needs, not only equality. Yeni Şafak columnist Ergün Yıldırım has an example column article for this item: "Adalet mi, kalkınma mı?". "Justice or development?". He interrogates government's politics about Gezi Park protests and other internal affairs.

Under the "Self-Criticize Oriented" item, news and columns were criticized, while reports of criticism by protesters or government forces were evaluated. Here, an evaluation was made in terms of the fact that journalists are close to the elite sources

or protesters according to their ideological stance. Hürriyet newspaper (See Figure 14) has an example for this item: "Gazda yanlışlık var…". "Gas was a mistake…" The news is about excessive pepper gas usage by police officers on protestors. (Hürriyet, June 2, 2013)

Figure 14: Hürriyet Newspaper's Self-Criticize Example, June 2, 2013

Under the "Applaud Oriented" item, news and columns appreciated by the opposing side according to the ownership and ideological structure of the newspapers were evaluated. If the side as the journalist defined the other side is doing something good and thought it deserves applause, it was evaluated under this item. Taraf newspaper (See Figure 15) has an example for this item: "Demokrasi kazandı". "Demokrasi won". The news story is about referendum and legal process for Gezi Park. (Taraf, June 15, 2013)

Figure 15: Taraf Newspaper's Applaud Oriented Example, June 15, 2013

The sub-items for the "Empathy Frame" under the main item of Peace frame are as follows: (1) Understanding the Other Orient, (2) Trust Oriented, (3) Unprejudiced Oriented, The self-oriented.

Under the "Understanding the Other Oriented" item, news was reported that it was the forerunner to try to understand the other side. As we have already mentioned, it is necessary to consider that the opposing side has changed according to the ideological structure and ownership of the newspapers. Emre Uslu from Taraf newspaper has a column article about police officers as an example for this item. "Gezi Parkı olayları için polis ne düşünüyor?". "What does police think about Gezi Park movement?". He tries to understand police officers and government. (Taraf, June 5, 2013)

Under the "Trust Oriented" item, news that includes confidence in the other side was evaluated. It should not be forgotten that conflicts cannot be solved without confidence. Haber Türk newspaper (See Figure 16) have a news story about Gezi Park referendum and they trust this solution and meeting with a delegation by government. "Formül referendum". "Formul/solution is referendum". (Haber Türk, June 13, 2013)

Figure 16: Haber Türk Newspaper's Trust Oriented Example, June 13, 2013

In the news, the counterparty should not be shown as a threat. The side to be negotiated must be trusted. "Unprejudiced Frame", defined as free from prejudice and rigid ideas. If we have prejudice on the other, we cannot find common solution and negotiation. Haber Türk newspaper (See Figure 17) has a news story example for this item. The news is about negotiation meeting between some groups from Taksim and former Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. "Gezi'ye randevu". "Appointment to Gezi". (Haber Türk, June 11, 2013)

Figure 17: Haber Türk Newspaper' Unprejudiced Example, June 11, 2013

"Accept Other as it is Oriented" item includes understanding other without change request and considering other's ideas. Hürriyet (See Figure 18) newspaper has a news story example for this item. Newspaper shows demography of Gezi protestors with a research of KONDA researchers. "Okumuş çocuklar". "They are literate children". (Hürriyet, June 14, 2013)

Figure 18: Hürriyet Newspaper's
Accept Other as it is Oriented Example, June 14, 2013

Ersoy (2010) defines "Other in the self-oriented" as talking about the other without discrimination between "us and them" while evaluating the issues. There is no significant example for this item in newspapers.

"Win-win Frame" under the main item of Peace frame are as follows: (1) Emphasize both sides' pains oriented, (2) Good/Good or Bad/Bad oriented.

"Emphasize both sides' pains oriented" item includes suffering for all parts of society. When a news story or column mention about pains of protestors and police officers we can evaluate this news story or column in this item. Hürriyet newspaper (See Figure 19) has a news story example for this item. In this news, Hürriyet newspaper writes about sufferings of all sides in Gezi Protests. "Yaralıyız, yorgunuz". "We are wounded and tired". (Hürriyet, June 13, 2013)

Figure 19: Hürriyet Newspaper's
Emphasize Both Side's Pains Oriented Example, June 13, 2013

Under the "Good/Good or Bad/Bad Oriented" item evaluates news stories or columns were reported as identify right things as good and wrong things as bad. If there is a conflict, newspapers should not change reality of good and bad things. If a protester or police officer act as fair or with any good feeling news story or columns, consider them as good thing. Yeni Şafak newspaper has a news story example for this item. In this news, Yeni Şafak newspaper writes about disproportionate pressure by police officers and some protestors. "İkisi de orantısız". "Both of them disproportionate". (Yeni Şafak, June 1, 2013)

"Anti-nationalist frame" under the main item of Peace frame are as follows: (1) Forgiveness Oriented, (2) History-Culture Oriented.

"Forgiveness Oriented" item includes lessons from past sufferings. News stories and columns with constructive style have been evaluated with this item.

Under "History-Culture Oriented" item news stories or columns were including historical and cultural information in order to understand the roots of the conflict. Oktay Akbal from Cumhuriyet newspaper has a column article about this item. He has statements about historical background of conflict between seculars and conservatives in Turkey. "Geçmişten ders almak". "Learn from the past". (Cumhuriyet, June 2, 2013)

Under the main item of the Conflict frame, there are 5 sub items. (1) Status Quo Frame, (2) Unbalance Frame, (3) Antipathy Frame, (4) Win-lose Frame and (5) Nationalist Frame.

News and columns that highlighted the supporting status quo statements were evaluated under the "Status Quo Frame" item. Status quo refers to promote existing system of government. If an existing system of government does not need change how can we solve conflict situations in this system? Status Quo saw the social movements as a threat, protesters as enemy, followers as jerked mass. Star newspaper (See Figure 20) has a news story example for this item. News story highlights throwing stone to police officers from some groups and shows protestors as a threat to status quo. (Star, June 1, 2013)

Figure 20: Star Newspaper's Status Quo Example, June 1, 2013

"Unbalance Frame" can be identified as condemnation to the other for conflict with an unbalanced perspective. News and columns that highlighted bad assumptions on opposite side in Gezi Park protests have been evaluated with this item. Türkiye newspaper (See Figure 21) has an example for this item. News story shows protest as a project of western countries and "external outbreaks" and blames protestors. "Taksim Tahriki: Bahane ile ülkeyi karıştırıyorlar". "Propulsion of Taksim: They mix the country with excuse". (Türkiye, June 1, 2013)

Figure 21: Türkiye Newspaper's Unbalance Frame Example, June 1, 2013

"Antipathy Frame" is the opposite item of "Empathy Frame" and includes strong feeling of dislike to the other side. News and columns that include dislike, humiliation, smearing, hate speech about the other were been evaluated in this item. Sözcü newspaper has many examples for this item, especially about former Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. "Shut up Tayyip!" (Sözcü, June 15, 2013)

"Win-lose frame" believes that at the end of every conflict there will be a winner and loser. According to this frame other side is evil. News and columns that include satisfaction of one side and defeat for other side were been evaluated in this item.

Cumhuriyet newspaper (See Figure 22) has an example for this item. News story shows Gezi Protests as a victory of public. "Halkın zaferi: Türkiye daha önce görülmemiş bir direniş yaşadı. Hükümet geri adım attı". "People's victory: Turkey has experienced an unprecedented resistance. The government has stepped back" (Cumhuriyet, June 2, 2013)

Figure 22: Cumhuriyet Newspaper's Win-lose Frame Example, June 2, 2013

"Nationalist Frame" used for identified revenge idea and look for a scapegoat view in social movements. News and columns that highlight retribution or calumniation were been evaluated in this item. Sabah newspaper has a news story example for this item. News story claims about "enemies" of Turkey and shows protestors as terrorists. "Bu oyunların hedefi Türkiye". "Turkey is the target of these games". (Sabah, June 17, 2013)

The sub-items for the "Status Quo" frame, which is evaluated under the Conflict frame main title: (1) Exclusive oriented, (2) They are our enemy oriented, (3) Just war oriented, (4) Hate speech oriented and (5) Threatening oriented.

During the Gezi Park protests, news and columns that exclude and insult the opposite side statements were analyzed under the "Exclusive Oriented" item. This item also

includes ethnic discrimination to opposite side. Yeni Şafak newspaper (See Figure 23) has a news story example for this item. News story highlights foreigners in Gezi Park protests. "Meydanda yabancı var". "There is a foreigner in the square" (Yeni Şafak, June 4, 2013).

Figure 23: Yeni Şafak Newspaper's Exclusive Oriented Example, June 4, 2013

"They are our enemy oriented" item identifies the other as nemesis. This item legitimizes police violence or violence movement in protests. News stories or columns that include these kinds of antagonistic statements were been evaluated in this item. Türkiye newspaper has a news story example for this item. News story highlights police officers as heroic and protesters as enemy. "Polis, kahramanlık destanı yazmıştır!" "Heroic epic of police officers!" (Türkiye, June 25, 2013)

According to "Just war oriented" item, there is no solution without conflict or war. Also, this item legitimizes violence in social movements by police officers or protesters and excludes negotiation between conflict sides. Selçuk Candansavar from Birgün newspapers has a column article example for this item. He concentrates on resistance of protestors as a victory against Prime Minister and he looks the protests

like a civil war. "Diktatör ve avanesi düştü, yeni Türkiye doğuyor". "The dictator and his stooge fell down, new Turkey is born". (Birgün, June 3, 2013)

Ersoy (2010) defines "Hate speech oriented" as statements about the opposite side with phraseology of swearing, vengeance, hate. This item looks to an individual or a group based on race, ethnic background, religious belief, gender.

> At the core of hate speech lie prejudices, racism, xenophobia, partiality, discrimination, sexism and homophobia. Factors such as cultural identities as well as group characteristics have an impact on the use of hate speech; yet certain circumstances such as rising nationalism or intolerance towards what is different further increases hate speech as well as its impact. (Hrant Dink Foundation, 2011)

Birgün newspaper identifies former Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as a Proah. This word is used in Turkey as an hate speech in a religious perspective. "Firavunun çırpınışı". "Proah's last stand". (Birgün, June 17, 2013)

"Threatening Oriented" item includes threats to other instead of negotiation. News stories or columns that include expressing or suggesting a threat of damage or danger were been evaluated with this item. Sözcü newspaper has a news story example for this item. News story highlights revenge to Prime Minister. "Tayyip yine kışkırttı, yine meydan okudu ama... Unutma! Seni bu halk çıkardı, yine bu halk indirir". "Tayyip provoked again and again challenged but... Do not forget! These people have chosen you, and these people will bring down." (Sözcü, June 10, 2013)

The sub-items for the "Unbalance Frame", which is evaluated under the Conflict frame main title: (1) Sport oriented, (2) Accuse Other oriented and (3) Blame oriented.

According to "Sport Oriented" item represents the conflict like a sport match. News stories or columns that include winner/loser in a social movement were been evaluated with "Sport Oriented" item. Star newspaper looks prime minister's statements as a chess attack. "Faiz lobisine şah çekti". "He checks to interest rate loby". (Star, June 10, 2013)

Another conflict frame was identified as "Accuse Other". Under this item, news and columns were charge the reason of conflict to other side, which included ignoring self-mistakes were been evaluated in "Accuse Other" item. Star newspaper looks protestors as other and "marginal". According to newspapers headlines and columns, reason of conflict is protesting and protestors. "Marjinal temizlik". "Cleaning marjinal". (Star, June 19, 2013)

"Blame Oriented" item give the full responsibility of conflict to opposite side and always see themselves as right side. Cumhuriyet newspaper has a news story example for this item. News story look police officers as paramilitaries. "Polis milis oldu". "The police became militia". (Cumhuriyet, June 24, 2013)

The sub-items for the "Antipathy Frame", which is evaluated under the Conflict frame main title: (1) Other is the threat oriented, (2) Distrust oriented (3) Prejudiced oriented, (4) Inferior oriented, (5) Self and other oriented.

"Other is the threat oriented" item rejects negotiation with opposite side. According to these kinds of news stories or columns other is always a threat and there is no need try to reach an agreement. Star newspaper looks protestors as a threat on economy and development. "Şehirler kararacak, ekonomi çökecekti". "Cities could be decadent, the

economy could collapse" (Star, June 20, 2013). These statements legitimate police violence against protestors.

"Distrust oriented" item shows lack of confidence to opposite side. News stories and columns with mistrust view were evaluated in this item. Sözcü newspaper always distrust to former Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and see him as opposite side. Newspaper compares his internal affairs on terror movements and Gezi Protests and blame him. "PKK'yla kucaklaşıyor, halkla inatlaşıyor". "He embraces with the PKK, stubborn with the citizens" (Sözcü, June 9, 2013).

"Prejudiced oriented" news stories and columns states on social movements with rigid ideas and always have prejudiced view. Yeni Şafak has prejudices about protests. Newspaper look protests as a plan of external powers. "Bu öfkeyi kim yönetiyor". Who manage this indignation". (Yeni Şafak, June 2, 2013)

"Inferior oriented" news stories and columns humiliate and insult the opposite side. Also giving nick name can be identified in this item. Ateş İlyas Başsoy from Birgün newspaper has a column article example for this item. He appeals to prime minister with using his first characters of name and surname and marginalize him. "Biz halkız, majinal olan RTE". "We are the people, RTE is the marginal". (Birgün, June 6, 2013)

"Self and other oriented" item shows evaluating issues with differentiation of "us" and "them" perspective. This kind of news stories and columns always use first person plural pronoun (we) for identifying self and third person plural pronoun (they) for identifying other. Star newspaper (See Figure 24) has a news story example for this item. Former Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's statement identify protestors as

the others. He looks protestors as opposite side of his supporters. "Tek besmeleyle oyunlarını bozarız". "Thanks to prayer we can break their games". (Star, June 23, 2013)

Figure 24: Star Newspaper's Self and Other Oriented Example, June 23, 2013

The sub-items for the "Win-lose Frame", which is evaluated under the Conflict frame main title: (1) Emphasize one side's pains oriented and (2) Good and evil oriented.

"Emphasize one side's pains oriented" item focuses on sufferings of only one side. This kind of news stories and columns ignore sufferings of opposite side. Cumhuriyet newspaper use similar headlines between 31 May – 3 June 2013 and focused from one side. "Halk direniyor, Halkın zaferi, Halkla çatışıyor". "People resists, People's victory, He clash with People". (Cumhuriyet, 31 May, 1-2-3 June, 2013)

"Good and evil oriented" item is based on the "we are good", "they are evil" dichotomy. According to Star newspaper supporters of Prime Minister are the good,

Gezi Park protestors are the evil. "Yüzbinler Sincan'daki Milli İradeye Saygı Mitinginde Buluştu: Biz Sabırla Direniriz". "Hundreds of Thousands met together in Respect for National Will in Sincan: We Resist with patience". (Star, June 16, 2013)

Finally, the sub-items for the "Nationalist frame" has been examined in the conflict frame. "Nationalist frame" have two sub-items: (1) Revenge oriented and (2) Who throw the first stone oriented.

"Revenge oriented" item focuses on retribution for opposite side. This kind of news stories and columns expect a revenge on "other". Sabah newspaper expect a revenge from Prime Minister because of Gezi Park protests and newspaper uses his statements about revenge and punishment. "Kimsenin yanına kar kalmayacak". "No one will profit" (Sabah, June 12, 2013).

"Who throw the first stone oriented" item looks for responsible of conflict from opposite side. Milliyet newspaper interrogates who started the conflict with a news story about social media and twitter messages. News story includes accusation of protestors by presuciton. "Eylemcilere ağır suçlama: 140 karakterle isyana teşvik". "Serious accusation to the activists: Encouragement to rebel with 140 characters". (Milliyet, June 6, 2013)

5.2 Evaluation of Turkish National Newspapers' News Stories

The content analysis coding schema devised by Ersoy (2010) for the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot press headlines is valuable when attempting to analyze frames, source usage, and headline formation. A comparable coding schema is employed in the present research and adapted to Turkish newspapers' headlines regarding the Gezi

Park protests. Each news story is examined with multiple frames and frequently consisted with more than one frame.

Based on the application of the coding schema, 45% of the Turkish national newspapers' headlines pertaining to the Gezi Park protests are conflict-oriented, while 31% and 24% are informative-oriented and peace-oriented, respectively (see Table 6). In view of this, it is possible to conclude that the peace frame is far less prevalent than the conflict and informative frames.

Table 5: Dominant frames of Turkish National Newspapers on Gezi Park Protests

		Responses	
		N	Percent
Dominant Frames	Informative	215	31.0%
	Peace	166	24.0%
	Conflict	312	45.0%
Total		693	100.0%

In terms of the distribution of dominant frames, Table 7 outlines a high percentage of conflict-oriented frames (see Table 7). With 96% conflict-oriented stories, Sözcü shows the highest percentage, while the 44.4% conflict-oriented number for Zaman highlights it as the lowest percentage. Overall, the conflict-oriented frame was the most prevalent in all examined newspapers. In terms of the percentage of peace-oriented frames, Haber Türk (55.2%), Cumhuriyet (54.8%) and Milliyet (54.8%) ranked at the top, while Sözcü (13.8%) and Star (22.2%) ranked at the bottom. With respect to informative-oriented frames, Hürriyet (69.7%) and Haber Türk (69%) ranked at the top while Star (22.2%) and Türkiye (26.7%) ranked at the bottom.

Table 6: Distribution of Dominant Frames on Turkish National Newspapers about Gezi Park Protests

	Dominant Frames			Total
	Informative	Peace	Conflict	
Akşam	19	15	25	30
	63.3%	50.0%	83.3%	
	4.6%	3.6%	6.0%	7.2%
Birgün	19	12	29	33
	57.6%	36.4%	87.9%	
	4.6%	2.9%	7.0%	8.0%
Cumhuriyet	18	17	27	31
	58.1%	54.8%	87.1%	
	4.3%	4.1%	6.5%	7.5%
Haber Türk	20	16	19	29
	69.0%	55.2%	65.5%	
	4.8%	3.9%	4.6%	7.0%
Hürriyet	23	17	25	33
	69.7%	51.5%	75.8%	
	5.6%	4.1%	6.0%	8.0%
Milliyet	21	17	17	31
	67.7%	54.8%	54.8%	
	5.1%	4.1%	4.1%	7.5%
Sabah	12	14	18	28
	42.9%	50.0%	64.3%	
	2.9%	3.4%	4.3%	6.8%
Sözcü	12	4	28	29
	41.4%	13.8%	96.6%	
	2.9%	1.0%	6.8%	7.0%
Star	6	6	24	27
	22.2%	22.2%	88.9%	
	1.4%	1.4%	5.8%	6.5%
Taraf	19	8	18	29
	65.5%	27.6%	62.1%	
	4.6%	1.9%	4.3%	7.0%
Türkiye	8	7	26	30
	26.7%	23.3%	86.7%	
	1.9%	1.7%	6.3%	7.2%
Yeni Çağ	16	10	19	28
	57.1%	35.7%	67.9%	
	3.9%	2.4%	4.6%	6.8%
Yeni Şafak	10	10	25	29
	34.5%	34.5%	86.2%	
	2.4%	2.4%	6.0%	7.0%
Zaman	12	13	12	27
	44.4%	48.1%	44.4%	
	2.9%	3.1%	2.9%	6.5%
Total	215	166	312	414
	51.9%	40.1%	75.4%	100.0%

Results in Figure 6 shows that newspapers frequently prefer to publish headlines with quotation format instead of description and comment format. Headline formation was examined using the following items: (i) quotation; (ii) description; and (iii) comment. The most prevalent item was quotation (56.1%), and Figure 25 shows that the description item (19.3%) was the lowest. The comment item was in between these with 24.6%.
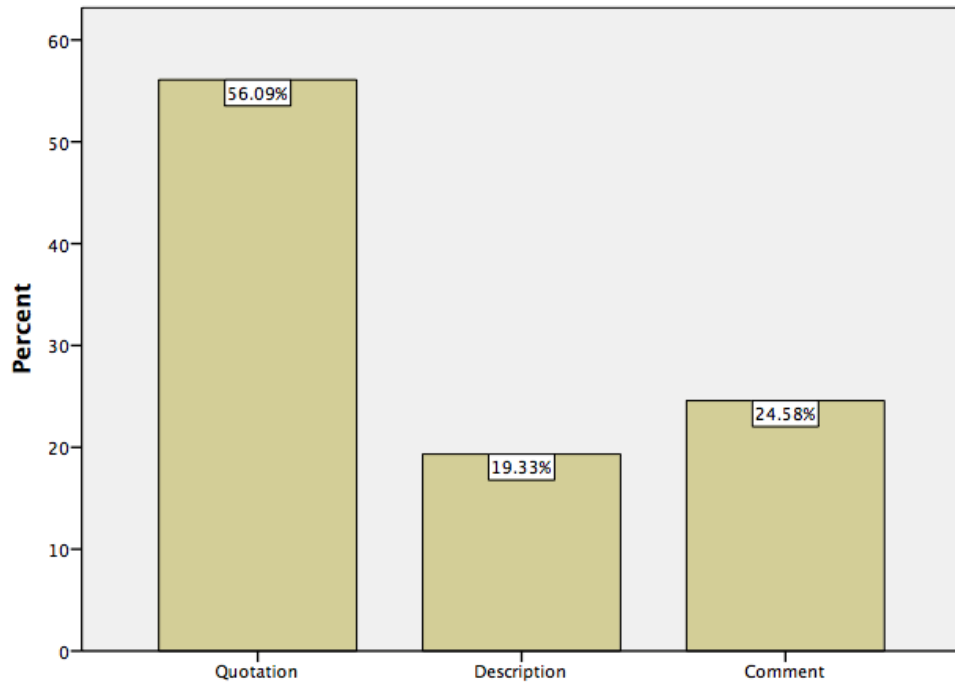
Figure 25: Formation of Headline

Table 8 outlines the newspapers' distribution of headline formation, where the greatest level of the quotation item was observed for Sabah and Haber Türk (82.8%). Sözcü (10%) and Birgün (36.4%) ranked at the bottom for this item. Regarding the description item, Akşam ranked at the top (36.7%), while Sözcü and Türkiye (both 6.7%) ranked at the bottom. In terms of the quotation item, percentages associated with description are generally lower than the quotation. As for the comment item, Sözcü ranked at the top (83.3%). Notably, Haber Türk did not use any comments in the

headline, while Sabah (6.9%), Akşam (6.7%), and Zaman (3.7%) ranked at the bottom.

Figure 6 shows the description format has the lowest percentage (19.3%) and comment

format has 24.6%.

Table 7: Formation of the headlines of Turkish National Newspapers on Gezi Protests

| | Formation of the headline | | | Total |
	Quotation	Description	Comment	
Akşam	17	11	2	30
	56.7%	36.7%	6.7%	100.0%
	4.1%	2.6%	0.5%	7.2%
Birgün	12	6	15	33
	36.4%	18.2%	45.5%	100.0%
	2.9%	1.4%	3.6%	7.9%
Cumhuriyet	14	4	14	32
	43.8%	12.5%	43.8%	100.0%
	3.3%	1.0%	3.3%	7.6%
Haber Türk	24	5	0	29
	82.8%	17.2%	0.0%	100.0%
	5.7%	1.2%	0.0%	6.9%
Hürriyet	21	8	4	33
	63.6%	24.2%	12.1%	100.0%
	5.0%	1.9%	1.0%	7.9%
Milliyet	18	9	4	31
	58.1%	29.0%	12.9%	100.0%
	4.3%	2.1%	1.0%	7.4%
Sabah	24	3	2	29
	82.8%	10.3%	6.9%	100.0%
	5.7%	0.7%	0.5%	6.9%
Sözcü	3	2	25	30
	10.0%	6.7%	83.3%	100.0%
	0.7%	0.5%	6.0%	7.2%
Star	19	5	4	28
	67.9%	17.9%	14.3%	100.0%
	4.5%	1.2%	1.0%	6.7%
Taraf	11	9	10	30
	36.7%	30.0%	33.3%	100.0%
	2.6%	2.1%	2.4%	7.2%
Türkiye	24	2	4	30
	80.0%	6.7%	13.3%	100.0%
	5.7%	0.5%	1.0%	7.2%
Yeni Çağ	17	5	6	28
	60.7%	17.9%	21.4%	100.0%
	4.1%	1.2%	1.4%	6.7%
Yeni Şafak	13	4	12	29
	44.8%	13.8%	41.4%	100.0%
	3.1%	1.0%	2.9%	6.9%
Zaman	18	8	1	27
	66.7%	29.6%	3.7%	100.0%
	4.3%	1.9%	0.2%	6.4%
Total	235	81	103	419
	56.1%	19.3%	24.6%	100.0%

In view of these findings, it is possible to conclude that the newspapers were more likely to include the comment format when compared to the description format. This was especially the case for Sözcü, which generally used the comment format for headlines pertaining to the protests, and it also levelled criticism at the decisions of the government (See Figure 7).

Figure 26: Sözcü's front page, 15 June 2013

5.2.1 Sources of Stories in the Turkish Newspapers' News stories

Widespread negligence was identified across the newspapers with respect to the issue of source usage and the citation of sources in the stories (See Figure 27). For the most part, newspapers failed to provide information prior to or following the publication of the news. 22.6% of the newspapers used news produced by their own reporters, while 74.4% failed to refer to any sources. These figures were especially low for news agencies and other media (both 1.4%).
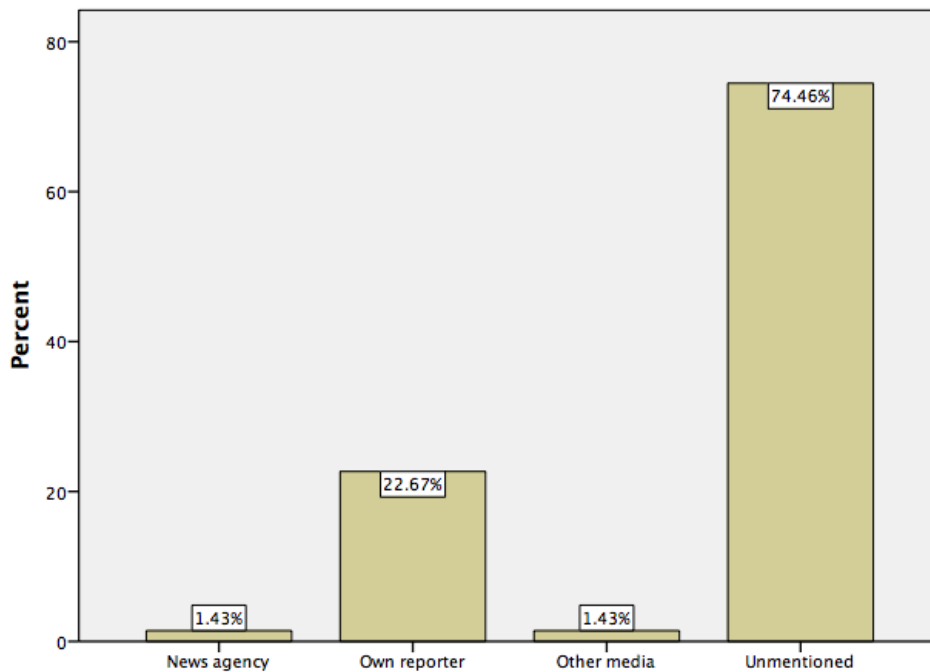
Figure 27: The source of stories in the Turkish national newspapers
on the Gezi Park Protests

5.2.1.1 Official Sources in News Stories

Prior to the analysis, the supposition was made that newspapers operating in Turkey would rely to a greater degree on official sources with quotations. The general percentages associated with official source utilization rates were examined, and this demonstrated that newspapers mainly quoted official government sources (91.15%). Only 8.85% did not draw on official government sources (see Figure 28).
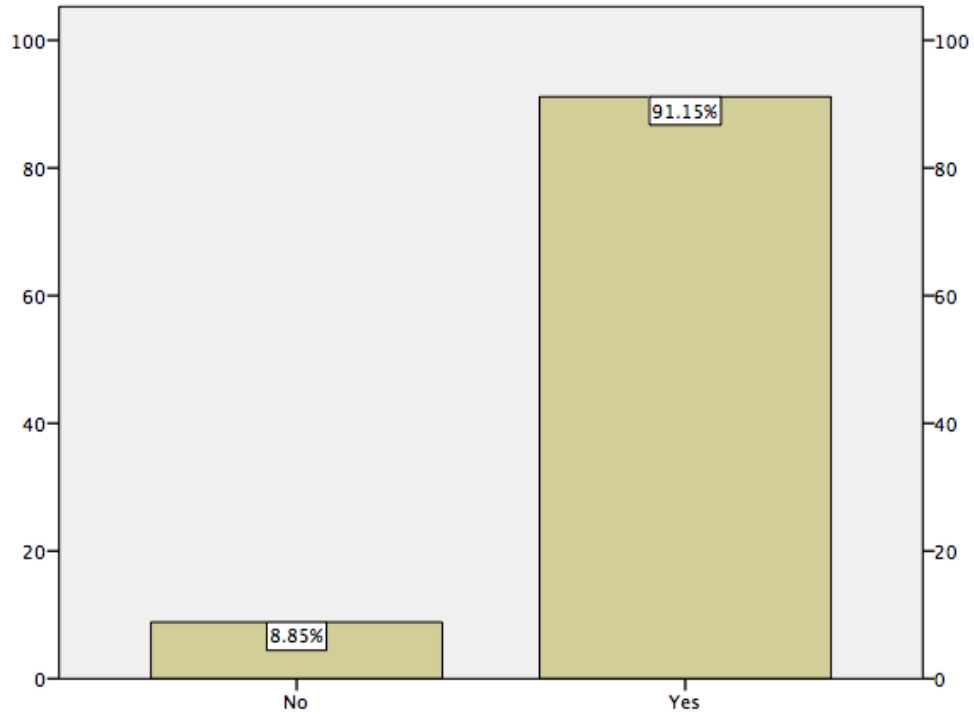
Figure 28: Quoted official government sources

In terms of the distribution of quoted official government sources in headlines, as indicated in Table 9, the Prime Minister was the most-quoted source (31.7%) while the President was the least-quoted source (8.3%). President was followed by Public Officials (21.7%), Minister(s) (20%), and Opposition Party Leader/Members (18.3%).

Table 8: Official Sources

	Valid	
	N	Percent
President	72	8.3%
Prime Minister	275	31.7%
Minister(s)	174	20%
Public Officials	188	21.7%
Opposition Political Party Leader/Member	159	18.3%
Total	868	100%

With respect to the initial item for official sources, namely, the president, this source was relied on most heavily by Sabah (34.6%) and Milliyet (27.6%). Sözcü (0%), Star (11.5%), and Yeni Çağ (11.5%) ranked at the bottom in this respect. Sözcü (88%) and

Türkiye (82.1%) drew on the Prime Minister as the main source, while Zaman (61.5%), Akşam (62.1%), and Birgün (62.1%) ranked at the bottom for this item. Regarding Minister(s), Sözcü (8%) and Zaman (26.9%) ranked at the bottom while Yeni Şafak (64.3%) and Milliyet (62.1%) ranked at the top. In addition, for Public Officials, Birgün (27.6%) and Yeni Çağ (34.6%) ranked at the bottom while Yeni Şafak (64.3%) and Taraf (58.6%) ranked at the top. With respect to the final item, Opposition Party Members, Yeni Çağ (76.9%) and Hürriyet (64.5%) ranked at the top while Star (15.4%) and Habertürk (17.2%) ranked at the bottom (See Table 10).

Table 9: Distribution of the Official Sources on Turkish Newspapers

	President	Prime Minister	Minister(s)	Public Officials	Opposition Political Party Leader / Members	Total
Akşam	5	18	9	11	17	29
	17.2%	62.1%	31.0%	37.9%	58.6%	
	1.3%	4.6%	2.3%	2.8%	4.3%	7.4%
Birgün	4	18	14	8	12	29
	13.8%	62.1%	48.3%	27.6%	41.4%	
	1.0%	4.6%	3.6%	2.0%	3.1%	7.4%
Cumhuriyet	4	21	12	15	16	30
	13.3%	70.0%	40.0%	50.0%	53.3%	
	1.0%	5.4%	3.1%	3.8%	4.1%	7.7%
Haber Türk	5	20	16	16	5	29
	17.2%	69.0%	55.2%	55.2%	17.2%	
	1.3%	5.1%	4.1%	4.1%	1.3%	7.4%
Hürriyet	5	20	16	16	20	31
	16.1%	64.5%	51.6%	51.6%	64.5%	
	1.3%	5.1%	4.1%	4.1%	5.1%	7.9%
Milliyet	8	21	18	16	13	29
	27.6%	72.4%	62.1%	55.2%	44.8%	
	2.0%	5.4%	4.6%	4.1%	3.3%	7.4%
Sabah	9	20	8	11	6	26
	34.6%	76.9%	30.8%	42.3%	23.1%	
	2.3%	5.1%	2.0%	2.8%	1.5%	6.6%
Sözcü	0	22	2	14	5	25
	0.0%	88.0%	8.0%	56.0%	20.0%	
	0.0%	5.6%	0.5%	3.6%	1.3%	6.4%
Star	3	19	13	11	4	26
	11.5%	73.1%	50.0%	42.3%	15.4%	
	0.8%	4.9%	3.3%	2.8%	1.0%	6.6%
Taraf	6	20	13	17	15	29
	20.7%	69.0%	44.8%	58.6%	51.7%	
	1.5%	5.1%	3.3%	4.3%	3.8%	7.4%
Türkiye	4	23	17	15	10	28
	14.3%	82.1%	60.7%	53.6%	35.7%	

	1.0%	5.9%	4.3%	3.8%	2.6%	7.2%
Yeni Çağ	3	17	11	9	20	26
	11.5%	65.4%	42.3%	34.6%	76.9%	
	0.8%	4.3%	2.8%	2.3%	5.1%	6.6%
Yeni Şafak	9	20	18	18	7	28
	32.1%	71.4%	64.3%	64.3%	25.0%	
	2.3%	5.1%	4.6%	4.6%	1.8%	7.2%
Zaman	7	16	7	11	9	26
	26.9%	61.5%	26.9%	42.3%	34.6%	
	1.8%	4.1%	1.8%	2.8%	2.3%	6.6%
Total	72	275	174	188	159	391
	18.4%	70.3%	44.5%	48.1%	40.7%	100.0%

5.2.1.2 Unofficial Sources in News Stories

In terms of the distribution of unofficial sources included in the newspapers' headlines, Table 11 indicates that protesters were the highest with 41.5% while people in the street were the lowest 9%. Following protesters, the next leading unofficial sources were NGOs (21.4%), journalists and newspapers (17.3%), and experts (10.7%).

Table 10: Unofficial Sources

	Valid	
	N	Percent
Experts	57	10.7%
NGO's	114	21.4%
Journalists/Newspapers	92	17.3%
Wo/man on the street	48	9%
Protestors	221	41.5%
Total	532	100%

Regarding the expert item, usage of this source was most prevalent with Hürriyet (15.8%) and Yeni Şafak (14%), while it was lowest with Star and Yeni Çağ. In fact, the latter two newspapers did not cite a single expert during the target period. In terms of NGO citation, Cumhuriyet (15.8%) was the leader in this respect while Haber Türk (1.8%) ranked at the bottom. However, it is important to note that the remaining 12 newspapers were associated with very low percentages for this item. Regarding the third item, journalists and newspapers, Birgün (14.1%) and Yeni Çağ (12%) ranked at

the top while Star (1.1%) and Haber Türk (1.1%) ranked at the bottom. For the people in the street item, Hürriyet (16.7%) and Birgün (14.6%) ranked at the top while Yeni Çağ ranked at the bottom (the latter never used this source). For the final item, the protesters, Hürriyet (12.2%) and Milliyet (11.8%) ranked at the top while Zaman (1.4%) ranked at the bottom (See Table 12).

Table 11: Unofficial Sources in Newspapers

| | Unofficial Sources | | | | | |
	Experts	NGO's	News-papers Journalist	Wo/Man on street	Protestors	Total
Akşam	7	6	3	6	6	17
	12.3%	5.3%	3.3%	12.5%	2.7%	
	2.3%	2.0%	1.0%	2.0%	2.0%	5.6%
Birgün	2	14	13	7	20	25
	3.5%	12.3%	14.1%	14.6%	9.0%	
	0.7%	4.6%	4.3%	2.3%	6.6%	8.2%
Cumhuriyet	6	18	9	3	14	25
	10.5%	15.8%	9.8%	6.3%	6.3%	
	2.0%	5.9%	3.0%	1.0%	4.6%	8.2%
Haber Türk	5	2	1	2	17	20
	8.8%	1.8%	1.1%	4.2%	7.7%	
	1.6%	0.7%	0.3%	0.7%	5.6%	6.6%
Hürriyet	9	12	5	8	27	27
	15.8%	10.5%	5.4%	16.7%	12.2%	
	3.0%	3.9%	1.6%	2.6%	8.9%	8.9%
Milliyet	4	7	9	4	26	27
	7.0%	6.1%	9.8%	8.3%	11.8%	
	1.3%	2.3%	3.0%	1.3%	8.5%	8.9%
Sabah	1	5	2	1	13	16
	1.8%	4.4%	2.2%	2.1%	5.9%	
	0.3%	1.6%	0.7%	0.3%	4.3%	5.2%
Sözcü	3	3	7	3	23	23
	5.3%	2.6%	7.6%	6.3%	10.4%	
	1.0%	1.0%	2.3%	1.0%	7.5%	7.5%
Star	0	4	1	4	8	12
	0.0%	3.5%	1.1%	8.3%	3.6%	
	0.0%	1.3%	0.3%	1.3%	2.6%	3.9%
Taraf	5	14	9	3	22	28
	8.8%	12.3%	9.8%	6.3%	10.0%	
	1.6%	4.6%	3.0%	1.0%	7.2%	9.2%
Türkiye	5	7	9	1	15	23
	8.8%	6.1%	9.8%	2.1%	6.8%	
	1.6%	2.3%	3.0%	0.3%	4.9%	7.5%
Yeni Çağ	0	5	11	0	11	22
	0.0%	4.4%	12.0%	0.0%	5.0%	
	0.0%	1.6%	3.6%	0.0%	3.6%	7.2%
Yeni Şafak	8	7	8	5	16	22
	14.0%	6.1%	8.7%	10.4%	7.2%	
	2.6%	2.3%	2.6%	1.6%	5.2%	7.2%

	2	10	5	1	3	18
Zaman	3.5%	8.8%	5.4%	2.1%	1.4%	
	0.7%	3.3%	1.6%	0.3%	1.0%	5.9%
Total	57	114	92	48	221	305
	18.7%	37.4%	30.2%	15.7%	72.5%	100.0%

5.2.2 Dominant Frames of Turkish Newspapers' News Stories

The purpose of this section is to outline the dominant peace and conflict frames which were observed in the analysis of the sample newspapers. Each frame is associated with 5 sub items. As indicated in Table 13, 419 front pages used the peace frame 352 times and the conflict frame 787 times. For the former, the anti-nationalist frame was associated with the lowest percentage (2.5%) while the solution frame (10.5%) and the balance-descriptive frame (9.3%) were associated with the highest percentage. For the conflict frame item, the antipathy frame (17.7%) and unbalance frame (14.9%) were associated with the highest percentage while the nationalist frame (8.7%) was associated with the lowest.

Table 12: Dominant Frames

		Cases	
		Valid	
		N	Percent
Peace Frames	Solution Frame	120	10,5%
	Balance-descriptive frame	106	9,3%
	Empathy frame	59	5,2%
	Win-win frame	39	3,4%
	Anti-nationalist frame	28	2,5%
Conflict Frames	Status quo frame	155	13,6%
	Unbalance frame	170	14,9%
	Antipathy frame	202	17,7%
	Win-lose frame	161	14,1%
	Nationalist frame	99	8,7%
	TOTAL	1139	100%

In terms of the distribution of peace frames within the headlines, as indicated in Table 13, this frame was used a total of 170 times. With respect to the highest users, the newspapers included Hürriyet (10%), Milliyet (10%), Cumhuriyet (9.4%), and Habertürk (9.4%). Contrastingly, the lowest ranks were occupied by Sözcü (2.4%), Türkiye (4.1%), and Star (4.7%).

The initial item for the peace frame is the solution, and Table 14 indicates that the highest-ranking newspapers here were Akşam (10%), Hürriyet (10%), and Milliyet (10%). The lowest positions were occupied by Birgün (3.3%) and Sözcü (3.3%). In terms of the balance-descriptive frame, Cumhuriyet (12.3%), Milliyet (12.3%), and Hürriyet (11.3%) ranked at the top while Sözcü (0.9%), Star (2.8%), and Türkiye (1.9%) ranked at the bottom. As for the empathy peace frame, Milliyet (22%) and Hürriyet (16.9%) ranked at the top while Birgün did not draw on the frame once. After Birgün, the next lowest positions were occupied by Türkiye (1.7%), and Sözcü (1.7%). With respect to the fourth peace frame item, win-win, Akşam (17.9%) ranked at the top while Sözcü, Star, Taraf, and Yeni Çağ did not use it once. Aside from the latter newspapers, the lowest positions were occupied by Türkiye (2.6%) and Yeni Şafak (2.6%). Regarding the anti-nationalist frame, Akşam (17.9%), Milliyet (17.9%), and Zaman (17.9%) ranked at the bottom while Birgün, Sözcü, and Taraf did not draw on it.

Table 13: Distribution of peace frames by newspapers

	Peace Frames					Total
	Solution Frame	Balance-Descriptive Frame	Empathy Frame	Win-win Frame	Anti-nationalist Frame	
Akşam	12	7	6	7	5	15
	10.0%	6.6%	10.2%	17.9%	17.9%	
	7.1%	4.1%	3.5%	4.1%	2.9%	8.8%
Birgün	4	9	0	3	0	12
	3.3%	8.5%	0.0%	7.7%	0.0%	
	2.4%	5.3%	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%	7.1%
Cumhuriyet	11	13	2	3	3	16
	9.2%	12.3%	3.4%	7.7%	10.7%	
	6.5%	7.6%	1.2%	1.8%	1.8%	9.4%
Haber Türk	10	7	7	6	1	16
	8.3%	6.6%	11.9%	15.4%	3.6%	
	5.9%	4.1%	4.1%	3.5%	0.6%	9.4%
Hürriyet	12	12	10	5	3	17
	10.0%	11.3%	16.9%	12.8%	10.7%	
	7.1%	7.1%	5.9%	2.9%	1.8%	10.0%
Milliyet	12	13	13	6	5	17
	10.0%	12.3%	22.0%	15.4%	17.9%	
	7.1%	7.6%	7.6%	3.5%	2.9%	10.0%
Sabah	10	8	3	2	1	14
	8.3%	7.5%	5.1%	5.1%	3.6%	
	5.9%	4.7%	1.8%	1.2%	0.6%	8.2%
Sözcü	4	1	1	0	0	4
	3.3%	0.9%	1.7%	0.0%	0.0%	
	2.4%	0.6%	0.6%	0.0%	0.0%	2.4%
Star	6	3	2	0	1	8
	5.0%	2.8%	3.4%	0.0%	3.6%	
	3.5%	1.8%	1.2%	0.0%	0.6%	4.7%
Taraf	8	5	3	0	0	9
	6.7%	4.7%	5.1%	0.0%	0.0%	
	4.7%	2.9%	1.8%	0.0%	0.0%	5.3%
Türkiye	7	2	1	1	2	7
	5.8%	1.9%	1.7%	2.6%	7.1%	
	4.1%	1.2%	0.6%	0.6%	1.2%	4.1%
Yeni Çağ	6	10	3	0	1	11
	5.0%	9.4%	5.1%	0.0%	3.6%	
	3.5%	5.9%	1.8%	0.0%	0.6%	6.5%
Yeni Şafak	7	4	2	1	1	10
	5.8%	3.8%	3.4%	2.6%	3.6%	
	4.1%	2.4%	1.2%	0.6%	0.6%	5.9%
Zaman	11	12	6	5	5	14
	9.2%	11.3%	10.2%	12.8%	17.9%	
	6.5%	7.1%	3.5%	2.9%	2.9%	8.2%
Total	120	106	59	39	28	170
	70.6%	62.4%	34.7%	22.9%	16.5%	100.0%

The sub items are associated with each of these frames, with the solution frame's common ground oriented item (22.1%) having the highest percentage for all 14 newspapers (See Table 15). As for the anti-nationalist frame, the history-culture oriented (1.1%) item ranked at the bottom.

Table 14: Peace Frames and sub-categories

Peace Frames	Sub-categories	Cases	
		Valid	
		N	Percent
Solution	Inclusive Oriented	28	6.3%
	We are friend oriented	11	2.5%
	Common ground oriented	98	22.1%
	Friendly speech oriented	36	8.1%
Balance Descriptive	Fair play oriented	42	9.5%
	Self criticises oriented	25	5.6%
	Applaud oriented	52	11.7%
Empathy	Understanding the other oriented	46	10.4%
	Trust oriented	13	2.9%
	Accept other as it is oriented	19	4.3%
	Other in the self-oriented	7	1.6%
Win-win	Emphasize both side's pains oriented	13	2.9%
	Good/good or bad/bad oriented	26	5.9%
Anti-nationalist	Forgiveness oriented	23	5.2%
	History-culture oriented	5	1.1%
	Total	444	100%

With respect to the distribution of the conflict frames in the headlines, Table 15 indicates that these featured a total of 308 times. In addition, Sözcü (9.4%), Birgün (9.1%), Türkiye (8.4%), and Yeni Şafak (8.4%) used the conflict frame most frequently, while Zaman (3.9%) and Milliyet (5.5%) used it least frequently.

Regarding the distribution of the conflict frames, the status-quo item was highest for Akşam (11.6%), Hürriyet (11.6%), and Star (9%). Contrastingly, it was lowest for Zaman (3.9%) and Cumhuriyet (4.5%). As for unbalance, Yeni Şafak (12.9%) and

Türkiye (11.8%) ranked at the top while Zaman (0.6%) and Milliyet (2.9%) ranked at the bottom. For the third item, antipathy, this was associated with the greatest percentage for Türkiye (10.9%) and Birgün (10.4%) and the lowest percentage for Yeni Çağ (3.5%) Zaman (4.5%), Taraf (4.5%), and Milliyet (4.5%). As for the win-lose item, Birgün (12.4%), Sözcü (11.8%), Cumhuriyet (10.6%), and Akşam (10.6%) ranked at the top while Taraf (2.5%), Milliyet (4.3%), and Haber Türk (4.3%) ranked at the bottom. For the final item, nationalist, Akşam (16.2%) and Yeni Şafak (11.1%) ranked at the top while Milliyet (2%) and Taraf (3%) ranked at the bottom.

Table 15: Distribution of conflict frames by newspapers

	Conflict Frames					Total
	Status Quo F.	Unbalance Frame	Antipathy Frame	Win-lose Frame	Nationalist Frame	
Akşam	18	18	19	17	16	25
	11.6%	10.6%	9.4%	10.6%	16.2%	
	5.8%	5.8%	6.2%	5.5%	5.2%	8.1%
Birgün	13	16	21	20	10	28
	8.4%	9.4%	10.4%	12.4%	10.1%	
	4.2%	5.2%	6.8%	6.5%	3.2%	9.1%
Cumhuriyet	7	14	11	17	4	24
	4.5%	8.2%	5.4%	10.6%	4.0%	
	2.3%	4.5%	3.6%	5.5%	1.3%	7.8%
Haber Türk	11	6	11	7	4	18
	7.1%	3.5%	5.4%	4.3%	4.0%	
	3.6%	1.9%	3.6%	2.3%	1.3%	5.8%
Hürriyet	18	9	15	10	8	24
	11.6%	5.3%	7.4%	6.2%	8.1%	
	5.8%	2.9%	4.9%	3.2%	2.6%	7.8%
Milliyet	9	5	9	7	2	17
	5.8%	2.9%	4.5%	4.3%	2.0%	
	2.9%	1.6%	2.9%	2.3%	0.6%	5.5%
Sabah	8	13	12	10	9	18
	5.2%	7.6%	5.9%	6.2%	9.1%	
	2.6%	4.2%	3.9%	3.2%	2.9%	5.8%
Sözcü	11	17	20	19	6	29
	7.1%	10.0%	9.9%	11.8%	6.1%	
	3.6%	5.5%	6.5%	6.2%	1.9%	9.4%
Star	14	15	18	10	10	24
	9.0%	8.8%	8.9%	6.2%	10.1%	
	4.5%	4.9%	5.8%	3.2%	3.2%	7.8%
Taraf	9	8	9	4	3	18
	5.8%	4.7%	4.5%	2.5%	3.0%	
	2.9%	2.6%	2.9%	1.3%	1.0%	5.8%
Türkiye	11	20	22	13	7	26
	7.1%	11.8%	10.9%	8.1%	7.1%	
	3.6%	6.5%	7.1%	4.2%	2.3%	8.4%
Yeni Çağ	10	6	7	7	4	19
	6.5%	3.5%	3.5%	4.3%	4.0%	
	3.2%	1.9%	2.3%	2.3%	1.3%	6.2%
Yeni Şafak	10	22	19	12	11	26
	6.5%	12.9%	9.4%	7.5%	11.1%	
	3.2%	7.1%	6.2%	3.9%	3.6%	8.4%
Zaman	6	1	9	8	5	12
	3.9%	0.6%	4.5%	5.0%	5.1%	
	1.9%	0.3%	2.9%	2.6%	1.6%	3.9%
Total	155	170	202	161	99	308
	50.3%	55.2%	65.6%	52.3%	32.1%	100.0%

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It should also be noted that the frames are associated with sub items (see Table 17).

With respect to status quo, threatening-oriented (8.2%) and just war-oriented (7.7%)

were the highest; for unbalance, blame-oriented (15.4%) was the highest; for

antipathy, self- and other-oriented (16%) ranked at the top; for win-lose, good and

evil-oriented (15.8%) ranked at the top; and for nationalist, who threw the first stone-

oriented (6.4%) was the highest.

Table 16: Conflict Frames and Sub-categories

Conflict Frames	Sub-categories	Cases	
		Valid	
		N	Percent
Status Quo Frame	Exclusive oriented	20	2%
	They are enemy oriented	30	3%
	Just war oriented	76	7.7%
	Hate speech oriented	21	2.1%
	Threatening oriented	81	8.2%
Unbalance Frame	Sport oriented	22	2.2%
	Accuse other oriented	14	1.4%
	Blame oriented	152	15.4%
Antipathy Frame	Other is the threat oriented	68	6.9%
	Distrust oriented	66	6.7%
	Prejudiced oriented	8	0.8%
	Inferior oriented	6	0.6%
	Self and other oriented	158	16%
Win-lose Frame	Emphasize one side's pains oriented	11	1.1%
	Good and evil oriented	156	15.8%
Nationalist Frame	Revenge oriented	37	3.7%
	Who throw the first stone oriented	63	6.4%
	Total	989	100%

5.3 Evaluation of Turkish National Newspapers' Columnists

A purposive sampling strategy was implemented to choose columns for analysis, with 5 newspapers selected from the total of 14 which had the highest circulation rate.[2] 121 columnists from the 5 newspapers were collected for the period from 29 May 2013 to 7 June 2013, with this period targeted owing to the way in which it represented the initial period of the Gezi Park protests. The total number of columnist publications amounted to 520. As indicated in Table 18, Hürriyet issued 64 columns pertaining to the Gezi Park protests, thereby amounting to the greatest percentage (28.8%), while Sözcü (14%) published 31 columns, thereby amounting to the lowest percentage. Each column article is examined with multiple frames and frequently consisted with more than one frame as in news stories.

Table 17: Published columns about Gezi Park protest in five high circulated Turkish newspapers

	Frequency	Percent
Birgün	55	24.8%
Hürriyet	64	28.8%
Sözcü	31	14.0%
Yeni Çağ	40	18.0%
Zaman	32	14.4%
Total	222	100.0

As indicated by the results of the content analysis coding schema, 44.3% of the columns were informative-oriented. Table 19 further details that 31% were conflict-oriented while 27.4% were peace-oriented. In view of this, newspapers published columns using conflict and informative frames at a higher rate than those with peace frames. Columnist articles' target audience might be more enlightened and literate

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[2] The 5 selected newspapers were Birgün, Hürriyet, Sözcü, Yeni Çağ, and Zaman.

people than general audiences. So columnists prefer to use their intellectual background and they use more informative oriented statements than peace and conflict oriented.

Table 18: Dominant frames of Turkish National Newspapers' columns about Gezi Park protests

		Responses	
		N	Percent
Dominant Frames	Informative	160	44.3%
	Peace	99	27.4%
	Conflict	102	28.3%
Total		361	100.0%

In terms of the distribution of the dominant frames, Table 20 indicates that informative-oriented frames occupied the top position. As for the conflict-oriented columns, Sözcü ranked first with 73.3% while Hürriyet ranked lowest with 21.8%. It is important to note that after the informative-frame, the conflict-oriented frame occupied the leading position for the other newspapers. Columns from Zaman (72.4%) and Hürriyet (63.6%) ranked at the top in this respect, while Sözcü (26.7%) and Yeni Çağ (33.3%) ranked at the bottom. As for the peace frame percentage in the columns published by Birgün, this ranked lower than the percentage associated with the other two frames. With respect to Sözcü (90%) and Yeni Çağ (84.6%), the columns published by these newspapers displayed the greatest percentage of the informative frame, while Zaman (58.6%) ranked at the bottom in this respect.

Table 19: Distribution of Dominant Frames on Turkish National Newspapers' columns about Gezi Park protests

| | Dominant Frames | | | |
	Peace Frame	Conflict Frame	Informative Frame	Total
Birgün	22	26	43	54
	40.7%	48.1%	79.6%	26%
Hürriyet	35	12	40	55
	63.6%	21.8%	72.7%	26.5%
Sözcü	8	22	27	30
	26.7%	73.3%	90.0%	14.5%
Yeni Çağ	13	28	33	39
	33.3%	71.8%	84.6%	18.85%
Zaman	21	14	17	29
	72.4%	48.3%	58.6%	14%
Total	99	102	160	207

Column formation was the other area examined in this research, and this was proxied by the following items: (i) quotation; (ii) description; and (iii) comment (See table 21). Almost all column formation was related to the comment item (96.8%), while quotation had the lowest percentage (0.5%) and description had the second-lowest (2.7%).

Table 20: Formation of columns about Gezi Park protests

	Frequency	Percent
Quotation	1	0.5%
Description	6	2.7%
Comment	215	96.8%
Total	222	100.0%

5.3.1 Official and Unofficial Sources in Columns

At the outset, the percentages associated with official source usage were examined, revealing that 64.9% of the newspapers quoted official sources and 35.1% quoted unofficial sources (see Table 22). In 54 of the columns, neither official nor unofficial sources were referred to.

Table 21: Official and Unofficial sources in newspapers about Gezi Park protests

	Responses	
	N	Percent
Unofficial Sources	59	35.1%
Official Sources	109	64.9%
Total	168	100.0%

In terms of the distribution of the official sources, the Prime Minister was the most-quoted source (47.9%), followed by Public Officials (18.4%) and Minister(s) (16.6%). The President (8.6%) and the Members of the Opposition Party (8.6%) were the least-quoted official sources. Regarding the distribution of the unofficial sources, Table 23 indicates that Journalists/Newspapers/Other Media (42.3%) was quoted with the highest frequency, while people in the street were associated with the fewest number of quotations (4.2%). The next most frequent percentages were protesters (31%) and experts (12.7%).

Table 22: Official sources in columns about Gezi Park protests

	N	Percent
President	14	8.6%
Prime Minister	78	47.9%
Minister(s)	27	16.6%
Public Officials	30	18.4%
Opposition Political Party Leader/Member	14	8.6%
Total	163	100%

In terms of distribution of the unofficial sources of the columns (see Table 24) on Turkish newspapers shows that Journalists/Newspapers/Other Media (42.3%) have the highest percentage and Wo/man on the street has the (4.2%) lowest percentage. After Journalists/Newspapers/Other Media, Protestors/activists have 31%, Experts have 12.7%.

Table 23: Unofficial sources in columns about Gezi Park protests

	N	Percent
Experts	9	12.7%
NGO's	7	9.9%
Journalists/Newspapers/Other Media	30	42.3%
Wo/Man on the Street	3	4.2%
Protestors/activists	22	31.0%
Total	71	100.0%

5.3.2 Dominant Frames of Turkish Newspapers' Columns

The peace and conflict frames are associated with 5 sub items, and Table 25 indicates that of the 222 columns, the former frame was used 170 times and the latter 180 times. For the peace frame items, the win-win item was associated with the lowest percentage (6.5%), while the solution item and balance-descriptive item were associated with the greatest percentage (34.7% and 30.6%, respectively). As for the conflict frame items, the antipathy frame and status quo frame (31.5% and 23.8%, respectively) were

associated with the greatest percentage, while the nationalist frame was associated with the lowest percentage (9.8%).

Table 24: Dominant Frames and sub items for columns in Turkish Newspapers

| | | Cases | |
| | | Valid | |
		N	Percent
Peace Frames	Solution Frame	59	16,8%
	Balance-descriptive frame	52	14,8%
	Empathy frame	31	8,8%
	Win-win frame	11	3,1%
	Anti-nationalist frame	17	4,8%
Conflict Frames	Status quo frame	43	12,3%
	Unbalance frame	41	11,7%
	Antipathy frame	57	16,2%
	Win-lose frame	22	6,3%
	Nationalist frame	18	5,1%
	Total	351	100%

In terms of the distribution of the peace frames, Table 25 demonstrates that peace frames were used within columnist publications a total of 121 times. Hürriyet (41.3%) ranked at the top in this respect while Sözcü (7.4%) and Yeni Çağ (11.6 %) ranked at the bottom.

For the solution item of the peace frame, Birgün (60%) ranked at the top while Zaman (39.1%) ranked at the bottom (See Table 26). For the balance-descriptive item, Zaman (60.9%) ranked at the top while Birgün (32%) ranked at the bottom. For the empathy item, Hürriyet (36%) ranked at the top while Sözcü did not draw on it once. Aside from this, Yeni Çağ (7.1%) was associated with the lowest percentage. As for the win-win item, Zaman (17.4%) ranked at the top, Sözcü and Yeni Çağ did not use the frame once, and aside from the latter two newspapers Birgün (4%) was associated with the

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lowest percentage. Regarding the final item, the anti-nationalist frame, Hürriyet (18%) ranked at the top while Sözcü (11.1%) and Zaman (4.3%) ranked at the bottom.

Table 25: Distribution of Peace Frames on columns about Gezi Park protests

	Solution Frame	Balance-Descriptive Frame	Emphathy Frame	Win-win Frame	Anti-nationalist Frame	Total
Birgün	15	8	5	1	4	25
	60.0%	32.0%	20.0%	4.0%	16.0%	
	12.4%	6.6%	4.1%	0.8%	3.3%	20.7%
Hürriyet	23	18	18	6	9	50
	46.0%	36.0%	36.0%	12.0%	18.0%	
	19.0%	14.9%	14.9%	5.0%	7.4%	41.3%
Sözcü	4	5	0	0	1	9
	44.4%	55.6%	0.0%	0.0%	11.1%	
	3.3%	4.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.8%	7.4%
Yeni Çağ	8	7	1	0	2	14
	57.1%	50.0%	7.1%	0.0%	14.3%	
	6.6%	5.8%	0.8%	0.0%	1.7%	11.6%
Zaman	9	14	7	4	1	23
	39.1%	60.9%	30.4%	17.4%	4.3%	
	7.4%	11.6%	5.8%	3.3%	0.8%	19.0%
Total	59	52	31	11	17	121
	48.8%	43.0%	25.6%	9.1%	14.0%	100.0%

Each of the above items for the peace frame was associated with sub items, as presented in Table 27. For the solution item, common ground oriented (22.8%) has the highest percentage. For the Balance descriptive item, applaud oriented (11.7%) has the highest percentage. For the empathy item, understanding the other (12.6%) was the highest across the newspapers, while other in the self-oriented was not mentioned at all. For the win-win item, emphasize both sides pain oriented (4.4%) has the highest percentage and for the anti-nationalist item, history culture oriented (7.3%) has the highest percentage.

Table 26: Sub items of Peace Frames on columns about Gezi Park protests

Peace Frames	Sub-categories	Cases	
		Valid	
		N	Percent
Solution	Inclusive Oriented	24	11.6%
	We are friend oriented	5	2.4%
	Common ground oriented	47	22.8%
	Friendly speech oriented	9	4.4%
Balance Descriptive	Fair play oriented	17	8.3%
	Self criticises oriented	15	7.3%
	Applaud oriented	24	11.7%
Empathy	Understanding the other oriented	26	12.6%
	Trust oriented	6	2.9%
	Accept other as it is oriented	4	1.9%
	Other in the self-oriented	0	0%
Win-win	Emphasize both side's pains oriented	9	4.4%
	Good/good or bad/bad oriented	3	1.5%
Anti-nationalist	Forgiveness oriented	2	1%
	History-culture oriented	15	7.3%
	Total	206	100%

In terms of the distribution of the conflict frame, Table 27 indicates that this was used a total of 110 times. Yeni Çağ (27.3%) and Birgün (27.3%) occupied the top position in this respect, while Hürriyet (10.9%) occupied the lowest position.

For the initial item of the conflict frame, Zaman (64.3%) occupied the top position while Yeni Çağ (33.3%) ranked at the bottom. For the unbalance item, Hürriyet (41.7%) and Sözcü (41.7%) ranked at the top while Zaman (28.6%) occupied the lowest position. For the antipathy item, Zaman (71.4%) and Yeni Çağ (66.7%) ranked at the top while Hürriyet (16.7%) ranked at the bottom. For the win-lose item, Birgün (40%) ranked at the top while Zaman (7.1%) occupied the lowest position. For the final item of the conflict frame, nationalist, Birgün (23.3%) and Zaman (7.1%) occupied the highest and lowest positions, respectively.

Table 27: Distribution of Conflict Frames on columns about Gezi Park protests

| | Conflict Frames | | | | | |
	Status Quo Frame	Unbalance Frame	Antipathy Frame	Win-lose Frame	Nationalist Frame	Total
Birgün	11	12	14	12	7	30
	36.7%	40.0%	46.7%	40.0%	23.3%	
	10.0%	10.9%	12.7%	10.9%	6.4%	27.3%
Hürriyet	6	5	2	2	2	12
	50.0%	41.7%	16.7%	16.7%	16.7%	
	5.5%	4.5%	1.8%	1.8%	1.8%	10.9%
Sözcü	7	10	11	4	2	24
	29.2%	41.7%	45.8%	16.7%	8.3%	
	6.4%	9.1%	10.0%	3.6%	1.8%	21.8%
Yeni Çağ	10	10	20	3	6	30
	33.3%	33.3%	66.7%	10.0%	20.0%	
	9.1%	9.1%	18.2%	2.7%	5.5%	27.3%
Zaman	9	4	10	1	1	14
	64.3%	28.6%	71.4%	7.1%	7.1%	
	8.2%	3.6%	9.1%	0.9%	0.9%	12.7%
Total	43	41	57	22	18	110
	39.1%	37.3%	51.8%	20.0%	16.4%	100.0%

Each of the above items for the conflict frame was associated with sub items, as indicated in Table 28. With respect to the status quo item, threatening-oriented (11.4%) was the highest across the columnist publications; for unbalance, accuse other-oriented (10%) ranked at the top; for antipathy, self and other-oriented (13.7%) was ranked at the top; for win-lose, good and evil-oriented ranked at the top (9.6%); and finally, for nationalist, the who threw the first stone orientation (6.8%) was the highest across the columnist publications.

Table 28: Sub items of Conflict Frames on columns about Gezi Park protests

Conflict Frames	Sub-categories	Cases	
		Valid	
		N	Percent
Status Quo Frame	Exclusive oriented	13	5.9%
	They are enemy oriented	3	1.4%
	Just war oriented	11	5%
	Hate speech oriented	5	2.3%
	Threatening oriented 57	25	11.4%
Unbalance Frame	Sport oriented	1	0.5%
	Accuse other oriented	22	10%
	Blame oriented 52	19	8.7%
Antipathy Frame	Other is the threat oriented	13	5.9%
	Distrust oriented	20	9.1%
	Prejudiced oriented	2	0.9%
	Inferior oriented	15	6.8%
	Self and other oriented 80	30	13.7%
Win-lose Frame	Emphasize one side's pains oriented	1	0.5%
	Good and evil oriented	21	9.6%
Nationalist Frame	Revenge oriented	3	1.4%
	Who throw the first stone oriented 40	15	6.8%
	Total	219	100%

According to results total conflict frames founded as 219 in 419 news stories. Sub items of conflict frames had 5 topics. Newspapers 80 times used Antipathy Frame as the highest sub item.

5.4 Evaluation of Turkish National Newspapers' Photo Usage

According to Collins Dictionary (2017), a front-page article or picture appears on the front page of a newspaper because it is very important or interesting. We can assume front page as a newspaper's front door. Newspaper readers sees firstly this page. (See Newseum, 2017). Therefore, for this study with first page news stories, also photographs have been analysed. Gezi Park protests were supported with visual items while being framed as news in newspapers. Therefore, the photographs of the first

pages of the newspapers were also taken into account. Photograph usage of newspapers was measured using the content analysis method in this study. The units of measurement were cm and cm^2. When calculating the area, the percentages are calculated by counting all photos on the first page and photographs of the Gezi Park Protests. Also, the area covered with the photographs on the first page was also calculated.

With a purposive sampling 5 newspapers selected from the total of 14 which had the highest circulation rate.[3] 715 photographs about Gezi Park Protests founded from 1578 photographs in first pages of 5 newspapers that were collected for the period from 29 May 2013 to 30 June 2013. The total number of first pages was amounted to 165. As indicated in Table 30, Hürriyet issued 472 photographs in first pages and 194 of them pertaining to the Gezi Park protests, thereby amounting to the greatest percentage (27.2%), while Zaman (7,7%) published 244 photographs in first pages and 55 of them pertaining to the Gezi Park protests, thereby amounting to the lowest percentage.

Table 29: Distribution of photographs in Newspapers about Gezi Park Protests

Newspaper	Total Photographs (n)	Gezi Park Protests Photographs (n)	Newspaper Percentage
Birgün	272	181	25,30%
Hürriyet	472	194	27,20%
Sözcü	367	181	25,30%
Yeniçağ	223	104	14,50%
Zaman	244	55	7,70%
Total	1578	715	100%

Apart from the photographs of the newspapers, the dimension of the photographs were also measured in cm^2. According to the results in Table 31, a total of 280500 cm^2 and

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[3] The 5 selected newspapers were Birgün, Hürriyet, Sözcü, Yeni Çağ, and Zaman.

52122 cm^2 photographs were used about Gezi Park Protests. The most photographed area related to the Gezi Park Protests was determined as 13429 cm^2 in Birgün (25,4%), and 5272 cm^2 in Zaman newspaper (10,1%). The full-page measurements of the newspapers were measured as 32.4 cm horizontal and 52.5 cm vertical dimension. Just as in the news for the results, only the first pages of the newspapers were looked at.

Table 30: Newspapers' photograph area about Gezi Park Protests (cm^2)

Newspaper	Total Page Area (cm^2)	Gezi Park Protests Photographs (cm^2)	Percentage
Birgün	56100	13249	25,40%
Hürriyet	56100	12195	23,40%
Sözcü	56100	11257	21,60%
Yeniçağ	56100	10149	19,50%
Zaman	56100	5272	10,10%
Total	280500	52122	100%

Hürriyet newspaper publishes more news and photographs on first page than other newspapers, because of the yellow journalism's nature. This kind of journalism generally uses sensationalism in news, big headlines, too many photographs and aims to eye catching (See Campbell, 2001). Therefore, the number of photographs is higher than other newspapers. Birgün newspaper preferred to fill the first page by publishing less news and using large photographs. Therefore, the photograph usage area (cm^2) of Birgün newspapers is more than Hürriyet newspaper which has more photographs than Birgün. The number of photographs about Gezi Park protest in Zaman newspaper is considerably less than other newspapers. According to these results, we can say that the Zaman newspaper does not allocate sufficient space in terms of visually compared to other newspapers.

Chapter 6

RESULTS, DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION

As has been argued over the course of this study, the Gezi Park protests represented a peaceful social movement. The protests were initiated as a response to the perceived injustice of the government's initiatives to destroy one of the few remaining green spaces in Istanbul, and when police violence against the protesters was publicized across the nation, the protest was soon transmitted widely. Not long after the initial eruption, the protest had spread from central Istanbul to over 60 provinces in Turkey, and the protesters themselves had garnered overseas support. Ultimately, the protest itself should not be viewed as an isolated incident that emerged solely as a consequence of the events surrounding the period. Rather, it should be acknowledged that the crowds of demonstrators had long been dissatisfied with the perceived oppression of the AKP, which took power in 2002.

One of the most notable features of the Gezi Park protests, as is the case with many civil disobedience events, was that the participants were not ideologically homogenous. As such, numerous perspectives were united under the banner of the protests. A poignant symbol of the protests was that prayer was held on one day, and yoga sessions were performed on the next; philosophizing accompanied Quranic recitations, and individuals from various socioeconomic backgrounds pitched tents together. It is evident that females and the younger generations were the critical participants of the protests, and in an attempt to operate in conformance with the

principles of civil disobedience, female activists proclaimed, "Küfürle değil, direnerek". In the spirit of this saying, blasphemy, hate speech, and homophobia were all avoided diligently. In view of these considerations, it is important to gain insight into the ways in which the Gezi Park protests were covered in the Turkish press.

Almost all the newspapers sampled in this study were covering the protests from the starting point. Initially, before the significance of the event became clear, many newspapers rejected or ignored coverage, but this situation changed once police brutality was observed. One of the key developments featured in headlines and columns related to the way in which former Prime Minister Erdoğan did not allow the protests to run their course and the previous President Gül's moderate approach to the protesters was not widely reported in relevant media channels.

The purpose of the present chapter is to outline the key research findings that have been derived from the previous data analysis chapter, and this will be followed by a discussion, conclusions, and suggestions for further research. Ultimately, this will aid the establishment of a novel Peace Journalism Model associated with the representations of social movements in the Turkish press. It should always be borne in mind that social science research gives rise to new questions, however, and this means that the subject of this research should continue to be examined from a range of perspectives.

6.1 Summary of Results

The main issue for investigation in this research has been the dominant frames, sources, and modes of headline formation pertaining to the coverage of the Gezi Park protests by a sample of Turkish newspapers and columnist publications. This

investigation has taken place using the conceptual framework of Peace Journalism, gatekeeping theory, and framing theory. Subsidiary aims of the research related to the impact of ideological stance and newspaper ownership structure on these issues. Dominant frames have been examined by focusing on the following: first, the informative frame; second, the peace frame; and third, the conflict frame. Source usage has been examined by focusing on official and unofficial sources, and finally, headline formation has been investigated with reference to quotation, description, and commentary.

This studies' major questions were about news stories and columnists and dominant frames, sources, and formation of headlines on Gezi protests in the theoretical framework of Peace Journalism, Gatekeeping and Framing theories. Minor questions include news stories' and columns' dominant frames, source usage and headline formations according to newspapers' ownership structure and ideological stances. Dominant frames have been executed in three main items; (1) Informative Frame, (2) Peace Frame, (3) Conflict Frame. Source usage has been presented in two items; (1) Official Sources, (2) Unofficial Sources. Formation of headline has been examined in three items; (1) Quotation, (2) Description, (4) Commentary.

A consideration of the results indicates that the sampled newspapers in the Turkish daily press are not effective with respect to the practice of Peace Journalism. It is evident that dissident newspapers, including those which are secular or left-wing (for example, Sözcü, Cumhuriyet, and Birgün), do not conform to Peace Journalism owing to the unilateral nature of the narrative forms regarding the Gezi Park protests. Over the course of the social movement, the conflict between the parties was covered more frequently than the issue of negotiations and potential solutions. Although there was

abundant space for the moments of violence that erupted between the police and the protesters, information about "Taksim Solidarity" was scant. During the social movements in the news, the conflicts of the parties are attracting more attention than the negotiation cases between sides. Despite the fact that the newspapers had more space for events such as the police gas throwing, the protestor's throwing of the stone to the police officers, burning tents, and the protesters' public property damage, there was not enough space for the explanations of "Taksim Solidarity", who tried to negotiate with the government and approached to the solution.

It is also notable that an inversely proportional relationship was observed between the amount of newspaper space devoted to the explanations of government officials and the resolution focus of the statements. The findings indicate that Governor Hüseyin Avni Mutlu, Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç, and President Abdullah Gül, all of whom made moderate and resolution-oriented statements, were covered less than Prime Minister Erdoğan. Notably, the Prime Minister did not let the protests run their course, and once the protesters were disbanded, he declared victory. In this way, the newspapers reproduced the dominant narrative to alienate the protesters and, moreover, to claim that they were mobilized and manipulated by an interest rate lobby. These results show that moderate and resolution-oriented statements generally ignored by mainstream news media. Another notable finding from the analysis was that protesters and passers-by in the street received more space on the pages of the sampled newspapers when considered in relation to NGOs and experts.

6.2 Results and Discussion

The results indicate that Sözcü, given that it drew on official sources 26 times over the target period, utilized official sources at a lower rate than the other newspapers. Nevertheless, this does not conceal the fact that secular newspapers frequently drew on official sources. As for Minor Question 1 (namely, "Do Turkish religious/conservative (Zaman, Yeni Şafak, Star) newspapers have more political parallelism with respect to the official discourse based on their proximity to government than secularist (Cumhuriyet, Sözcü), nationalist (Yeni Çağ), and leftist (Birgün) newspapers?"), no unambiguous conclusion can be drawn. Here, it is noteworthy that Hallin and Manchini (2004) suggested that the Mediterranean model of journalism is characterized by its extensive reliance on elite and official sources. Moreover, Galtung's (1998) discussion of peace and war journalism indicates the widespread nature of elite-oriented war journalism. Also as Livingston and Bennett's (2003) statement has been supported (Most news associated with official proceedings and pronouncements).

As noted by the analysis, 45% of the headlines covering the Gezi protests in the examined newspapers were conflict-oriented, 31% were informative-oriented, and 24% were peace-oriented. In addition, it is notable that the first responses of columnists in the 29 May 2013 to 7 June 2013 period tended to be conflict-oriented. This results support Peace Journalism literature.

Regarding the conflict frame, antipathy was a sub item. As revealed by the counts, those pertaining to Birgün (21 times) and Türkiye (22 times) were considerably higher than the rest of the group. In view of this, Minor Question 2 can be responded to

(namely, "Do government adherent Turkish newspapers prefer to cover the Gezi Park protests as othering protestors?"). Sabah drew on the antipathy item 12 times, while Türkiye's religious/conservative ideological stance was consistent with its reproduction of the government line for almost all front-page stories.

The unbalance item, another sub item of the conflict frame, Sabah (13 times), Yeni Çağ (16 times), and Birgün (13 times) used blame-oriented news at a lower rate than when compared to the other newspapers. As for those newspapers which engaged in blame-oriented news considerably, this group included Akşam (16 times), Yeni Şafak (20 times), and Star (16 times). In view of this, Minor Question 3 was addressed: namely, "Do newspapers use blame oriented news about the Gezi Park protests according to their ideological stance?"

Source usage was one of the key areas of study in this research, and the analysis indicated that the most-quoted sources were official rather than unofficial sources. In terms of the source distribution, the Prime Minister (65.6%) ranked at the top while the President (17.2%) ranked at the bottom. Regarding the unofficial source item, protesters (52.7%) were cited most frequently while experts (13.6%) were cited the least often. These findings address Minor Question 4: namely, "Which sources (official/unofficial) have a stronger impact on newspaper content in the Gezi Park protest coverage?" As Peace Journalism model criticize media source usage results show that there is an elitist source usage in newspapers about social movement coverage.

The conflict frame was employed by almost all the 14 sampled newspapers about Gezi protests. Sözcü used conflict frame 26 times, which was more than its counterparts,

thereby addressing Minor Question 5: namely, "Which newspaper used more conflict-oriented news when compared to its counterparts in the Gezi Park protest coverage?"

It was found that columnist publications adopted conflict frames more than they did peace frames (181 and 171 times, respectively), but it should be noted that this is not a considerable disparity. In view of this, Major Question 2 was addressed: namely, "Which dominant frames are used by Turkish national newspaper columnists most regarding the Gezi park protests?"

Since the findings indicated that official sources were used more frequently than unofficial sources in the coverage of the Gezi Park protests by columnists (64.9% and 35.1%, respectively), Minor Question 6 was addressed: "Which sources have a larger impact on columnist publication source usage in the coverage of the Gezi Park protests?"

Minor Question 7 was addressed as "Which newspapers use conflict-oriented columns more frequently than their counterparts in the Gezi Park protest coverage?" Finally, in terms of the use of conflict frames among the 14-newspaper sample, Birgün (30 times) and Yeni Çağ (30 times) ranked at the top. In view of this, Minor Question 7 is responded.

6.3 Conclusion and Suggestions for Further Researches

The chief contribution of this study is the development of a novel Peace Journalism Model associated with the representations of social movements in the Turkish press. Furthermore, the fundamental point raised by the findings presented in this dissertation is that the coverage of social movements in newspapers, especially in the Turkish context, is replete with concerns. Foremost is the issue that the predominance of conflict-oriented framing in newspaper headlines and columns results in a distortion of the covered events.

Nevertheless, this Peace Journalism Model, although practicable in theory, encounters a range of practical problems. The only viable solution in this respect is freedom of the press, which is an especially pertinent issue in the Turkish context owing to the fact that it ranks 155th on the list of Journalists Without Borders Press Freedom list. This ranking cannot rise if the conditions are not suitable, which means that the issues of newspaper conglomeration, monopolization, closed newspapers, and detained journalists must be addressed. Furthermore, it is notable that the commercial needs of newspapers and media agencies, combined with the requirement to turn a profit while securing the interests of key political, economic, and social stakeholders, means that sensationalism is foregrounded at the expense of Peace Journalism. Ultimately, the fact cannot be overlooked that civil disobedience will only appear as legitimate when it is represented accurately and faithfully in the media. The fundamental issue, therefore, is that of whether conglomerate newspapers can facilitate this legitimacy.

The interconnected nature of media, politics, and economics have been outlined in this research, where it has been noted that many owners of newspapers hold considerable

interests in external enterprises (see Chapter 3, Section 3.3.2). In view of this, harsh criticism of the government by these newspapers is safeguarded against by the need these entities have to protect their interests. However, in crisis-ridden periods, reliability in the media and, crucially, freedom of the press is when it is most needed. Hence, all forms of news broadcasting should understand the solution-oriented approach which is founded on the tenets of Peace Journalism, and this should take place at the expense of the reproduction of the dominant ideological line. In this way, journalists should represent the solution rather than the problem, and this was certainly not the case during the period of the Gezi Park protests.

In the initial stages of planning this research, the Gezi Park event was no longer a mainstay in the political and social landscape, and Erdoğan had been elected (and continues to serve) as the President of Turkey. Notably, following the 15 June 2016 coup attempt, Zaman (included in this study's sample) was closed under investigation. As reported in the official newspaper announcement issued on 26 July 2016, Zaman along with 3 other news agencies were closed based on the accusation that 16 television channels, 23 radio stations, 44 newspapers, 15 journals, and 29 publishing houses and distribution firms were linked to FETÖ, the "terrorist group". This was not a new occurrence in the Turkish context, thereby accentuating the continuing hazard associated with media closure and seizure in the country. As noted by the BBC (2017), Turkey falls into the category of "countries where journalism is difficult".

For the development of a novel Peace Journalism model, it is necessary to orient it around alternative media owing to the above considerations. The coverage of conventional media organizations, owing to the prevalence of conflicts of interest in the ownership structures, cannot be expected to conform to the tenets of Peace

Journalism. Nevertheless, perhaps the most important issue is the educational dimension of this initiative. The situation would benefit from seminars, tutorials, and workshops based on solution-oriented rights reporting, and this ought to be scheduled as mandatory for national and local workers in newspaper outlets. Furthermore, mandatory modules in conflict reporting and Peace Journalism ought to be installed at universities across the country. With these measures undertaken, the proliferation of fundamental journalistic principles based on the Peace Journalism model could take place, thereby paving the way for the dominance of solution-oriented and socially-responsible news.

6.3.1 A New Normative Peace Journalism Model Suggestion for News Coverage of Social Movements

The peace journalism constitutes a valuable norm that editors and reporters can organize their activity around in the investigation and publication phases of news casting. Ultimately, it is important to recognize that these suggestions outline a normative theory. According to Irvan (2006), Peace Journalism constitutes a normative theory, and as a result of its core tenets, it facilitates a positive role for the media in fostering peace. One of the key suppositions of the researcher (ibid) is that Peace Journalism is normative as opposed to a descriptive theory, primarily because it provides guidelines about what should be done, why it should be done, and how it can be done. The researcher also argued that an ethical code of Peace Journalism should be established that addresses many of the frequently-encountered problems that arise in process of covering conflict events. One of the key issues highlighted by the researcher (ibid) relates to the way in which labeling, demonizing, and accusing are so widespread (see Table 30, compiled from İrvan, 2006, p.37).

Table 31: Peace Journalism Principles for Journalists

Mission oriented principles	- Journalists should seek peaceful solutions. - Peace journalism is truth oriented journalism. Journalists should expose untruths. - Journalists should avoid becoming part of the problem -- they should try to become part of the solution.
Principles on news gathering	- Journalists should seek "non-elite" sources. - Journalists should give more and positive attention to peace-makers. - Journalists should try hard to verify all claims. Skepticism is an important quality of good journalists. - Journalists should investigate the wrongdoings of all sides of a conflict. - Journalists should focus on the process, not only on the specific events.
Principles on news writing	- Journalists should highlight peace initiatives. - Journalists should focus on visible and invisible effects of violence and conflict. - Journalists should provide background information. - Journalists should always exercise the ethics of accuracy, veracity, fairness, and respect for human - Journalists should avoid victimizing, demonizing, derogatory, and inflammatory language. - Journalists should avoid relying on the simple "us versus them" dichotomy.

In view of Irvan's (2006) normative tenets, a novel Peace Journalism Model can be designed that has the capacity to be applied to social movements. The core items inherent in this model are as follows: (i) reporters; (ii) news policy; (iii) local/national media; and (iv) universities.

Regarding the initial item, this relates to the recommendations of what reporters ought to focus on in their coverage of social movements and civil disobedience events. Ultimately, source usage should constitute the primary concern at the point when data collection is taking place among respondents at social movements. The most reliable sources should be favoured, and corroboration and cross-referencing should become standard. In addition, NGOs which play a prominent role in the social movement ought to be interviewed, and relevant organizations which are established a consequence of the protest activities (in this case, Taksim Solidarity is highly pertinent) should always been given a voice. Since reporters are tasked with the dissemination and illumination of reliable information, this highlights the importance of using the above sources.

It is also important for journalists not to engage in selective coverage, thereby contravening the tendency towards sensationalism. Since social movements and civil disobedience events are inherently multidimensional, this consideration is particularly important. Ultimately, the greatest possible number of groups should be consulted, and despite the all-important nature of neutrality in the coverage, journalists should consistently on the side of peacekeeping.

Another crucial consideration should be that press statements issuing peace-oriented statements from protesters, police, or government officials ought to be succeeded by reasonable negotiations, organized around the attempt to find a mutually acceptable

solution. Furthermore, discussions must be held with experts to guarantee that the stakeholders to the incident are identified accurately over the course of the social movement or civil disobedience event. Additionally, human-oriented reporting, a central principle of Peace Journalism, should be pursued, and the multidimensional nature of the situation should be emphasized with as many interviews with protesters as is practicable. Furthermore, this principle should also extend to security authorities, not just those in command but also those in positions on the ground. An important concern regarding this last point is that the responses of these stakeholders will be related to the security organization, thereby meaning that the individual being interviewed must receive authorization for serving as a source.

The next item – news policy – relates to the change that must be implemented in the principles by which publication takes place in news agencies. The DMG's publication principles were referred to earlier in the study as regards terror reporting, and it was underlined that the organization is committed to moving away from propagandizing. Moreover, the organization expressed its commitment to Peace Journalism. This author maintains that the DMG's publication principles addressing terrorism, with "terror reporting" substituted for the phrase "any news", should form the basis on which all news agencies operate. This would serve as a viable way to guarantee that every aspect of an organization's coverage conformed to Peace Journalism and a solution-oriented frame.

The third item relates to the way in which Peace Journalism must be implemented by all media companies within Turkey, ranging from the local to the regional to the national. Given the greater independency that smaller (namely, local) media agencies enjoy when compared to their national counterparts, this will naturally be a more

straightforward process for the former. However, just because the opportunity to do so exists does not mean that these organizations have the capacity to do so. This again underlines the importance of educational initiatives, which are notably underway by Turkey's Independent Communication Network. It is expected that reform will take place from the bottom up, creating a situation in which smaller media companies set the example for conglomerates and large companies. It is also expected that it will take more time, resources, and energy for the larger media agencies to implement the principles of Peace Journalism, primarily because of the nature of their owner structures. In this context, it is also important not to overlook the valuable role that alternative media can play in setting the stage for the widespread distribution and adoption of the Peace Journalism Model.

The final item relates to the way in which universities can serve as an ideal way in which to promote the distribution and adoption of the Peace Journalism Model in the Turkish context. In particular, it is expected that the implementation of Peace Journalism and Conflict Journalism modules in undergraduate and postgraduate courses will heighten the degree to which future practitioners are aware of these issues. Furthermore, for the Faculty of Communication in Turkish higher education institutions, it is recommended that Peace Journalism modules be mandatory for students to graduate. In addition, Rights Reporting, Conflict Reporting, and Alternative Media are crucial mandatory modules. To further bolster these initiatives, Peace Research Centres ought to be founded to foster Peace Journalism in communication facilities, organizing conferences, and organizing workshops for current journalistic practitioners.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Dominant Frames

A. PEACE FRAMES

1. **Solution Frame**
   a. Inclusive Oriented
   b. We Are Friend Oriented
   c. Common Ground Oriented
   d. Friendly Speech Oriented

2. **Balance Frame**
   a. Fair Play Oriented
   b. Criticize Own Government Oriented
   c. Applaud Oriented

3. **Empathy Frame**
   a. Understanding the Other Oriented
   b. Trust Oriented
   c. Unprejudiced Oriented
   d. Accept Other As It Is Oriented
   e. Other In The Self Oriented

4. **Win – Win Frame**
   a. Emphasize Both Sides' Pains Oriented
   b. Good/Good or Bad Bad Oriented

5. **Anti-nationalist Frame**
   a. Forgiveness Oriented
   b. History – Culture Oriented

B. CONFLICT FRAMES

1. **Status Quo Frame**
   a. Exclusive Oriented
   b. They Are Our Enemy Oriented
   c. Just War Oriented
   d. Hate Speech Oriented

2. **Unbalance Frame**
   a. Sport Oriented
   b. Accuse Other Side's Government Oriented
   c. Blame Oriented

3. **Antipathy Frame**
   a. Other Is The Threat Oriented
   b. Distrust Oriented
   c. Prejudiced Oriented
   d. Inferior Oriented
   e. Self And Other Oriented

4. Win – Lose Frame
   a. Emphasize One Side's Pains Oriented
   b. Good and Evil Oriented

5. Nationalist Frame
   a. Revenge Oriented
   b. Who Throw The First Stone Oriented

Appendix B: Questions for Headlines

1. Story comes from which newspaper?

2. Story publication date?

3. Headline of the article? (copy verbatim)

4. Formation of the headline?
   a- Quotation b- Description c- Comment

5. Source of the story?
   a- News agency b- Own reporter c- Other media d- Unmentioned

6. Is there a quoted source within the article from an <u>official government</u> source?
   - (1) No (go to question 12)
   - (2) Yes

7. Which official government source cited?
   - (1) Turkish
   - (2) International

8. How many official government source names identified?
   - (1) One
   - (2) Two
   - (3) Three
   - (4) Four
   - (5) Five
   - (6) More than five

9. Whose Turkish official quoted source is mentioned in the article (if there is more than one, mark all of them)?
   - (1) President
   - (2) Prime Minister
   - (3) Ministers (s)
   - (4) Public Officials
   - (5) Oppositional Political Party Leader / Member

10. How many <u>unofficial source</u> names identified?
    - (1) One
    - (2) Two
    - (3) Three
    - (4) Four
    - (5) Five
    - (6) More than five

11. Whose Turkish unofficial quoted source is mentioned in the article (if there is more than one, list the first)?
    - (1) Experts

(2) NGO's
(3) Journalists/Newspapers
(4) Wo/Man on the street
(5) Protestors

12. Which frame(s) is/are dominated within the article?
  (1) Informative Frame
  (2) Peace Frame (go to question 11)
  (3) Conflict Frame (go to question 12)
  (4) Both Peace and Conflict Frame (go to question 11-12)

13. Which <u>peace frame</u> is dominated within the article?
  (1) Solution Frame
  (2) Balance – Descriptive Frame
  (3) Empathy Frame
  (4) Win – Win Frame
  (5) Anti-nationalist Frame
  (6) No peace frame within the article

14. Which <u>conflict frame</u> is dominated within the article?
  (1) Status Quo Frame
  (2) Unbalance Frame
  (3) Antipathy Frame
  (4) Win – Lose Frame
  (5) Nationalist Frame
  (6) No conflict frame within the article

Appendix C: Questions for Columnists

1. Columnist comes from which newspaper?

2. Columnists publication date?

3. Columnist's name?

4. Headline of the columnist?

5. Which frame(s) is/are dominated within the article?
   - (1) Informative Frame
   - (3) Peace Frame
   - (2) Conflict Frame
   - (4) Both Peace and Conflict Frame

6. Whose Turkish official quoted source is mentioned in the article (if there is more than one, mark all of them)?
   - (1) President
   - (2) Prime Minister
   - (3) Ministers (s)
   - (4) Public Officials
   - (5) Oppositional Political Party Leader / Member

7. Whose Turkish official quoted source is mentioned in the article (if there is more than one, mark all of them)?
   - (1) President
   - (2) Prime Minister
   - (3) Ministers (s)
   - (4) Public Officials
   - (5) Oppositional Political Party Leader / Member

8. Which peace frame is dominated within the article?
   - (1) Solution Frame
   - (2) Balance – Descriptive Frame
   - (3) Empathy Frame
   - (4) Win – Win Frame
   - (5) Anti-nationalist Frame
   - (6) No peace frame within the article

9. Which conflict frame is dominated within the article?
   - (1) Status Quo Frame
   - (2) Unbalance Frame
   - (3) Antipathy Frame
   - (4) Win – Lose Frame
   - (5) Nationalist Frame
   - (6) No conflict frame within the article

Appendix D: Newspapers

1. Newspaper Categories (Sampling)

Secular	Mainstream Commercial	Religious /Conservative	Nationalist	Left
Cumhuriyet	Hürriyet	Zaman	Yeni Çağ	Birgün
Sözcü	Milliyet	Türkiye		
	Sabah	Yeni Şafak		
	Haber Türk			
	Star			
	Akşam			
	Taraf			

2. Current National Newspaper List of Turkey

#	Newspaper	Owner	Distribution	Circulation
1	Hürriyet	Doğan Conglomerate	YAYSAT	315502
2	Sabah	Turkuvaz Communication ve Publishing	Turkuvaz	302479
3	Sözcü	Estetik Publishing, Burak Akbay	YAYSAT	293003
4	Posta	Doğan Newspapers (Doğan Holding)	YAYSAT	257767
5	Haber Türk	Ciner Conglomerate, Turgay Ciner	YAYSAT	204153
6	Foto Maç	Turkuvaz Communication ve Publishing	Turkuvaz	142481
7	Milliyet	Demirören Conglomerate	YAYSAT	132944
8	Türkiye	İhlas Conglomerate	Turkuvaz	131193
9	Takvim	Turkuvaz Communication ve Publishing	Turkuvaz	124824
10	Yeni Şafak	Yeni Şafak Newspapers, Ahmet Albayrak	Turkuvaz	110912
11	Güneş	T Media Investment	Turkuvaz	106902
12	Akşam[4]	T Media Investment	Turkuvaz	104212

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[4] Akşam newspaper's ownership was changed after Gezi Protests. Firstyly Newspaper confiscated by Turkish Deposit Insurance Found. It was newspaper of Çukurova conglomerate. Now owner of Akşam is T Media Iverstment.

13	Vatan	Vatan Newspapers	YAYSAT	103975
14	Fanatik	Doğan Newspapers	YAYSAT	103203
15	Star	Star Media Publishing	Turkuvaz	102799
16	Yeni Birlik	Forum Press	Turkuvaz	53475
17	Diriliş Postası	Akyıldız Newspapers, Mehmet Akosman	Turkuvaz	53188
18	Korkusuz	Estetik Publishing	YAYSAT	52566
19	Karar	Karar Publishing, Mehmet Aydın	YAYSAT	51719
20	YENİ ÇAĞ	Yeniçağ Newspapers, Ahmet Çelik	Turkuvaz	51542
21	Akit	Ramazan Fatih Uğurlu	Akit	51376
22	Milat	MEKA Newspapers, Ali Adakoğlu	Turkuvaz	50653
23	Harbi	Harbi Newspapers Press and Advertising	Turkuvaz	50214
24	Aydınlık	Anadolum Newspapers	Turkuvaz	49561
25	Cumhuriyet	Cumhuriyet Foundation, Orhan Meriç	Doğan	38684
26	Milli Gazete	Milsan Press, Ömer Yüksel Özek	Milli Gazete	32871
27	Doğru Haber	Ahmet Özdemir	Turkuvaz	31177
28	Yeni Mesaj	İcmal Publishing, Bilal Karamus	YAYSAT	13734
29	Birgün	Birgün Publishing, İbrahim Aydın	Turkuvaz	12157
30	AMK	Estetik Publishing	YAYSAT	11784
31	Şok	ABC Media Agency, Mustafa Küçük	YAYSAT	11581
32	İstiklal	Analiz News, Hüseyin Arif Çakmak	Turkuvaz	10352
33	Yeni Söz	Bağımsız Publising, Ali Adakoğlu	Turkuvaz	10347
34	Günboyu	Yeniçağ Newspapers, Ahmet Çelik	Turkuvaz	10273
35	Dokuz Sütun	Yeniçağ Newspapers, Ahmet Çelik	Turkuvaz	10268
36	Yeni Asya	Yeni Asya Newspapers, Mehmet Kutlular	Doğan	10183
37	Özgürlükçü Demokrasi	Engin Press, İhsan Yaşar	Doğan	10000
38	Ortadoğu	İleri Newspapers and Publishing, Belkıs Saraçoğlu	YAYSAT	5468
39	Evrensel	Bülten Press Publishing and Advertising, Cemal Dursun	Doğan	5141
40	Yurt	Başkent Agency, Durdu Özbolat	YAYSAT	4913

41	Hürses	Şafak Newspapers, Can Türker	Turkuvaz	1189
42	Taraf[5]	Alkım Newspapers	Cihan[6]	-
43	Zaman[7]	Feza Newspapers	Cihan	-
TOTAL CIRCULATION				3.230.765

This table compiled from www.medyatakip.com and retrieved on July 27, 2017

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[5] Taraf newspaper was closed under a statutory decree after state of emergency (Jully 15, 2016 Turkish coup attempt)

[6] Cihan distribution was closed under a statutory decree after state of emergency (Jully 15, 2016 Turkish coup attempt)

[7] Zaman newspaper was closed under a statutory decree after state of emergency (Jully 15, 2016 Turkish coup attempt.

Appendix E: Columnists List and Newspapers

Birgün	Adnan Bostancıoğlu Akın Olgun Aslı Aydın Ateş İlyas Başsoy Atilla Aşut Aziz Çelik Barış Gerçeker Bilge Seçkin Çetinkaya Burhan Sönmez Bülent Şık Bülent Usta Defne Gürsoy Ece Temelkuran Erkut Tekin F. Serkan Öngel Fırat Topal Fikri Sağlar	Gözde Bedeloğlu Gülşah Karadağ Güneş Duru Haluk Geray Hayri Kozanoğlu İbrahim Özden Kaboğlu İbrahim Varlı Kemal İnal Kemal Ulusaler L. Doğan Tılıç Melih Pekdemir Meryem Koray Müslüm Gülhan Nazım Alpman Nedim Saban	Nuray Mert Orçun Masatçı Osman Öztürk Özge Başak Taneli Özgür Gürbüz Rahmi Öğdül Refik Durbaş Selçuk Candansayar Şeyhmus Diken Tarık Günersel Turan Eser Ümit Alan Ünal Özmen Yaşam Kaya Zafer Diper Zahit Atam
Hürriyet	Ahmet Hakan Ayşe Arman Bilgin Gökberk Doğan Hızlan Ege Cansen Erdal Sağlam Ertuğrul Özkök Faruk Bildirici	Fatih Çekirge Gila Benyamor İsmet Berkan Kanat Atkaya Kenan Başaran Mehmet Y. Yılmaz Melis Alphan Noyan Doğan	Sedat Ergin Şükrü Küçükşahin Taha Akyol Uğur Vardan Vahap Munyar Yalçın Bayer Yalçın Doğan Yılmaz Özdil
Sözcü	Ayşe Sucu Emin Çölaşan İbrahim Kanbur Mehmet Türker Murat Muratoğlu	Nazan Doğaner Halıcı Necati Doğru Saygı Öztürk Sayime Başçı	Uğur Dündar Yekta Güngör Özden Yüksel Şengül
Yeni Çağ	A. Bican Ercilasun Adnan İslamoğulları Afet Ilgaz Agah Oktay Güner Ahmet Gürsoy Ahmet Sevgi Ahmet Takan Ahmet Ünal Altemur Kılıç Armağan Kuloğlu Arslan Bulut Arslan Tekin	Cazim Gürbüz Esfender Korkmaz Fatih Yardım Hasan Demir Haydar Çakmak Hüseyin Macit Yusuf İsmail Şahin İsmail Türk İsrafil K. Kumbasar Kenan Akın Kürşat Zorlu M. Uluğtekin Yılmaz Muhsin Küçük	Mustafa E. Erkal Özcan Yeniçeri Remzi Özdemir Sadi Somuncuğlu Savaş Süzal Selcan Taşçı Servet Avcı Şuayip Özcan Timuçin Mert Ümit Özdağ Yavuz Selim Demirağ

Zaman	A. Turan Alkan Abdullah Aymaz Abdülhamit Bilici Ahmet Selim Ahmet Turan Alkan Ali Bulaç Ali Çolak Ali Ünal Atilla Yayla Beşir Ayvazoğlu Bülent Korucu Ekrem Dumanlı	Eser Karakaş Fikret Ertan Günseli Özen Ocakoğlu Hamdullah Öztürk Hekimoğlu İsmail Hüseyin Gülerce İbrahim Öztürk İhsan Dağlı İskender Pala Joost Lagendijk Kadir Dikbaş Kerim Balcı Leyla İpekçi	Mehmed Niyazi Mehmet Ali Yıldırımtürk Melih Arat Mustafa Ünal Mümtaz'er Türköne Nazan Bekiroğlu Selim İleri Şahin Alpay

Appendix F: Johan Galtung's Peace Journalism Model

PEACE/CONFLICT JOURNALISM	WAR/VIOLENCE JOURNALISM
I. PEACE/CONFLICT-ORIENTATED Explore conflict formation, x parties, y goals, z issues general "win, win" orientation Open space, open time; causes and outcomes anywhere, also in history/culture making conflicts transparent Giving voice to all parties; empathy, understanding see conflict/war as problem, focus on conflict creativity Humanisation of all sides; more so the worse the weapons Proactive: prevention before any violence/war occurs Focus on invisible effects of violence (trauma and glory, damage to structure/culture)	**I. WAR/VIOLENCE ORIENTATED** Focus on conflict arena, 2 parties, 1 goal (win), war general zero-sum orientation Closed space, closed time; causes and exits in arena, who threw the first stone Making wars opaque/secret "us-them" journalism, propaganda, voice, for "us" See "them" as the problem, focus on who prevails in war Dehumanisation of "them"; more so the worse the weapon Reactive: waiting for violence before reporting Focus only on visible effect of violence (killed, wounded and material damage)
II. TRUTH-ORIENTATED Expose untruths on all sides / uncover all cover-ups	**II. PROPAGANDA-ORIENTATED** Expose "their" untruths / help "our" cover-ups/lies
III. PEOPLE-ORIENTATED Focus on suffering all over; on women, aged children, giving voice to voiceless Give name to all evil-doers Focus on people peace-makers	**III. ELITE ORIENTATED** Focus on "our" suffering; on able-bodied elite males, being their mouth-piece Give name to their evil-doers focus on elite peace-makers
IV. SOLUTION ORIENTATED Peace = non-violence + creativity Highlight peace initiatives, also to prevent more war Focus on structure, culture, the peaceful society Aftermath: resolution, reconstruction, reconciliation	**IV. VICTORY ORIENTATED** Peace = victory + ceasefire Conceal peace-initiative, before victory is at hand Focus on treaty, institution, the controlled society Leaving for another war, return if the old flares up again

Table is compiled from Lynch & McGoldrick (2005).