Medya ve Siyaset İlişkisinin Tarihsel Bağlamında Siyasal Söylem: 31 Mart 2019 Yerel Seçimleri

Abdulkadir GÖLCÜ* ⓘD
Harun DAĞ* ⓘD

ÖZ

Medya, siyasal söylemin topluma aktarılmasındaki en önemli araçlardan biridir. Bu bağlamda özellikle seçim dönemlerinde, siyasal söylemlerin yoğun bir şekilde yer aldığı haberler gündemi meşgul etmektedir. Bu haberlerin kurgusu ise dönemin medya ve siyaset ilişkisi ekseninde yapılandırılmaktadır. Bu çalışmanın amacı 31 Mart Yerel Seçimleri ile ilgili haberlerde medya ve siyaset ilişkisi ve siyasal söylemin haberlere yansımasını ortaya çıkarmaktır. Eleştirel söylem analizi yönteminin kullanıldığı çalışmada, 30-31 Mart ile 1 Nisan tarihlerinde örneklem olarak seçilen Sabah, Yeni Şafak, Hürriyet ve Birgün gazetelerinin resmi twitter hesapları üzerinden paylaştıkları haberler incelenmiştir. Çalışma neticesinde, haber metinlerinin anlamsal zenginlikten yoksun ve tek boyutlu bir bakış açısıyla inşa edildiği görülmüştür. Gazeteler, yerel siyasal söylemden ziyade genel siyasi söylemi ön plana çıkararak, siyasi bilgilenme sürecini manipüle eden bir yayın politikası benimsemiştir. Ayrıca analizlerde siyasilerin kutuplaştırıcı yaklaşımlarının, partizan bir şekilde haberlere de yansıdığı tespit edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Siyaset, Siyasal Söylem, Medya ve Siyaset, 31 Mart Yerel Seçimleri.

Political Discourse in the Historical Context of the Relationship of Media and Politics: 31 March 2019 Local Elections

ABSTRACT

Media is one of the most important tools for transferring political discourse to society. In this context, especially during the election periods, the news with an intense political discourse constitutes the agenda. The fiction of these news is structured in the axis of the media and politics relationship of the period. The purpose of this study is to reveal the relationship between media and politics and the reflection of political discourse on the news about the 31 March Local Elections. In the study, in which the discourse analysis method was used, the news shared by the newspapers Sabah, Yeni Şafak, Hürriyet and BirGün, selected as a sample of the study, on 30-31 March and 1 April were analyzed. As a result of the study, it was seen that the news texts lacked semantic richness and were constructed with a one-dimensional perspective. Newspapers have adopted an editorial policy that manipulates the process of political information by putting general political discourse ahead of local political discourses. In addition, in the analyzes, it has been determined that the polarizing approach of politicians is reflected in the news in a partisan manner.

Keywords: Politics, Political Discourse, Media and Politics, 31 March Local Elections.

1. Introduction

Although the relationship between media and politics has continued its existence since the spread of mass media that encompasses daily life, it appears as a process that gains high importance and cannot be ignored, especially in the current century. On the axis of technological advances, media started to exist more in social life, and as a result of this situation, the political sphere tried to dominate the media in almost every corner of the world. Political actors; they saw the media as a means to reach the society and make themselves permanent in the social memory, and as a result of this point of view, they focused on the processes of the media. As parallel to these developments in Turkey as well as all over the world impact on the politics of the media it is carried out through an accumulation of historical past. In this context, the process of two centuries, starting from the Ottoman renewal movements, as a result of the political development phases that took place in the first years of the republic and after, turned the media-politics relationship into a multi-faceted and complex political-social legacy. The importance of this legacy by the political authority and opposition movements in both the Ottoman period and the founding stages of the new Republic is accepted as a historical fact.

Today, seen as multifaceted political discourse of publicity tool in Turkey media periodically to be shaped by political power with different ideological perspective or have tried to design though, this

---

* Assoc. Prof., Selcuk University, kadirgolcu@selcuk.edu.tr
** Research Asistant, Suleyman Demirel University, harundag@sdu.edu.tr

shaping or "reformed" to efforts on the international level economy-politics-media trio it is not possible to think independently. At this point, it should be kept in mind that the media-politics relationship, which is tried to be observed at local or national level, has been shaped and should be considered in an international context after globalization and digitalization. At this point, global media structures formed by the effect of international economic structures create an obligation to rethink the media-politics relationship to be dealt with at national level. In this context, Thomas Meyer (2002, p. 72) states in his work named Media Democracy that the field of politics in the global political order has been under the influence of the media system, politics has undergone a significant change with this process and politics is now dependent on the rules of the media system. He also states that the global logic of the media system colonizes politics, not only changing the way in which the political is defined, but also that the political sphere emerges as a unique way of life. Lance Bennet (2000, p. 124-125) states that, with a similar point of view, the political attitudes and reactions that are tried to be produced in accordance with the nature of the media content are increasing, and that political figures who want to be the subject of the news media prefer formats appropriate to the nature of the media instead of original political content. In this context, it would not be wrong to say that the political powers have lost their unilateral influence potential in the media-politics relationship today. It has become a necessity for the dominant political discourses, which can be easily dominated within the traditional media structure, to undergo a highly professional production process in accordance with the nature of the media in order to become reality.

The best time frame in which all aspects of the media-politics relationship can be addressed is undoubtedly the processes of political discourse densities experienced during election periods. For this reason, election periods have gained importance in terms of providing an opportunity to reveal an anatomical map of the media-politics relationship. Turkey in particular is produced on March 31, 2019 Local Elections in political discourse in terms of media-politics has caused quite the experience to be an interesting time. This election is also important in terms of showing how Turkish political life, which has evolved into a two-dimensional barren political group, is handled through a bundle of political discourse at the media level. From this point of view, in this study, the reflection of the political discourses produced in the 31 March 2019 Local Elections in the media-politics equation will be discussed through the outputs of the news media. In this context, the news of Hürriyet and Sabah to represent mainstream publishing, Yeni Şafak to represent a conservative publishing policy, and BirGün to represent a socialist publishing policy were discussed about the March 31, 2019 Local Elections. In the study, primarily politics, discourse and political discourse are emphasized in a conceptual framework, and the relationship between media and politics is discussed. In the last section, the analysis of the news published during the election process was made by using Teun van Dijk's Discourse Analysis method.

2. Politics, Discourse and Political Discourse

Politics has been one of the most important elements of human social life from past to present. The word politics as a concept has been an area where an intense and multifaceted potential for discussion has been maintained since ancient times. Therefore, politics is approached from very different disciplines with different perspectives and different definitions are made for the phenomenon. For this reason, it should not be overlooked that although a single definition of the concept of politics is not possible, the concept is built on a rich multi-directional definition ground.

As an institution connected with social life, politics emerges with the communication and interaction of people living together. Politics is above all a social activity. Hence, it is necessary to mention that there are at least two people in order for politics to exist (Heywood, 2006, p. 1). Politics showing universality and continuity in terms of time and space (Kapani, 2012, p. 19); Although discussions have continued for many years (Yayla, 2003, p. 2-3) in terms of definition, general definitions are made by referring to different areas from struggle and fighting between people to the general benefit and well-being of humanity (Kapani, 2012, p. 17). There may be some conflicts between people for various reasons, as a human being is a creature that can think. The resolution of these conflicts is again in the sphere of politics (Yayla, 2003, p. 5). According to Heywood (2006, p. 3-12), politics has multiple dimensions such as governing, running public affairs, and compromise and consensus. Heywood also emphasizes the concept of power in politics. Çam (2000, p. 24) also defines politics through the concept of power. According to

Çam, while politics is a struggle for rights and sovereignty over scarce resources, it is also an effort to ensure social harmony. Kışlalı (2002, p. 18-19) also starts from a basic concept such as power, but does not deal with it only in relation to the state. According to him, the concept of power includes authority; authority includes those who govern and are governed within itself, and this struggle for authority can occur not only in the state but also in bilateral individual relations. In this context, it is possible to define politics not only to retain state authority but also as a field of struggle in almost every point of social life.

Media discourse, discourse and discussions on the concept are among the main points where the media-politics relationship, which is the main subject of this study, is made visible. At this point, it is necessary to consider discourse as a phenomenon as an extension of politics, its effect on social memory or its visibility in media channels. It is possible to see a difficulty in defining the concept of discourse, similar to the difficulty in defining politics as a concept. When we look at the origin of the concept of discourse, it is seen that it comes from the root "discurrere" in Latin and the meaning of the word is "running around, going and going" or "moving away", "melting", "spreading" (Sözen, 1999, p. 19). Discourse is a concept that is intertwined with many fields as well as ideological and cultural fields. These various fields gain a meaning within the discourse and find a chance to reconcile themselves with the social (Çoban, 2015, p. 199). Discourse includes the language and language practices used by individuals. However, it would not be the right approach to consider discourse as a phenomenon created only by language practices. Discourse is the combination of words derived from language with social context and practices (Sözen, 1999, p. 20).

According to Foucault, who is one of the leading names in the research of discourse in the field of social sciences, discourse is more than a specific sign or trace, it is a concept that has sociological materiality and ideological specificity and is always intertwined with power (Mutlu, 1998, p. 309). Foucault emphasizes that discourse is formed together with the concept of ideology and that it is one of the most important factors that enable it to take place in the intellectual structure of the power (Smith, 2007, p. 171). Van Dijk (2015, p. 19) also highlights that ideologies are embedded in discourses and presented to the society through language. According to Fairclough, ideology is in the language and surrounds the language (Özer, 2011, p. 55). According to Van Dijk (1999, p. 335), an ideological mechanism is important in the formation of power and the maintenance of domination. At this point, it is possible to say that discourse is one of the most important tools in ensuring that ideologies take a place in the society and maintaining the dominant order (Çoban, 2015, p. 208). Social structures play a role in the formation of discourses. It is also effective in producing and shaping social structures (Fairclough, 2015, p. 124).

Politics with the beginning of the modern period; It has manifested as a process mostly implemented on a bipolar political ground and through political parties. The existence of great narratives that received a mass response in this period made it compulsory to feed politics from an ideological source. According to Keyman (2000, p. 47), this structure of politics in modern times has made it compulsory to produce political discourses based on great narratives that are based on inclusive policies, unifying, integrating and trying to produce global solutions to the problems that occur. Great narratives have made the integrity within their own bodies visible through their struggle against their opponents through political discourses. Therefore, discourses in which the political functioning of the modern period is made visible has also turned into a medium where political struggle takes place. Reading this medium from a correct perspective will make it easier to understand political processes. As Sözen (1999, p. 24) stated, discourse has turned into an ideological and political field of struggle, as understood by different intellectual disciplines. This area of struggle also requires political actors to have a new and dynamic political perspective. In this context, considering the versatility of the concept of politics and the fact that discourse is the result of an interdisciplinary dynamic, it is very difficult to define the concept of political discourse. To deal with the whole relationship of individuals with discourse politically or to handle all kinds of texts and speeches in a political framework will reveal a generalization that will not be correct.

Political discourse should be considered as the language used by politicians in texts and speeches directly related to concrete political issues. From this point of view, it is possible to define political discourse as text and speech that emerges from the actual use of language used by political actors (Kampf, 2015, p. 3). Political discourse is generally defined by political discourse actors. Political discourse analyzes

are also conducted through the speeches of presidents, prime ministers and parliamentarians in this direction. However, it is not a correct approach to evaluate political discourse only through politicians. Because it is not only political actors who participate in political processes. The text or speeches that have a concrete "political" content can be addressed in the context of political discourse (van Dijk, 1998). For this reason, texts formed as a result of many different processes may need to be analyzed in terms of political discourse. Political discourses play an important role in the point of trust of individuals to politicians. In addition, the habits, lifestyles, beliefs and political cultures of the societies are effective factors in the formation of political discourses. In summary, it is possible to consider political discourses as the expression of ideological perspectives (Göksu, 2019, p. 1290). The transfer of this manifestation to the social structure and its perception take place in different ways among societies. Turkey introduced as the place where the most common and circulation of political discourse in particular is possible to see digital media channels. Besides these tools; places such as coffee houses, market places, artisan shops, mosque gardens are among the indispensable places of the Turkish social structure as channels where political discourses are circulated, adopted or criticized. Specifically, in this study, the spread of common media tools, which are one of the important mediators of political discourse to reach the society, is important in the axis of the relationship between media and politics. In this framework, the basic dynamics of the relationship between media and politics and perspectives on the subject will be discussed.

3. Origins of Media and Politics in Turkey Relations

Although Turkey also vary according to the circumstances of the period of media relations in politics, the media has managed to become an effective position for each period in the center of Turkish politics. At this point, it is important to consider the relationship between media and politics periodically. In the pre-republic period, a body of relations shaped around the weight of the central government is observed in the relationship between media and politics. Contrary to the alleged general opinion, the media-politics relationship took place in a very effective context during the reign of Sultan II Abdülhamid. According to Koloğlu (2006: 66) II. Abdulhamid was not a person against the spread of the press. According to Koloğlu, as stated in a state decree published in 1903, it was requested to spread the press to the provinces, to cover local agriculture, natural resources and culture issues in this press for the benefit of the people, and even to send newspapers to the villages. According to Çavdar (1999, p. 43-44) II. Abdulhamid period is based on the policy of rescuing the state that is falling apart, with an understanding of the press that prevents the spread of liberal, nationalist and constitutionalist ideas. For this reason, the control of media organs was needed for an intellectual life under the control and supervision of politics. As a result, during the reign of II. Abdülhamid, the relationship between media and politics took place on the axis of the planned transformation of the press into a multi-directional political tool. Especially the adoption of Islamism as the new political strategy of the state has shown its reflections in the field of the press in a short time, and the introduction of many newspapers in this direction was supported by the political government itself (Gölcü, 2019, p. 49).

Ittihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti (Association of Union and Progress, ITC), which emerged as an opposition movement during the reign of Abdülhamid II and aimed to wage a political struggle through newspapers, can be regarded as the first organized attempt to turn the media and politics relationship against the Ottoman administration. It is possible to say that before the I. Meşrutiyet (First Constitutional Monarchy), various opposition movements were trying to create a sphere of influence over the press, both at home and abroad, against the Ottoman administration. This period was a period in which the media-politics relationship took place on the axis of a struggle from the environment against the centralized authority. The fact that the ITC is to organize purposefully both in the provinces and in the center of Istanbul through the press has been an indication of the transition to a new phase in the media-politics relationship. In this context, Arabacı (2011, p. 73-75) also drew attention to the importance of newspapers and journalism activities in the opposition and social transformation project of the ITC. In this process, İttihat ve Terakki Cemiyeti, in addition to the central newspapers and magazines published abroad and in the country, also established local press organizations and carried out activities to shape, direct and mobilize the society from the provinces to the center.

With the establishment of the Republic in 1923, a holistic social transformation process was initiated, and the structure of politics was also subject to change as a result of this transformation movement. The media-politics relations have begun to be reconsidered in accordance with the ground conditions of Turkey's new in this axis. Especially in this new period, an expectation has arisen that the media will undertake a mission that will reinforce political and social transformations. In this direction, the media; In the first years of the Republic, an important tool was seen in explaining the revolutions and it was provided to take on this role (Işık, 2002, p. 137-140). During this period, the media were not asked to oppose the activities to be carried out by the management, on the contrary, it was expected to support the management for the practices. Although this support request started with an attempt to persuade the media, it was later tried to be made obligatory through various laws (Demir, 2007, p. 139). As a result of the Sheikh Sait Rebellion that broke out in the first years of the Republic and the political turmoil, the Takrir-i Sükûn Law was enacted, and within the scope of this law, the opposition and the press considered dangerous in terms of the new administration were tried to be silenced. In this period, through the İstiklal Mahkemeleri (Specially authorized courts established in extraordinary circumstances) established as a result of the law, opponents in both the political field and the media field started to be harshly followed (Güz, 1991).

When it came to 1930, with the establishment of the Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası (Free Republican Party, SCF) at the request of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, hopes that the press would act in a free environment increased, and a critical perspective in the media was realized in the newspapers Son Posta and Yarın, albeit for a short time. However, this process took a very short time and with the Press Law enacted in 1931, the government was given the authority to close the publication it wanted, and the pressure on the press began to be felt significantly (Demir, 2007, p. 140). As can be seen, considering the relationship between media and politics since the early years of the Republic, It is seen that the habit of controlling the media from the reign of Abdülhamid II and the ITC continues. The transformation of the political structure of the regime into a republic did not allow the media-politics relationship to get rid of old habits. In this period when the relationship between media and politics was maintained in an equation far from normative expectations, the mission of defending the new regime was determined as the main task of the media. In addition, it would not be wrong to state that the pressure on the media continues until the multi-party life is implemented, taking into account different practices.

Multi-party life transition and political sense as well as in Turkey is a very important period in the media field. With the establishment of the Demokrat Parti (Democrat Party, DP) in 1946, the limited pluralism process, media and transformations started in Turkish political life. With the emergence of a second party and the effect of the elections to be held, politicians took a more moderate approach towards the media. As a result of these developments, the media had the opportunity to give more space to political news on their pages before the 1946 elections (Karpat, 1996). This results in Turkey of a special one-dimensional media-politics, the media kept under control perspective, albeit limited, has led to a platform to relocate dealt with more than one perspective. In this direction, even though the press seemed to have continued their activities in a much freer environment between 1946 and 1950, there are still certain limits. In this process, too, the press with a leftist publishing approach faced the danger of being shut down (Demir, 2007, p. 154). With the adoption of the Press Law on July 24, 1950, the environment of freedom in the media in the transition to multi-party life expanded further. With the coming to power of the DP, journalists in prisons were released, and publications that were closed were allowed to be re-published. Media in Turkey, for the first time since the declaration of the Republic began to pursue the publication activities in an environment so free (Gürkan, 1998, p. 469). A similar situation was seen during the 6-months period after the II. Meşrutiyet (Proclamation of the Constitutional Monarchy), it was also seen in the 1-year period after the establishment of the Republic and after the establishment of the SCF and unfortunately these freedom periods became too short. Similarly, media freedom of press in Turkey did not last too long, as always, began the process in 1950 as a result of the negativities experienced in economic terms in 1954, it again started to be under pressure. When the media started to criticize the government for economic reasons, the DP resorted to an attempt to keep the press under control with the changes it made in the press law on March 8, 1954 (Gürkan, 1998, p. 470). One of

the most important developments in the field of press during the DP period is the financial support it provided to media organizations acting in its favor. Not only financial support was provided to the pro-Democrat Party press, but also practices such as providing loans, allocating paper and posting official advertisements came to the fore (Yıldız, 1996, p. 488). In the period when the DP was in power, the support provided to the press with a pro-ruling publishing understanding also led to the emergence of the term "feeding press" (Girgin, 2011). When looking at the press-politics relationship of the DP period, it is possible to say that the political power was in an effort to establish its own unique power by breaking the Single Party hegemony over the press for many years. In fact, it has been possible to see that the efforts and policies of establishing power over the press were clearly implemented both during the ITC and in the first years of the Republic (Gürkan, 1998; Koloğlu, 2006).

The Military Coup of May 27, 1960, marked the beginning of a different and complex period in terms of media and politics relations. The secret of the difference and the confusion stemmed from the contradictions between legal regulations and actual practices. The 1961 Constitution, which was prepared in order to serve as a prescription of legitimacy for the May 27 Military Coup, stated that the relationship between media and politics should operate with an idealist and normative logic. In this context, the 1961 Constitution guaranteed to very important processes, such as that the press would not be subjected to censorship, that there would be no permission and financial security requirement for publishing newspapers and magazines, and that media institutions could only be closed by the constitution. Here, it can be said that broad rights are given to the media in general (Gevgili, 1983, p. 224). Kabacalı (1999, p. 280), who discusses the issue through the attitudes of the press organizations in the process, states that the Turkish press, which gave great support before and after the 27 May Military Coup, is almost rewarded with the legal regulations made after the coup. He also stated that the laws restricting the freedom of the press should be removed as soon as possible by the legal commission established by the National Unity Committee to determine the anti-democratic laws. In addition, the law number 212 on the rights of journalists was passed during this period (Demir, 2007, p. 170). However, in a short time, the coup government attempted to establish a control mechanism over the press, and also made an effort to design civil politics. The coup administration, which did not consent to anyone to undertake the legacy of the Democrat Party, preferred to threaten attempts on this issue through the press. As a result, the press, considering the period of post-coup conditions axis with the support of their organizations, the media and politics in Turkey will begin to be addressed in a new context in particular. The foundations of a new equation of media and politics, in which media support was important, was laid after the May 27 Military Coup. Also claiming that the coup happened job to recover from the crisis in which the democracy in Turkey; It did not hesitate to put pressure on the political mechanism on many issues ranging from the election results to the election of the president, from the press activities, the statements made and even the activities of the coalition partners. The 1970s, which entered into with these developments, were experienced far from bringing a new interpretation to the relationship between media and politics. The military bureaucracy factor, which was added to the relationship between media and politics that started with the May 27 coup, soon established its legitimacy on the basis of protecting the regime. In this context, with the 1971 Memorandum, amendments were made in the constitution and the dosage of the pressure on the media was increased (Demir, 2007). Since this date, the authority established by the military bureaucracy over political processes has preferred to apply constant pressure within the framework of its understanding of dominating both the political mechanism and the media. In the 1980s, radical changes occurred in the field of media, and the media started to be more related to the economic field besides politics.

September 12, 1980 Military Coup in Turkey have caused irreparable damage to the political and social life, and for many years has led to the emergence of the political mechanism of a political process driven by not allowing the return to their routines. After the September 12, 1980 Military Coup, when the project of conducting politics on a shallow ground was implemented, the relationship between media and politics turned into a relationship that was kept under control and manipulated. This period turned into a period in which intellectual activities decreased in the field of the press, as in every medium, due to the liberal economy and political system that were desired to be established, while the media structurally prioritized

economic concerns with the accumulations transferred from different capital fields. In this context, economic policies that started in the 1950s and reached their last point in the 80s brought about changes in the cultural codes of the Turkish society (Lüküslü, 2009, p. 117-124).

After the coup, many newspapers operating with the mission of obtaining information and meeting the cultural needs of the society were closed down many times and journalists were constantly faced with trials (Topuz, 2011; Koloğlu, 2006). One of the most important developments for the press after the coup was the avoidance of news and comments on political issues. The press started to become a tabloid, and the public began to lose its feature of being an institution of the grassroots, as there was no public activity (Gezgin, 2006, p. 167). The press understanding of the coup administration led to the disappearance of a free and original understanding of the press. In this process, the press was seen as a means of legitimizing the work of the coup administration. In this direction, the contents of the press were tried to be shaped (Dündar, 2016, p. 125-128). From this stage, as in the world of the media in Turkey, not independent of politics and capital, and felt himself responsible to the government and various power centers. The media, which has become a part of power and capital, has become intertwined with the political sphere (Yanardağ, 2008, p. 188).

In the 1990s, the most important factors affecting the relationship between media and politics are social events, terror and the army. Terrorism which was one of the most important issues for Turkey in these years, the press and the journalists closely affected, 1990's many media employees' abductions early, injury, murder, and was exposed assassinated (Gölcü, 2019, p. 212). In such an environment, the Anti-Terror Law, prepared in the name of combating terrorism, played a restrictive role in the work of journalists. Although the publications of various press organizations were affected under the law, the left, socialist and Islamist press faced the most pressure. Even the central media monopolies have often approved this pressure (Topuz, 2011, pp. 278, 281). In a period when the social turmoil was at a high level, the coalitions process that would continue throughout the 90s, with the choices of Turkish voters constantly changing, started with the election held in 1991. As a result of the 1991 election, Doğru Yol Partisi (True Path Party-DYP) and Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti (Social Democratic People's Party-SHP) formed a coalition (Findley, 2011, p. 357). One of the major political actors of the period of the Refah Partisi (Welfare Party-RP) in 1994 after the success in the local elections, the political scene has more in terms of relations with the media and politics in Turkey is possible to say that a new page is opened. Cemal (2010, s. 216) stated that the majority of the press made efforts to prevent RP, which became the first party in 1995, not to be a coalition partner, and that Aydın Doğan and Dinç Bilgin, the biggest media bosses of the period, did not share Tansu Çiller with the RP. He states that he is trying to persuade. This initiative was not successful and the RefahYol coalition government was established with the partnership of RP and DYP under the prime ministry of Necmettin Erbakan. After the establishment of the government, in addition to the intense criticism of the media, the army also took action against the established government and intimidated the RefahYol government. Especially although the Turkish Armed Forces General Staff is described as a normal march, after the tanks took to the streets in Sincan in 1997, General Çevik Bir's statement that "we have balanced democracy in Sincan" (Birand and Yıldız, 2012, p. 200-201), it showed its willingness to directly interfere in civil politics. As a result of these developments, the National Security Council through in the February 28, 1997 qualify as postmodern coup in Turkey "advice" called the statement set forth and where a high perception confiscate the possibility at any moment the power of the military has been created (Bostancı, 2012, p. 79). One of the most important points to be noted in the context of the media-politics relationship of this period is that the General Staff discovered the media in the words of Birand and Yıldız (2012, p. 183). The Turkish Armed Forces has greatly improved its relations with the secular central media and has taken control of headlines and television news (183). As can be seen, in the 1990s, in the media-politics relationship, the military power that emerged from time to time in the republic period and wanted to continue its influence on civil politics felt its influence.

As a result of the February 28 process, Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan had to resign on 18 June 1997 and this resignation in proved that Turkish Military Forces achieved to balance democratic-civil politics and reach the "postmodern coup" by using media organs and news headlines. In the process

continues under the leadership of Anavatan Partisi (Motherland Party-ANAP), Demokratik Sol Parti (Democratic Left Party-DSP) and established a new coalition government. As in all of the 1990s, the life of this coalition government did not last long, and a new coalition took place in Turkish political history in 1999 with the partnership of DSP, MHP and ANAP (Zürcher, 2017, p. 432, 435). After nearly twelve years of uncertainty, the Turkish voters put an end to the coalition governments and authorized Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party-AK Parti) under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdogan to form a government alone on 3 November 2002. This change in the political arena also paved the way for a very important period in terms of media and politics relations. Adaklı (2009, p. 559-560) emphasizes that the AK Parti wanted a transformation in the media after it came to power and wanted to create a media that acts directly in line with its management approach. Duran (2015, p. 20) also highlights that the AK Party's media policies aim to rebuild by completely changing the media, rather than creating media that supports it alone. As a matter of fact, the ideologically important television channels, newspapers and magazines of the STAR group led by Cem Uzan at the head of the AKP government were confiscated (20-21). One of the most important features of the AK Party rule was the fight with direct media bosses and press employees. The fight between the prime minister of the period, Recep Tayyip Erdogan and Aydın Doğan on this issue is one of the most important examples. As a result of the fight, a large amount of tax penalty was imposed on the Doğan Group and the media that would act in opposition was intimidated (Yaşlı, 2014, p. 37-38; Turanlı, 2015, p. 275). After the AK Party came to power, various changes and transformations took place in the media industry, the media ownership structure changed to a great extent and a situation summarized as "AKP media and others" emerged (Adaklı, 2009, p. 560-561). Çaylı and Depeli (2014, p. 43) also emphasize that with the changes in the media capital structure experienced in this period, the central media was constructed as a political tool that does not go beyond the discourse of the government. As you can see, nearly one hundred years in the history of the republic's political power, regardless of what it is possible to talk about the relationship between media and politics in the context of that element of pressure against the ideological background in Turkey. In general, governments have always wanted the media to serve them and implemented various practices in this context. Another important issue in terms of media and politics in Turkey, the army until the emergence in the 2000s as an effective power factor.

4. Political and Media Atmosphere of Turkey in the 31 March Local Elections

The March 31 Local Elections, in which the Turkish political equation was sharply divided into two distinct poles, caused the relationship between media and politics to operate from a different perspective than those experienced in historical context. In this context, on 31 March local elections, has two main dynamics that differs from the previously held elections in Turkey. The first of these dynamics is that political parties can form alliances with the arrangement of election alliances, similar to the June 24 elections, and the second is the strategic voting behavior that emerges as a result of alliances (Miş and Duran, 2019, p. 367). In addition to these differentiation, a local election, which is rarely seen in Turkish political history, was held in a general election atmosphere by both Cumhur İttifakı (People's Alliance) and Millet İttifakı (Nation Alliance) and even presented to the society as a struggle for existence. In addition, beyond alliances, the local elections on March 31 are also important for every political party in terms of their nature. Therefore, each political party attributed a different meaning to these elections. For the AK Party and MHP, which are in Cumhur İttifakı, victory in these local elections has been extremely essential for the consolidation of the Presidential Government System (Erciyas and Baykal, 2019, p. 30). Contrary to the previously lost elections for the CHP, concerns such as winning this election, restoring the reputation of the voters and proving the electorate of good age for the IYI Party came to the fore. All these developments and dynamics have indirectly carried the relationship between media and politics to a very different ground in this election. Media organizations with different ownership structures and publication policies in the axis of electoral alliances did not hesitate to publish news or comments supporting candidates from quite different political lines in line with the general interests of political alliances. Instead of highlighting political differences for the media, there was a need to conduct a political information process that would make the legitimacy of the counter alliance and its candidates' question.

Digital technologies and social media channels used effectively in this election were another factor that caused this election process to be separated from traditional election processes. Many new processes such as parties and candidates reaching voters via social media, holding e-rallies on digital platforms, Hashtag wars, struggles to become TrendTopic prove how important the March 31 Local Elections are in terms of understanding the transformation in the relationship between media and politics.

The origins of the media divergence mentioned above have not emerged overnight. A continuation of the political blocs formed in the axis of alliances that emerged in the presidential elections of June 24, 2018, could easily legitimize itself in the social and political atmosphere during this election process. Unlike June 24, although there is no legal basis, the Presidential election is basically shaped by the partnership of the AK Party and MHP led by the People's Alliance and CHP and IYI Party. The Alliance came to the fore in the elections. At the same time, in some metropolitan cities, HDP (Peoples' Democratic Party) supported the Nation Alliance by not nominating candidates. In such an environment in local elections, Turkey's integrated with the general political atmosphere and the weather has taken a general election. On the one hand, the People's Alliance, which adopts the discourse of "Survivability", and on the other hand, the Nation Alliance, which united in the discourse that the government was degenerated and the future of the country was wasted on the other side, mostly on the demands of "Right, Law, Justice", carried out the election process. Turkey has had a much harsher weather than many choices in this election period, the parties have heavily criticized each other and found serious criminal charges. In the local election process, where party leaders came to the fore rather than mayor candidates, the leaders' discourses influenced the process. MHP leader Devlet Bahçeli has described many times the Nation Alliance as the "Zillet (Humiliation) Alliance". Bahçeli said, "The CHP is humiliated. Zillet is entangled with IP. The HDP is the cruelty itself. SP, ÖDP are the backups of the blasphemy. The traitors who shroud the PKK, FETÖ, and Turks are the main vein of humiliation. Therefore, humiliation alliance can not leave Turkey. We cannot hand over municipalities to the Zillet Alliance. We cannot condone terrorists and separatists that we cleared from the mountain to flood into municipalities" (Ntv.com.tr) accusing the Nation Alliance of collaborating with terrorism. Bahçeli continued his harsh statements about the Nation Alliance and its candidates throughout the election process. In addition to this, AK Party Chairman and President Recep Tayyip Erdogan continued the "Zillet" rhetoric against the opposition and their candidates. At the rally he held in Denizli, Erdogan said, "Who is against the People's Alliance right now? He continued his statements such as "Zillet Alliance exists, İllet (Malady) Alliance" (Beyaz TV) throughout the election process. In line with the discourse of the two leaders, many politicians have likewise burdened the opposition.

The leader of IYI Party, Meral Akşener, said, "I condemn those at the top of the People's Alliance. They defined those who voted for the Nation Alliance, the CHP and the IYI Party, the Democrat Party and the Saadet Party as 'malady' and 'zillet'. He addressed the government with the words "I am returning these words to those who say "illet, zillet" to those who represent 18 million voters who voted for us" (Hurriyet.com.tr). CHP leader Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu said, "Like other political parties, we do not discriminate by saying that it is a disgrace, this is a nation. I believe that such a fighting style is also not correct. If it is about the service race, we are there to the end. What is the necessity of fighting?" (Evrensel.net). In this context, it is seen that the government determines an actionary electoral understanding and conducts the election process through the discourses it has developed in this manner. It would not be wrong to say that the opposition is trying to undergo a reactionary election process. In fact, this situation can be considered as a rare attitude in Turkish political life. Because multiparty transition to life in Turkey since 1946 almost every election period the usual process of having to face the stiff opposition from the ruling party has become an electoral tradition. Nevertheless, the March 31 elections have been recorded as one of the usual election processes in the history of the Turkish election in which social and political polarization was experienced intensely.

The harsh stance of the political leaders in the March 31 Local Elections has also clearly affected the media contents. All the details of the political controversy were recorded, especially in the main media contents such as news and column articles where the social memory is recorded. In this context, it is seen that the news media and columnists follow the process by dividing them into two main groups as in

political alliances. As an end of this process, columnists also united at two poles, adopted partisan attitudes and made heavy accusations against parties-alliances-leaders. As a result of this bias, the articles written during the election process took their place in the media organs as products of a partisan approach. At this point, Sabah Newspaper columnist Hilal Kaplan to criticize the Nation Alliance, said: "The last word: AK Party, where no martyrs came, and the mothers of martyrs prayed for the solution process, where the PKK murdered five district chairmen and members fighting in the Southeast. Those who count on, have established an alliance with Kandil. This nation will not please Kandil" (Kaplan, 2019a). In his article, Kaplan acted in line with the statements of the leaders of the People's Alliance, and criticized the opposition with a heavy language. She identified the Nation Alliance with terrorism. In another article, Kaplan continued the polarizing language of society, and for the Nation Alliance, the opposition alliance, once called 'five unlike', has become more and more the same. It is the unchangeable law: Degradation brings with it the diminution. We will see the morning of April 1 more clearly" (Kaplan, 2019b) has harshly criticized the opposition by putting her statements on her lines. When the writings of Kaplan wrote in this period are examined, it is clear that she made heavy accusations against the Nation Alliance, especially through Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, and she mentioned it along with terrorism. Mehmet Barlas, another columnist of Sabah Newspaper, was burdened with the opposition, just like Hilal Kaplan, over the terror issue. Barlas wrote in his article on March 27, 2019, "The CHP's Kılıçdaroğlu, who determined to defeat President Erdoğan as a target in the March 31 local elections, unfortunately brought this party to the HDP or the PKK." (Barlas, 2019a), he identified the CHP with terrorism. Again, Barlas did not hesitate to use the expression "Meek Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu" to Kılıçdaroğlu in his article dated 19 March 2019, in which he compared Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu (Barlas, 2019b). While writers in the ruling bloc criticized the opposition very heavily, writers close to the opposition also harshly criticized the government. Cumhuriyet Newspaper columnist Orhan Bursalı accused the Government of being in alliance with FETÖ, stating "You have created the biggest survival problem with FETÖ" (Bursalı, 2019a) in his article dated 12 February 2019. It is possible to say that writers who are politically close to the rulership have adopted the tactic of commemorating the opposition with terrorism by writers close to the opposition. In another article, Orhan Bursalı described the government as the survival problem of the state with the expressions "What is held today as a survival problem is actually the question of whether the AKP government remains at the head or not" (Bursalı, 2019b). Sözcü Newspaper writer Yılmaz Özdil made heavy accusations against the government in his articles during this period. "The election of the capital is not just a municipal election. Turkey is a summary of the caliper fight against slander and lies "(Özdil, 2019) expressed in the municipal elections were seen as a general election, the ruling has been criticized by heavy accusations. In his article on December 24, 2018, Birikim Magazine writer Kadri Gürsel said, "31 March 2019 is not an election for CHP voters to punish the CHP administration by not going to the ballot box, but to go to the ballot box to record their objection and opposition to the government. And as in Turkey "competitive authoritarian regimes," which go to polls in opposition voters, in especially economic crisis, it is supremely important "(Gürsel, 2019) the selection of expression has put the local elections in a separate place, citizens were invited to give vote against the government.

A lot of data can be derived from both the discourses of the politicians and the writings of the columnists about the situation in which a very short summary of the election period is tried to be mentioned above. However, this is a broad field in itself to be another subject of study. Still, it is important to summarize as it gives an idea of the selection process. As you can see, Turkey on March 31, 2019 local elections went in a very tough political atmosphere. Both politicians and journalists preferred a language that polarized society during this period. In addition, in the local election process, almost no leader, no columnist has said or wrote anything about the candidates' projects related to the cities. The addition of this selection has now become an indicator for parties remain in the background of ideological approach in Turkey. Looking at the alliances that emerged, parties that seemed unlikely to come side by side from an ideological point of view acted together.

5. Method

The aim of this study was made of the media and politics in Turkey, March 31, 2019 via news texts is to consider the context in Local Elections process. In this regard, the news of Hürriyet and Sabah to represent mainstream publishing, Yeni Şafak to represent a conservative publishing policy, and BirGün to represent a socialist publishing policy were discussed about the March 31, 2019 Local Elections. In this context, newspapers at national level in Turkey, Hürriyet, Sabah, Yeni Safak and BirGün are giving out a link to Twitter accounts with four different editorial policy of the newspapers that published the news on its Web site have been analyzed. A total of 22 news items were included in the analysis. The time frame of the study was limited to include 30 March, which is the day before the elections, March 31, which is the election day, and April 1, which is the first day after the elections.

Political discourses in news texts need to be analyzed so that the news that will be discussed in the study can be handled in the axis of the relationship between media and politics. Therefore, discourse analysis method developed by Teun van Dijk will be used as a method in the study. Discourse analysis is based on analyzing the content in the text (poem, novel, news, column, film, advertisement, etc.), examining the meanings included in the text through the linguistic units (words, sentences, etc.) used in the text and the apparent meanings of the language used in the text, It is to look at the relationships, historical processes and dominant paradigm in which terms and concepts are produced (Güngör, 2013, s. 242). In this context, discourse analysis is basically a perspective on social life consisting of methodological and conceptual elements, and it is characterized as a way of thinking on discourse (theoretical and meta-theoretical elements) and dataizing discourse (Çelik and Ekşi, 2008, s. 104).

Discourse analysis, which has a wide area of use in social sciences, is an analysis technique that feeds on different disciplines. Discourse analysis emerged as an interdisciplinary field between the mid-1960s and the mid-1970s (van Dijk, 1991, s. 108). Discourse analysis emerging primarily in linguistics; It has become widespread in various academic disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, philosophy, social psychology, political science, and communication, and has gradually become a multidisciplinary or transdisciplinary approach (Evre, 2009, s. 107). Discourse analysis, which has an interdisciplinary feature, is a reflexive or critical analysis that includes a socioingcoustic study, text analysis, social analysis and all these types of analysis, and it has the feature of seeing and interpreting language as an action, communication form, social practice (Sözen, 2014, s. 79). However, discourse analysis involves making the style, thematic structure or conceptual interpretation of the text and speech, taking into account the various characteristics of the social context such as gender, status, power, ethnic origin, and roles (van Dijk, 1985, s. 4-5). From Teun van Dijk's point of view, discourse analysis requires the analysis of the language or texts on the axis of two main linguistic analysis logic, syntactic and semantic. Semantic analysis necessitates a semantic analysis of news texts. In the process of syntactic analysis, the focus is on analyzing the text through sentence patterns and determining the processes that decompose the meaning or meanings of the text (Yegen, 2013, s. 75). In addition, in the syntactic analysis phase, focusing on both the linguistic and socio-cultural aspects of the text or news, the context in which the text is produced is analyzed. These two basic trends used in the analysis of the text; In Teun van Dijk's discourse analysis model, it shows itself as two separate main titles as "micro structure" and "macro structure". While the sounds, words, sentence structures and meanings of the text are discussed in the context of microstructure, all dimensions of the discourse such as the theme, thematic structure and subject of the text are discussed in macro structure analysis (Devran, 2010, s. 64). Based on this basic point, Teun van Dijk's discourse analysis model is a bridge between macro approaches and micro approaches approaching texts from a unidimensional theoretical ground, in which the model of discourse analysis creates an integrity between macro and micro levels in daily interaction and experience (van Dijk, 2015a, s. 468). It is possible to say that he is trying to create (Evre, 2009, s. 139).

Analysis of the macro structure of the news text requires an examination within the context of the context in which the text's content is created. In the macro structure analysis, the paragraphs of the text are expressed in a sentence and then these sentences are reduced to a few sentences and finally to a single sentence, trying to reveal what the text means (Toy, 2019, s. 149). The macro structure is divided into two as thematic and schematic analysis. The thematic structure, which constitutes the first step of the macro

structure, analyzes the organization of the themes or topics of the news text with a hierarchical logic. In short, it focuses on the fact that a discourse can consist of more than one themes and the structuring of these themes within the discourse (Çiçek and Uysal, 2019, s. 185). In this context, in the thematic structure analysis, the cause and effect relationship in the text and the issues that make up the text from the top to the lowest level of the text are mentioned (San Sungunay, 2018, s. 37). In the schematic analysis, the background information containing the details of the text or the news, the context information in which the text is produced, the situation definitions that give the text a cause and effect relationship, and the statements containing comments that show which of the parties of the text is established on an axis close to the transmissions are examined.

In analyzing the microstructure of the news text; syntactic analysis, regional harmony, word choices and rhetorical analysis are made (Doruk, 2013, s. 115). In syntactic analysis, it handles the sentence structures created in the text according to their being active or passive, or simple or complex. In the regional cohesion title, which is a continuation of micro analysis, the relationship between the successive sentence sections is discussed in the axis of the text's fictionality (Karaçay, 2018, s. 37). Microstructural analysis plays an important role in revealing the word preferences in the text, the ideological effect and discursive structuring reflected in the texts, based on the acceptance that texts are a discourse. Because, by looking at the ideological and cultural meanings of the words preferred in the texts, "the basic beliefs and ideologies about social actors are put forward" (Doruk, 2013, s. 115). Therefore, which adjectives, which nouns, which action words are selected in texts and in what order they are combined play an important role in the establishment of the discourse and in the concealment of the power / powerful discourses existing in the society (Aygül, 2013, s. 112; Alp, 2015, s. 22). Another element in microstructure analysis is rhetoric. Rhetoric; It can be explained as the holistic harmony that is tried to be created with the harmony of various elements in the text. When considered over the news, rhetoric; It is an effort to increase the credibility of the news text with the photographs, statistics, numbers, eyewitnesses or quotations from sources and experts' statements in the text.

6. Findigs
6.1. Yeni Şafak Newspaper

On March 30, the main subject of the article titled "You cannot bring what we destroyed in the mountains to duty in municipalities" is the statements of MHP Chairman Devlet Bahçeli. The newspaper used a part of Devlet Bahçeli's statements directly without quoting in the title. The newspaper has built a narrative structure in its news discourse that internalizes Bahçeli's discourses without quoting. While the grammatical structure of the news is dominated by sentence structures and word preferences produced on the axis of negativity and opposition, the headline emphasizes that opposition candidates serve terrorism in local elections, and municipalities will serve terrorism if the election is lost. While the news rhetoric preferred by the newspaper was created in line with the narratives of the ruling bloc, the preferred sources for the news were also limited to the members of the People's Alliance. Instead of a discourse on local elections, the text of the news article, in which a general political discourse was produced, did not include any information regarding candidates or voter expectations.

On March 31, in the news titled "To the ballot for survival", the discourse framework of the news was built over the "survival" discourse, which was the main agenda of the People's Alliance in the elections. The statement "contains deeper meanings than the local elections" in the spotlight of the news is a clear reflection of the political discourse built by the People's Alliance bloc in general during the election process. Likewise, the general political propaganda carried out by the government through local elections was legitimized with the expression "foreign interventions in the ballot box and the siege efforts in our geography" in the spot. With such word and sentence preferences, the newspaper caused a semantic closure of the news discourse in the axis of the People's Alliance. The use of the source for the whole news and the word and sentence preferences related to its grammatical structure caused the text of the news to be reduced to a one-dimensional discourse practice. In addition, the expression "these elections in which terrorist organizations such as the PKK-FETÖ put their hope" was highlighted in order to create the news discourse on the axis of the us-them opposition. In this way, the approach that some terrorist

organizations will achieve their goals if the opposition wins in the elections was repeated in the news discourse. Also in the news, references to "get the answer to the shooters," "terrorist carrying municipality" and "stable and strong Turkey" power with intermediate title "survivability" rhetoric supporting, the axis of the news discourse of national security issues has been subjected to a semantic closure. Words such as "the siege in our geography", "financial hitmen" and "survival struggle" used in the news text caused a break from the context of the local election.

On April 1, the main subject of the article titled "Binali Yıldırım's many votes were shifted" is the vote count in the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality election. The AK Party's claim that Yıldırım's votes were written to the wrong candidates was internalized in the newspaper and carried to the headline. All the elements that make up the news discourse at the macro level are selected from the statements of the ruling party. All word patterns preferred in the news spot, introduction and subheadings were repetitions of ruling party statements, and in this context, the narrative structure of the news was subjected to a one-dimensional closure. This biased use of sources and internalized transferences preferred in the news also facilitated the establishment of the separation between us and them in news discourse. Also in the news the way from deprived backgrounds and context of the information, has been described as a plot against Turkey instead of giving the details of the local elections. Likewise, the opinion that the candidate of the Presidential Alliance ranked second in the election as a result of irregularities was frequently highlighted in the news discourse, with the subtitles "AK Party's 330 votes were not written in two ballot boxes" and "data that will change results". It is possible to see a similar biased attitude in the news images. In order to strengthen the news rhetoric, it is seen that the images are selected among the posts of the ruling party. In order for the text of the news to undergo a one-dimensional semantic closure, explanations of the parties to the event are not included.

On April 1, the main subject of the article titled "Organized vote theft" is about the counting of votes in the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality election. The headline is built on a precise judgment narrative at the macro level. In this context, the discursive framework of the news includes macro and micro materials that will reinforce the idea of "vote theft". In order to legitimize this discursive framework, we-them opposition has been constructed in the news rhetoric. The grammatical preferences that draw attention in the news are that the words and verbs used to reinforce this opposition contain certain expressions, and they consist of incriminating elements such as "stealing", "theft", "fraud". The sub-headings of "All Documented", "Great Pillage in Esenyurt", "They are in every ballot box", "They wrote to İmamoğlu" and "216 votes evaporated" facilitated the construction of the news discourse in one-sided way. In this way, it is tried to be closed to alternative readings of the news text; It is seen that many sub-factors such as source usage, word preferences, sentence structures and visual preferences are placed in the news text on this axis. In this context, frequently used words such as "organized cheating", "theft of votes", "stolen votes" and "usurped" in the news show that the newspaper has adopted the discourse produced by the political power regarding the elections.

6.2. Sabah Newspaper

The main subject of the article titled "Zillet alliance united in terrorism" on March 30 is that the terrorist organizations, which are the allegations of the ruling party, and the opposition parties, enter the elections together. The definition of "zillet alliance" directly used by the People's Alliance to define the Nation Alliance in the title of the news caused the news discourse to be formed in the axis of the us-them opposition. This expression also enabled the formation of discourse in a separating frame by using active-passive sentence structures in the syntactic structure of news discourse. In this context, preferred words, quotations and sentence structures were used effectively. For example, with the statement "The dirty alliance of CHP, İP and SP came to mind with terrorist organizations PKK and FETÖ" in the spotlight of this news, the idea that opposition candidates in the local elections are acting with terrorist organizations has been reinforced. Similar statements by opposition leaders were frequently included in the news text with short quotations. In this way, in the news discourse, the idea that if the municipalities are governed by the candidates of the Nation Alliance, the idea that terrorism would be served was strengthened, and an atmosphere of fear was wanted to be created in the news.

The main subject of the news titled "Great defeat for Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu in his hometown" on March 31 was the local election results in Tunceli. While the news discourse is based on the word "defeat", the idea that the main opposition is the loser of the election was highlighted in the headlines, spots and subheadings. While the sentence "Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu suffered a great defeat in his hometown Tunceli", which appeared in the spotlight of the news, produced a general idea of defeat regarding the election, the plot was constructed without knowledge of the background and context. The word "defeat", which is repeated three times in the content together with the headline in the news, which is built on a very short text axis, proves that the grammatical structure of the news is formed on a one-dimensional axis of preference. In addition, a one-dimensional source was used in the formation of the news story and the news was subjected to a one-way semantic closure.

"Big defeat in HDP! The discourse of the news titled "AK Party candidates are leading in Şırnak and Bitlis" is built on the idea that HDP could not have a presence in the local elections. With the word defeat and the punctuation mark used in the title, the defeat of the HDP was highlighted and immediately afterwards, it was stated that the AK Party candidate was ahead in some provinces, and the idea that the ruling party was in a winning position against the HDP was placed in the news discourse. The statement used in the spot, "There was a great response from the public to the language of HDP terror", brought to the fore the idea that the government is the source of terror and that it is a party without legitimacy at the social level. The word "defeat" used in the news discourse was intended to reinforce the idea that HDP is a party that has lost its legitimacy at the regional level. At the same time, "serious collapse in overall voting rates!" Search hdp'n with the title not only in certain provinces of Turkey vote across the value subtracting the foreground, the idea that the legitimacy problem HDP's experience is supported. Words such as "the language of terror", "defeat", "melting" and "collapse" used while constructing the grammatical and syntactic structure of the news caused the HDP to be positioned on the axis of negativity in the news discourse.

The main subject of the article titled "Imamoğlu, who accepted the irregularities, started to act with the psychology of guilt" on April 1 was the alleged irregularities at the ballot box in the election of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. In the title, it was stated that Imamoglu accepted the allegation of irregularities in ballot boxes and that he was uncomfortable with the resulting picture, and "irregularity" constituted the main frame of the news discourse. The opinion that the results of the Istanbul elections could not be accepted was highlighted in the news discourse with the expressions "The fraud scandal signed by the CHP at the ballot boxes broke out" and "With unofficial and questionable results" in the spot. In addition, the idea that CHP and İmamoğlu were also aware of the irregularities experienced in the elections with the headline "The fear of İmamoğlu is not in vain" was placed in the news discourse. In this context, it has been implied that the irregularities in the news discourse are planned and this idea has been strengthened with the word choices and quotations. At the same time, the idea that the CHP is trying to cover up the irregularities made by terrorizing the public under the headline "Street call under the name of the watch" was brought to the fore. The word "irregularity" used in the news and frequently repeated has caused the news fiction to undergo a one-dimensional semantic closure. The use of one-sided sources, biased choices made in news images and the accusatory story pattern preferred in the grammatical structure of the news were effective in the formation of this narrative structure.

"Here are the documents; Shock counterfeiting in Istanbul! The main subject of the news titled "Binali Yıldırım's votes were written to İmamoğlu like this" is the alleged irregularities in Istanbul during the local elections. In the headline of the news, the idea that the most important factor in İmamoğlu's victory was the injustices made against Binali Yıldırım in the elections. Credibility in the news rhetoric has been increased with the use of the word "document" with the statement in the spot, "It has been documented that there was an irregularity in the elections in Istanbul". Do not let İmamoğlu win the election with the subtitles "131 votes, 1 vote was written in the minutes", "201 votes, 1 vote was written in the minute", "60 votes of AK Party were written incompletely" and "121 votes of Binali Yıldırım were calculated underestimated" The idea that the reason was that Yıldırım's votes were written to other candidates was repeated in the news story. In this way, a story line that supports the main discursive framework of the

news has been formed. With the words "irregularity", "extortion" and "manipulation" used in the news text, the news discourse was intended to be constructed from a holistic perspective.

6.3. Hürriyet Newspaper

Considering the news shared by Hürriyet newspaper in the period under examination, it is seen that the party leaders in the People's Alliance generally covered the election statements. Almost all of the news stories were made in the form of direct statements of politicians. The news was presented without comment because it consists directly of statements by political actors such as party spokespersons or leaders. However, the fact that the statements of the Nation Alliance candidates and party leaders are much less covered than the People's Alliance shows that the newspaper has formed news frames in a closer line to the ruling bloc.

On March 30, the article titled "Response to the allegations from Türel: These are classic FETÖ tactics" is the subject of Antalya Metropolitan Municipality Mayor and President's Alliance metropolitan mayor candidate Menderes Türel's statement about the voice recording allegedly belonging to his wife before the election. The title was created in plain language with a direct quote. In the spot, which is one of the most important elements for the news after the title, Türel's statements about the CHP's cooperation with FETÖ were highlighted with a direct quote. In addition to this, the sentence "On the other hand, the police units determined that the sharing was made from Berlin, the capital of Germany" to support the accuracy of Türel's statements was added to the sport. In addition, "FETÖ Tactic Montage", which was removed from Türel's statements and placed in the news without quotes, "Is it Fit for Humanity? Subheadings such as, have been produced to support the accuracy of Türel's statements in the news discourse.

The subject of the article titled "Özhaseki: Tomorrow will be the heart of this nation in Ankara" made on March 30, is the statements of Mehmet Özhaseki, the candidate for the Mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, about the next election. Özhaseki's statements were presented in quotes starting from the spot of the news. In this context, internalization was avoided in the news and the news discourse was shaped in the axis of the transfer of explanations. It is aimed to shape the discourse on the axis of impartiality by not including interpretation in the news discourse. Again, the subject of the news titled "Strong reaction to the" revenge "statement from Devlet Bahçeli, shared on March 30, is Bahçeli's statements targeting the opposition of the People's Alliance and regarding the election. Bahçeli's statements were also transferred directly to the reader in quotation marks, as in the previous Özhaseki's statements. Bahçeli's statements were directly presented to the public without any comments. Other news related to the election that the newspaper shared on 30 March also consisted of politicians' statements. In this process, the newspaper avoided using a politicized language and a biased grammatical structure in its news discourse. However, while almost all of the news published was designed according to the statements of the politicians in the People's Alliance block, there was no news about the candidates of the Nation Alliance. In this context, although it is said that the newspaper tries to produce a neutrality-oriented discourse in its news production processes, the newspaper has adopted a structurally biased attitude in its news production processes.

The subject of the news titled "AK Party success in municipalities where trustees are appointed", made on March 31, is about the election results of municipalities managed by trustees. In the headline of the news, the idea that even though AK Party wins about one third of the municipalities, it is successful in all municipalities governed by trustees. The spot of the news "According to the uncertain results, the candidates of the AK Party are determined to transfer their opportunities to the separatist terrorist organization PKK, which corresponds to 33 percent of 73 provincial and district municipalities, including Ağrı, Bitlis and Şırnak, which are among the municipalities who have been appointed trustees. He won 24 municipalities ". In this context, while the narrative structure of the news was designed without background-context information, the idea that the government's trustee policy was justified was brought to the fore in the news discourse.

The subject of the news titled "Great decrease in HDP's votes" shared on March 31, is about the votes HDP received according to the preliminary results in municipalities where trustees were appointed. The

spot of the news was stating that "HDP's votes have decreased in the provinces where the municipalities are found to have transferred their resources to the separatist terrorist organization PKK in Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia and where trustees have been appointed for this reason." Although the HDP won the election in some provinces, the idea that HDP failed in the news was intended to be produced in the whole news story. The subject of the article titled "HDP influence on the Nation's Alliance" on April 1 is about the regions where the Nation Alliance won the elections. The sentence used in the title has formed the idea that HDP acts jointly with the Nation Alliance as the main framework of the news discourse. In order to support this discursive framework, the sentence "According to uncertain results, Ankara, Adana, Artvin, Bilecik and Kırşehir won the mayorships of the HDP, which were not nominated by the HDP, and the CHP candidates of the Millet Alliance won" helped reinforce the news discourse. The conscious choices made in the semantic and syntactic structure of this news have been the result of the aim of proving the "HDP and Nation Alliance partnership" in the news discourse. In addition, in order to integrate this structure and discursive framework, it was frequently emphasized in the news text that HDP did not nominate candidates in some provinces and the idea that CHP was not successful under normal conditions was conveyed to the reader. The news titled "Statement from Ekrem İmamoğlu:" He said "There are 7 ballot boxes without entry" and gave the numbers ", made on April 1, is about Ekrem İmamoğlu's first evaluations regarding the election. Instead of a political tendency in the news discourse, it has been a matter of quoting the statements made and constructing the news text on the axis of neutrality.

6.4. Birgün Newspaper

On March 30, the main subject of the news titled "Alper Taş signed a goodwill agreement with the Roma" was built on the election efforts of the CHP Beyoğlu mayor candidate. By using the expression "signed a goodwill agreement in Beyoğlu to protect and expand the rights of Roma", it is aimed to present the CHP candidate in a context that gives importance to differences in the news discourse. While the words and sentence structures used in the news cause the news discourse to be formed on the axis of an understanding that protects the rights of Romani citizens, it is aimed to present the CHP as the political choice required for the protection of these rights. This idea was supported by including the details of the "goodwill agreement" in the headline of the news, and it was seen that the elements that were party to the news were defined by selecting active sentences. On March 30, the main subject of the article titled "Let the voters follow the results in the ballot box where they vote" is the statements of the Nation Alliance Ankara Metropolitan Mayor candidate Mansur Yavaş. With the statement quoted in the title based on Yavaş's statements, the idea that Mansur Yavaş could be shameful again at the ballot box as in the previous elections was brought to the fore. While the news rhetoric covered the reports of Yavaş widely, it preferred a one-sided use as a news source. This situation has caused a one-dimensional semantic closure in the narrative structure of the news text. The newspaper preferred to use Yavaş's visuals as news images and thus supported the discursive framework it wanted to produce in the text through visual elements. It is also seen that the adjectives and sentence structures used for the definition of Yavaş are formed over positive and effective sentence structures.

On April 1, the article titled "Organization from supporters to election results" was to respond to the allegations of those who supported the government's discourse, with the main subject of the Istanbul elections. The word "advocate" used in the title implies that those who object to the election results are transparency and biased. In this context, the newspaper positioned itself as a side of the event in the main fiction of the news and proved this with the word choices it made. The newspaper placed the opinion that the winner of the election was the CHP and that the allegations of vote theft were not true. This situation led to the formation of a news discourse on the axis of the us-them opposition. While a statement is preferred that the allegations regarding the vote count are social media gossip, the discursive framework of the news is also shaped in this context.

On April 1, Ekrem İmamoğlu and Canan Kaftancıoğlu's statements made the main subject of the article titled "İmamoğlu: I invite all CHP members to watch on the election boards". The idea that "the claim that the votes are stolen" is not true in the news discourse was formed in the axis of the transmission of two CHP sources. Likewise, this approach was reinforced with the heading "Kaftancıoğlu

refuted documents with documents" and the news was fixed on a one-dimensional macro narrative axis. While it is seen that words that construct bias and contradictions are preferred in the grammatical structure of the news text, it has been observed that active-passive sentence structures are used in accordance with the desired discourse in the semantic structure of the text.

The main subject of another news article titled "Anadolu agency gave up: map was painted red in Istanbul" on April 1 was that the Anatolian agency did not provide data entry for a long time regarding the distribution of votes. While the view that the Anatolian agency conceals the truth was placed in the center of the news, the idea that the CHP won the Istanbul election constituted the main frame of the news discourse. On April 1, the main subject of the news titled "Erdogan admitted defeat in Istanbul and Ankara" is Erdogan's balcony speech after each election. The news text was created directly from the statements of Recep Tayyip Erdogan. Although there is no statement that Erdogan has directly lost the elections in Istanbul and Ankara, a comment stating that he admitted defeat has been placed in the center of the news discourse that Erdogan is the loser of the election.

7. Conclusion and Discussion

Local elections are important organizations that change the routines of the political atmosphere, add color to the political processes and in which the voters desire detailed information. Local elections in Turkey but also the consolidation of political legitimacy special origin, is considered to be a significant impact on the overall political process in which candidates voters out. In this context, one of the interesting selection process March 31, 2019 Local Elections in Turkey's history, far beyond being a local election politics and act as the driving force of social polarization. Turkey historic wife rare carried out in an atmosphere March 31, 2019 Local Elections, was performed as a general election which is contrary to expectations tumble fight. The local elections discussed within the scope of this study, politics and media relations were also highly affected by the election atmosphere and this influence manifested itself clearly in the news content.

Developments in social life, especially in their immediate surroundings, attract more attention because there are factors that can directly affect their lives. In the local elections where local administrations are determined, what is important for individuals is the activities for the regions they live in. In this context, news comes into prominence as an area where the society can reach problems related to local issues and those who offer solutions to them more easily. For this reason, it is important for social benefit that news content is directly related to local issues in matters such as local elections. However, in the study, it is seen that the news was constructed with a biased perspective, directly overlapping with the discourses of politicians rather than being a source of information about local elections. As well as emerging as a result of the media and politics in Turkey and many years of ongoing government-centered journalism, it is possible to say that today continued. In the analyzed news, it is clearly seen that the understanding of publishing, in which the ruling bloc is at the center of the election process, is dominant. During the election process, it is clear that the Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers directly provided a news flow with a view that adopted the discourses of the ruling bloc. In addition, Hürriyet Newspaper displayed the example of İnal's (1995) *problem of structural bias*, that is, the practice of reproducing the situation definitions produced by the power / rulers even if the discourses of the government are not clearly supported, in the local election news. In the news that the newspaper shared during the period under review, there was not a clear side, but the statements of the politicians, most of whom were the spokespersons of the ruling bloc, were extensively conveyed to the readers, and the opposition wing was almost never mentioned. In Birgün Newspaper, a journalism practice that stands against the ruling bloc has been implemented.

When we look at the news covered during and after the election process, it is seen that the news discourse is built along sharp lines and there is a clear party to the events that are the subject of the news texts. As a result of the analysis, it was seen that the texts lacked semantic richness, the news discourses were constructed on one-dimensional sources and the text was confined to a narrow semantic frame. Undoubtedly, the politicians' statements and election process away from the local election atmosphere were effective in the formation of news discourses in this way. Particularly, the election was handled in a general election atmosphere and even defined as "survival" and "existence" according to the ruling wing,

causing local elections to evolve into a polarizing process. In this process, the People's Alliance, which was formed under the leadership of the Justice and Development Party and the Nationalist Movement Party on the one hand, and the Nation Alliance, which was established with the partnership of the Republican People's Party and the Good Party, did not hesitate to use polarizing expressions and statements for the consolidation of the electorate. The election race, which took place in a very harsh and noble political atmosphere, caused an increasingly partisan publishing understanding to prevail in the media organs. While the media and social agenda had to be shaped around local issues in a local election process, the agenda was formed in a general election atmosphere. The discourse of the party leaders had a great place in the formation of the agenda, and local candidates were not given much right to speak.

References

Adaklı, G. (2009). 2002-2008: Türk Medyasında AKP Etkisi. İçinde İlhan Uzgel & Bülent Duru (Der.), *AKP Kitabı Bir Dönüşümün Bilançosu* (ss. 559-614). Ankara: Phoenix Yayınevi.

Alp, H. (2015). M*edyada nefret söylemi ve çingene toplumuna yönelik ayrımcı söylemin suça dönüşmesi.* Yayınlanmamış doktora tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Gazetecilik Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul.

Arabacı, C. (2011). İttihat ve Terakki Basını. İçinde Hakan Aydın (Ed.), *İkinci Meşruiyet Devrinde Basın ve Siyaset* (ss. 73-172), Konya: Palet Yayınları.

Aygül, E. (2013). Y*eni medyada nefret söyleminin üretimi: bir toplumsal paylaşım ağı olarak facebook örneği.* Yayınlanmamış yüksek yisans tezi, Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Radyo Televizyon ve Sinema Anabilim Dalı, Ankara.

Barlas, M. (2019a). Kılıçdaroğlu'nun Var Olması Cumhurbaşkanı Erdoğan'a Haksızlıktır. https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2019/03/19/kilicdaroglunun-var-olmasi-cumhurbaskani-erdogana-haksizliktir (Accessed: 3 February 2020).

Barlas, M. (2019b). 31 Mart Sonrasında Kılıçdaroğlu CHP-HDP'nin Eş Başkanı Olabilir. https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/barlas/2019/03/27/31-mart-sonrasinda-kilicdaroglu-chp-hdpnin-es-baskani-olabilir (Accessed: 3 February 2020).

Beyaz TV. (2019). Erdoğan: Karşımızda Zillet İttifakı Var. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IDTaeKrFaBg (Accessed: 10 September 2019).

Birand, M. A. & Yıldız, R. (2012). *Son Darbe 28 Şubat*. İstanbul: Doğan Kitapçılık.

Bostancı, N. (2012). Tarihi Arka Planıyla Birlikte 28 Şubat. İçinde Abdurrahman Babacan (Ed.), *28 Şubat: Bin Yılın Sonu Cilt III* (ss.77-90), İstanbul: Pınar Yayınları.

Bursalı, O. (2019a). Siz Fetö İle En Büyük Beka Sorununu Yarattınız. https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/orhan-bursali/siz-feto-ile-en-buyuk-beka-sorununu-yarattiniz-1243215 (Accessed: 2 February 2020).

Bursalı, O. (2019b). Sorun Ülkenin Değil AKP İktidarının Bekası. https://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/yazarlar/orhan-bursali/sorun-ulkenin-degil-akp-iktidarinin-bekasi-1235290 (Accessed: 2 February 2020).

Çam, E. (2005). *Siyaset Bilimine Giriş*. İstanbul: Der Yayınları.

Çavdar, T. (1999). *Türkiye'nin Demokrasi Tarihi 1839-1950*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Çaylı, E. & Depeli G. (2012). *İfade Özgürlüğünün On Yılı 2001-2011*. İstanbul: IPS İletişim Vakfı Yayınları.

Çelik, H. & Ekşi, H. (2008). Söylem Analizi. *Marmara Üniversitesi Atatürk Eğitim Fakültesi Eğitim Bilimleri Dergisi,* 27 (27), 99-117.

Cemal, H. (2010). *Türkiye'nin Asker Sorunu*. İstanbul: Doğan Kitapçılık.

Çiçek, A. C. & Uysal, G. (2019). Siyaset, İdeoloji Ve Manipülasyon Ekseninde Medya: 16 Nisan 2017 Referandumunun Medyaya Yansıması Üzerine Eleştirel Bir Söylem Analizi. *Ankara Üniversitesi SBF Dergisi,* 74 (4), 1183-1201. doi:10.33630/ausbf.571580

Çoban, B. (2015). Söylem, İdeoloji ve Eylem: İktidar ve Muhalefet Arasındaki Mücadeleyi Çözümleme Denemesi. İçinde Barış Çoban & Zeynep Özarslan (Ed.), *Söylem ve İdeoloji* (ss.199-234), İstanbul: Su Yayınları.

Demir, V. (2007). *Türkiye'de Medya Siyaset İlişkisi*. İstanbul: Beta Yayınları.

Devran, Y. (2010). *Haber, Söylem, İdeoloji*. İstanbul: Başlık Yayın Grubu.

Doruk, Ö. (2013). Disiplin Toplumu ve Haber Söylemi: Gökkuşağı Derneği'nce Yapılması Planlanan Yürüyüşün Engellenmesine İlişkin Haberlerin Çözümlenmesi. *Gümüşhane Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Elektronik Dergisi*, 2 (1), 106-132.

Dündar, L. (2016). 12 Eylül 1980 Darbesinin Basına Etkileri. *Uluslararası Tarih Ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi,* 16, 125-154.

Duran, R. (2015). Dümdüz…Sessiz…Hareketsiz…Ulvi Gibi…Medya Nasıl Kürtaj Edilir?, İçinde Utku Uraz Aydın (Der.), *Neoliberal Muhafazakar Medya* (ss. 19-30), İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

Erciyas, S & Baykal, A. (2019). *31 Mart Seçimlerine Doğru Dünden Bugüne Partilerin Yerel Yönetim Vizyonu*. Ankara: SETA Vakfı Yayınları.

Evre, B. (2009). Söylem Analizine Yönelik Farklı Yaklaşımlar: Bir Sınıflandırma Girişimi. İçinde İsmet Parlak (Ed.), *Medyada Gerçekliğin İnşası* (ss. 107-152), Konya: Çizgi Kitabevi.

Evrensel Gazetesi. (2019). Kılıçdaroğlu: Kavga Üslubunu Doğru Bulmuyorum. https://www.evrensel.net/haber/374753/kilicdaroglu-kavga-uslubunu-dogru-bulmuyorum (Accessed: 9 September 2019).

Fairclough, N. (2015). Dil ve İdeoloji. İçinde Barış Çoban & Zeynep Özarslan (Ed.), *Söylem ve İdeoloji* (ss.121-126), İstanbul: Su Yayınları.

Findley, C. V. (2011). *Modern Türkiye Tarihi: İslam, Milliyetçilik ve Modernlik*. İstanbul: Timaş Yayınları.

Gevgili, Al.(1983). *Türkiye Basını. Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, C.1, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Gölcü, A. (2019). *Basın ve Toplumsal Tarih: Bir Türkiye Hikayesi*. İstanbul: Literatürk Akademi.

Güngör, N. (2013). *İletişim Kuram ve Yaklaşımlar*. Ankara: Siyasal Kitapevi.

Gürkan, N. (1998). *Türkiye'de Demokrasiye Geçişte Basın (1945-1950)*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Gürsel, K. (2018). "Yerel Seçimler" Neden Yerel Seçim Değildir. https://birikimdergisi.com/haftalik/9279/yerel-secimler-neden-yerel-degildir (Accessed: 2 February 2020).

Güz, N. (1991). *Türkiye'de Basın İktidar İlişkileri: 1920-1927*. Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi Basın Yayın Yüksek Okulu Yayınları.

Heywood, A. (2006). *Siyaset*. Bekir Berat Özipek vd. (Çev.) Ankara: Adres Yayınları.

Hürriyet Gazetesi. (2019). Meral Akşener Uşak Mitinginde Konuştu. https://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/meral-aksener-usak-mitinginde-konustu-41151525 (Accessed: 10 September 2019).

İnal, A. (1995). Yazılı Basın Haberlerinde Yapısal Yanlılık Sorunu. *Toplum ve Bilim,* 111-135.

Işık, M. (2002). *Türkiye ve Dünya Bağlamında Kitle İletişim Sistemleri*. Konya: Eğitim Kitabevi Yayınları.

Kabacalı, A. (1999). *Türk Basınında Demokrasi*. Ankara: T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.

Kampf, Z. (2015). Political Discourse Analysis. *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*, https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118611463.WBIELSI096 (Accessed: 21. June 2019).

Kapani, M. (2012). *Politika Bilimine Giriş*. Ankara: Bilgi Yayınevi.

Kaplan, H. (2019a). İyi Parti'nin HDP'lileri. https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/hilalkaplan/2019/03/26/iyi-partinin-hdplileri (Accessed: 3 February 2020).

Kaplan, H. (2019b). Gülüyoruz Ama Komik Değil. https://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/hilalkaplan/2019/02/08/guluyoruz-ama-komik-degil (Accessed: 3 February 2020).

Karaçay, E. (2018). *Yeni medya ortamında kadına yönelik haberlerde nefret söylemi*. Yayımlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Radyo Televizyon ve Sinema Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul.

Karpat, K. (1996). *Türk Demokrasi Tarihi: Sosyal, Ekonomik, Kültürel Temeller*. İstanbul: AFA Yayınları.

Keyman, F. (2000). *Türkiye ve Radikal Demokrasi*. İstanbul: Alfa Yayınları.

Kışlalı, A. T. (2002). *Siyaset Bilimi*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

Koloğlu, O. (2006). *Osmanlı'dan Günümüze 21. Yüz Yıla Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Pozitif Yayınları.

Lance, B. (2000). *Politik İllüzyon ve Medya*. İstanbul: Nehir Yayınları.

Lüküslü, D. (2009). *Türkiye'de Gençlik Miti*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

Meyer, T. (2002). *Medya Demokrasisi: Medya Siyaseti Nasıl Sömürgeleştirir*. İstanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Miş, N. & Duran, H. (2019). İttifaktan Blok Siyasetine 31 Mart Yerel Seçimleri. *ADAM AKADEMİ Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi,* 9(2). 363-393. doi: 10.31679/adamakademi.634750.

Mutlu, E. (1998). *İletişim Sözlüğü*. Ankara: Bilim ve Sanat Yayınları.

NTV. (2019). Bahçeli: Zillet İttifakı Çamurdur, Çürümedir; Cumhur İttifakı Helaldir, Hakikattir. https://www.ntv.com.tr/turkiye/zillet-ittifaki-camurdur-curumedir-cumhur-ittifaki-helaldir-hakikattir,eFXKU56P7UqZ3Q8-QyYHHA (Accessed: 9 September 2019).

Özdil, Y. (2019). Hepimiz Mansur Yavaş'ız. https://www.sozcu.com.tr/2019/yazarlar/yilmaz-ozdil/hepimiz-mansur-yavasiz-4143068/ (Accessed: 2 February 2020).

Özer, Ö. (2011*). Haber Söylem İdeoloji: Eleştirel Haber Çözümlemeleri.* Konya: Literatürk Yayınları.

San Sungunay, S. (2018). *Kadına yönelik şiddet haberlerinin söylem analizi,* Yayımlanmamış Yüksek Lisans Tezi, Başkent Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enistitüsü, Ankara.

Smith, P. (2007). *Kültürel Kuram*. Selime Güzelsarı & İbrahim Gündoğdu (Çev.), İstanbul: Babil Yayınları.

Sözen, E. (1999). *Söylem: Belirsizlik, Mübadele, Bilgi/Güç ve Refleksivite*. İstanbul: Paradigma Yayınları.

Topuz, H. (2011). *II. Mahmut'tan Holdinglere Türk Basın Tarihi*. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi.

Toy, M. E. (2019). *Bir Siyasal İletişim Aracı Olarak Sosyal Medya: 31 Mart 2019 Yerel Seçimlerinde Cumhur İttifakı Ve Millet İttifakı'nın Twitter Kullanımı*. Yayınlanmamış yüksek lisans tezi, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Rayo Televizyon ve Sinema Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul.

Turanlı, E. (2015). *Adalet Ve Kalkınma Partisi (Akp) İktidarı Döneminde Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Devleti'nin Değişiminin Yazılı Basına Yansıması*. Yayımlanmamış doktora tezi, Kocaeli Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İletişim Bilimleri Anabilim Dalı, Kocaeli.

Van Dijk, T. (1998). What is political discourse analysis?. In Jan Blommaert & Chris Bulcaen (Ed.), *Political Linguistics* (pp. 11-52), Amsterdam: Benjamins.

Van Dijk, T. (1999). Söylemin Yapıları ve İktidarın Yapıları. İçinde Mehmet Küçük (Ed.). *Medya, İktidar, İdeoloji* (ss. 331-398), Ankara: Ark Yayınları.

Van Dijk, T. (2015). Söylem ve İdeoloji: Çok Alanlı Bir Yaklaşım. Barış Çoban & Zeynep Özarslan (Ed.), *Söylem ve İdeoloji* (ss. 15-100), İstanbul: Su Yayınları.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1985). Introduction: The Role of Discourse Analysis in Society. In T.A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis, 4: Discourse Analysis in Society* (pp. 1-8), London: Academic Press.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1991). Media contents The Interdisciplinary Study of News as Discourse. In K. Jensen & N.W.Jankowski (Ed.), *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research* (pp. 108-120), London and New York: Routledge.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2015a). Critical Discourse Analysis. In Deborah Tannen, Heidi Hamilton, & Deborah Schiffrin (Ed.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 2 vols (pp. 466-485), Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.

Yanardağ, M. (2008). *Medya Nasıl Kuşatıldı: Emin Çölaşan- Aydın Doğan Tartışması ve Medyanın Ekonomi Politiği*. İstanbul: Siyah Beyaz Kitap.

Yaşlı, F. (2014). *AKP, Cemaat, Sünni-Ulus, Yeni Türkiye Üzerine Tezler*. İstanbul: Yordam Kitap.

Yayla, A. (2003). *Siyaset Teorisine Giriş*. Ankara: Liberte Yayınları.

Yeğen, C. (2013). *Yazılı Basında HIV/AIDS İle Yaşayan Bireylere Yönelik Nefret Söylemi*, Yayınlanmış Yüksek Lisans Tezi. Gazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Gazetecilik Anabilim Dalı, Ankara.

Yıldız, N. (1996). Demokrat Parti İktidarı (1950- 1960) ve Basın. *Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi,* 51(1), 481-505. doi: 10.1501/SBFder_0000001897.

Zürcher, J. E. (2017). *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.