

## **Reading the “Gezi” From the Newspaper’s Point of View in the Context of Media, Politics and the Manipulation**

**Çiçek, Atıl Cem, Ass. Prof.**

**Aydın, Selçuk, Ass. Prof.**

**Artunay, Melih Çağatay, Res. Ass.**

**Certel, Aliye Bilge, Res. Ass.**

Department of Political Science and Social Sciences  
Kafkas University  
Kars, Turkey

### **Abstract**

*As a common expression; media, is a word that used for “communication environment” or “communication tools”. When the media notion handled with the largest meanings of it, it includes oral, written, printed and visual texts and images, it appears as a phenomenon that involve the whole information tools. In democratic regimes, the practitioners of the politics which named as art of solving the social problems, defend that the respect to the political choices is the extract of the democracy, by a continuous emphasize for the freewill notion. By the way, establishing a relationship with the freewill notion and true informing notion would be pertinent. The dependence of the media and the political preferences can be observed by considering the determination of political choices and benefits from the political choices of the media which has the power of directing the crowds according to its will. Particularly, in the democratic regimes, politics appear as a phenomenon which is attributed as legal as well as the media. In that sense the interaction of these two institutions is apparent. The institutions of politics, affect the perception of events on the crowd directly or indirectly by the decides which are made, applications which are applied, expressions which are told, the language which is used. Crowds may not follow all the multidimensional process, the political news, the information bombardment of the political current by the chance of itself, it seems impossible when the complication of the daily life considered. At that point, the information carrying function of the media appears. The political area expands into the social area by the intervention of media. For this reason, the style of perceiving and the presentation the political beings, is truly important about the meaning of mass. Since it is one of the most important tools of the media, written periodicals, the newspapers are very effective with their daily press. The Gezi Events which took place in May 2013, is a significant example in terms of the relationship between media and the politics. During the Gezi Events, the perception and the presentation of the events to the public are very different between different media institutions. The study is going to be based on that point. The presenting and informing style of the newspapers will be compared about their relationship between the political government. The difference between the opponent side and the defender side of the government will be tried to be pointed out. By stepping from that point, the manipulation power of media which resembling a perceptive operation is going to be argued. While doing this, the newspapers may have a close relationship with the government, Sabah, Star and Yeni Şafak chosen by the way the newspapers would be named as opponent as Cumhuriyet, Sözcü and Bir Gün chosen. When making evaluations, the indicator is the first page headlines of these newspapers in the thirty days after the start of events. This study is important in terms of stating the stance of the media which is said to be the fourth power over determining political preferences. In this study, the historical research methods are used by getting benefits from the old studies and researches on the other hand with the observations, the descriptive research methods will be applied. The expression analyses method of Van Dijk will be used for resolutions of the headlines of the newspapers.*

**Keywords:** Media, Politics, Direction (manipulation)

## ***1. Introduction: Media, Politics and Manipulation***

In current modern societies, every moment of daily life is captured by the media. The word media implying the mass communication tools like radio, television and the newspapers is derived from the word medium which means tool or intermediary. The word media means communication environment and communication tools in Turkish dictionary meaning.

The contents which are produced in that communication environment are spreading and presenting to consumption by the written tools like radio, television, internet and newspapers or visual and digital tools. Media; because of its functions as molding public opinion, informing the crowds, forming or preparing a basis for public debates, being speakers of public and the government at the same time, counts as an inevitable factor of the liberal representative democracies. From the Marxist perspective, media is an ideological tool of the state.

The relationship which is thought to be between the public oversight function of the media and the political processes lasts a short time (Gölcü, 2009: 83). With the rise of Neoliberalism at the 1980's, media transformed into an attractive area for the capital groups and commercialised rapidly. Produced contents (news, adverts, entertainment, etc.) converted to commodity one each, the basic aim was the maximisation of profit. The capital and power groups which had media properties, used that tool has potential of direction on the society, in accordance with their own good and benefits. The sovereign class who is keeping the mental production factors as well as material production factors, by that way, keeping the power of controlling the thoughts (Marx ve Engels, 2013: 52). Contemporary media became the most important agent of manipulation by distorting the truth and meaning, showing the benefits of power holders as benefits of the society. Against the excess of news and information that produced by mass communication tools, the truth and the meaning are being insignificant and a "news simulakr" is being builded. In that process, the news are completely being up to date, it means dramatizing in a spectacular way and completely being outdated it means throwing away by the communication tool and degrading to the indicators (Baudrillard, 2013a: 26). These indicators are repeated continuously and the perception of reality is created (Baudrillard, 2013b: 119-121). The manipulation power of the media is appearing right at that point.

The word politics has several definitions. In broadest sense the word politics means making decisions which regulate the social life and applying these decisions. The word of politics produced from the word of polis what is meaning as the city states in Greek. Word of politics expresses the jobs about the state area. According to another approach, politics originates from power challenges and conflicts of interests about distribution of the sources between the different groups. For another approach; politics is an effort for procuration of social goodness and integrity. According to another point of view, politics including conflicts as well as consensuses (Kapani, 2010: 17-22).

Political powers need to win crowd's consent, and need to legitimize of its power and existence. Media is vitally important for the political powers on the construction process of hegemonia. Gramsci (2012: 473), attributes a special importance to the press, during the process of organization of sovereign class due to its dynamic structure and its power of affecting public opinion.

## ***2. About the Relationship Between Media and Politics***

Media and politics are two notions that have interaction between themselves. There is feeding from each other between these two notions as well as existence of conflict. When media has a power of influence over the political environments, political environments have an impact area on the media too. When we look from this point of view saying there is an interaction between these two notions is quite felicitous.

Especially the government elites who have political power, have a great potential of creating pressure on the media. This potential is directly relative to the power qualities of government elites. With the classical Marxist expressions, the role of media, is legitimizing the benefits of the class which owns and inspects the media by creating of false consciousness (Gurevitch vd, 2005: 20-23). In that case, we are facing with the classical substructure – superstructure analysis. After forming the historical block, media can influence politics as well as economic organization.

The power which determines the press policies of the media firms, actually directly relative with the economics and politics. Altschull (1984: 254), mentions the four sources about the support for media. First one is the official model. In that model, there is a state control with no lack.

The state-media relationship in the authoritarian and totalitarian states can be an example for this model. The second model is the commercial model. In this model, media firms reflect the ideology of the owners, advertisers and their allies.

The third one is the benefit groups model. Media firms reflect the ideology of the political parties or religious groups that financially support them. The fourth model is the unofficial model. In this model, media firms work in direction of individual participants who are willing to improve their opinions. The pressure and the support can be different according to regions and regimes but it is clear that there is a power oriented direction on the media. The effective positions of the managers from the media firms are obvious. This effectiveness is increasing day by day. The media workers who are joining in the current system, cannot be successful without interiorizing the values of the system and orienting the sovereign ideological pressures (Chomsky, 1993: 20).

At that point, it can be told that the newspaper publishing is transformed into a commercial firm. According to Morresi (2006: 81), the facts that are effective on this transformation are showing up the commercial journalism that gets the news as a commodity, and reversing the priority between daily events and the political information – development of newspapers with the support of advertisements that save them from the oppression of the sale revenues – proceedings in the press techniques and transportation which are decreased the producing time and largening the distribution area. In the light of these facts, the objectivity of the news tends to diminish because of the economic and political concerns. The relationship between the media and politics would be defined as “symbiotic relationship”.

Media shows the politics as a news source, at the same time politicians demanding to transmit their opinions and attitudes to the society. In this regard the necessities of both, are generally harmonized (Yüksel, 2001: 143). The general appearance of the relationship between the political environments and the media, sometimes forms in a harmony, sometimes in a conflict, as regard to benefits of two sides, in a relationship network.

The effect of the media over the politics is an undeniable truth. Media has a great importance on determining privileges and by the way enabling the participating in the communication of the political actors. At that point, we face the presenting style of the events on the media. Because, in a lot of subject, social perception is being formed by the style of presenting of events. Meyer (Damlapınar, 2008: 189) who pointed out three dimensions of the relationship between media and politics, expressed them as, the form of shaping of public communication by the effect of media, structuring of political reality with the intervention of media and media effect over the political tendencies.

Nearly all the media groups, works on the producing of consents on the crowds. Media bosses cause forming minds which berefted from the realities of life and different perception of truth by producing messages which are not overlapping with the social realities. These are intentionally formed and, aiming manipulation messages. Freire, says “the manipulation of human mind is a form of conquest tool” (Mora, 2008: 62). The social power and government centers continuously apply this method for using the crowds in regard to their targets.

With the expression of Cohen (Terkan, 2007: 563), media cannot be successful about telling people what to think but mostly it is successful at expressing about what topic its followers have to think about. This situation puts forward the agenda setting characteristic of the media. However in current situations, it is known that media is telling people what they have to think. This agenda setting and determining what to think skills, are existing in the institutions of politics too. A complicated relationship network like this puts forward the interactions between media and politics. Meyer (2004: 72) discussed the decisiveness of the media too. According to this, politics area changes after getting in the media’s effect and became dependent the rules of media system. At that point, the determining shape of the politics appears. The power of media, originating from the description strength which hold in hand. When the existence of the power over agenda setting, monopolization and public oversight functions, thought, the power of it directly appears. The agenda which is constructed by media became “more real than reality” as an expressions of Baudrillard, and the political construction rises up over the new basis.

The main function of media is providing “true” news and information. But actually the application is different. The media ownership, political and economic benefit relationships, publishing policies, national benefits, international relations, socio-demographic features of the target group, vocational and individual benefits of the intelligence sources, and reasons as listed, the news “false information”, “imperfect information” and “manipulation” tools make the wordly reality transformed in to “mediatic reality”.

For this reason, mediation of the news is a process which starts from the source, until formatting according to publisher institution's features and presenting to the crowds, and it develops in different levels and with different reasons. The acceptance of the news as a commodity started to remove its feature as being the public service (Mora, 2008: 93-94). In most of the events, journalists are not objective about their news, because choosing the details seems inevitable and comments are preferred generally (Cohen-Almagor, 2002: 102). These comments make us face the importance of expression.

### ***3. The Reflection of Gezi Events to the Newspapers: Media, Politics and Manipulation at the Expressional Surface***

In the extent of pedestrianization of Taksim, after the decision of reconstruction of artillery barracks, the removal of trees in that area started the events. The opponents to that operations, protested these decisions, pitched tents and the police forces responded. The events lasted averagely thirty days. These events are known as Gezi Park Acts. Gezi Park Acts became the most important events of Turkey's agenda in that period. The reflection of events on the media had different forms. Right at that point, the importance of expressions shown up and the politics, media and manipulation equilibrium appeared.

Most of the expressions reflect ideologically based opinions. As Van Dijk remarked (2003: 57), the general strategy of most ideological expressions are like "say positive stuff about us" and "say negative things about them". When we deepen that situation, expressions like "emphasize the positive things about us", "emphasize the negative things about them" and "do not emphasize the negative things about us", "do not emphasize the positive things about them" come out. The expression would be defined with the three components. These are, meaning, form and act and interaction. This study composes the examinations in the frame of "expression analysis" theory of Van Dijk (2003: 13-112). We tried to put forward the manipulations on Gezi Park Acts which made by expressions in the media with a selection from the ideological resolutions that are suitable to the topic of the expressions.

#### **3.1 The Definition of Actor**

First one of these categories is the definition of actor. All the expressions on the people and acts include definitions of actor types. Actually, in this definitions we face the discriminations as "us" and "others". "Us" is presented as positive, "others" are presented as negative. When the placements of expressions about the Gezi Park Acts in the newspapers which are near the government examined, the "us" and "others" expressions that are on the favours of political power.

At the newspaper dated 04.06.2013 Sabah, with the subheading, "we do not rise the bait, our nation too." Words of prime minister used. In the explanation of the heading, the statement "My sensible nation have not to rise the bait too." Off the prime minister Erdoğan, is used. People who took place in the acts presented as "others" and accused as unsensible.

At the newspaper dated 11.06.2013 'Sabah', appeared with the headline as "They are almost going to lynch us", in the content of headline, the words of dissident artists are placed. In the presentation of the news, it is asserted that peer pressure applied to the artists who are distanced to the Gezi Park Acts like Ajda Pekkan. In the article, the otherizing of the people who are against the acts, emphasized and the back plan of the article, negative presentation of "others" expressed by peer pressure. At the headline of the newspaper dated 16.06.2013 'Sabah', "we resist with patience" heading is used. In the content of first page, the statements of prime minister in the meeting that made in Sincan, Ankara had placed. The number of people who are attended the meeting expressed with hundred of thousands and the name of the meeting "Respect to national will" is especially emphasized in the content. In the explanation of headline, "we have such a resistance, this can demolish all the resistance and all the traps. We resist with patience and prays. We bring them to account at the ballot box." words are placed. When the headline and explanations of the mentioned newspaper evaluated, the discrimination of "us" and "others" appears. While the "us" phenomenon was filled positively, the "others" categorized as negatively.

On the main page of the newspaper dated 25.06.2013 'Star', the words of prime minister "Our polices are patient." are used. At the mentioned heading, the police categorized as "us" and police concept transformed into a positive content with the patience concept.

When the placements of Gezi Park Acts in the dissident newspapers evaluated, the expressions of “us” and “others” appears opposite to government. The headline of the ‘Sözcü’ on 25.06.2013, was “Tayyip’s police are making history”. In the explanation of headings, the sentences “the police that Tayyip says they are making history, seventeen of them jammed two young people in the carpark and beaten muderously.” are used. The newspapers consubstantiated the polices with the government as “others”. The headline of the ‘Sözcü’ on 01.06.2013, the sentence “The photonovel of torture and cruelty to he public.” is used. In the explanation of the heading, “Police beated and beated again to the defenders of Gezi Park. There are a lot of wounded.” sentences are used. The newspaper gave the meaning to the participants as “us” and “folk”, while giving meaning to the police and government as “others”.

‘Cumhuriyet’s headline dated 02.06.2013; “The victory of public” is used. In the explanation of the headline, the sentences as Turkey is living an extraordinary resistance and the government stepped back. The newspaper brought the participants of the acts as “us” and “folk”, and presented the government as “others”.

The headline of ‘Sözcü’ on 03.06.2013 reads as “Do not be arrogant my padishah, there is public greater than you”. In the explanation of heading, “The public that could not stand the problems, adjusted Tayyip in six days. Not only in Taksim, in all of Turkey even in the world there are protests which showed Tayyip what national will is” sentences are used. The newspaper placed the resisters into “us/folk/national will” category and presented the prime minister into “others” category. The headline of ‘Sözcü’ dated 04.06.2013, “threatened and gone” is used. At the explanation of headline, “Tayyip increased the tension instead of decreasing with the threat of pouring the supporters of AKP in streets by saying we hardly stop the fifty percent in their houses, what happens if the public says do not stop them?” sentences are used. Also in the first page of the same newspaper; “They will have destroyed The Anıtkabir” subheading was used. In the explanation of this subheading, “That is the brain of AKP’s youth.” sentence is used. When the presentation of the headings are evaluated, the newspaper asserted discrimination is being made as “us” and “others” by the expressions of prime minister. But the newspaper presented the supporters of AKP as “others” in the headings as well as in the explanations.

At the headline of the newspaper ‘Bir Gün’, dated 04.06.2013; heading as “We can hardly keep our grandmother at home” is used. In the explanation of the heading, sentences such as “Prime minister threatened again before the Africa trip that he has gone like he is running away; ‘we are hardly stop the fifty percent at their home’. “We advise them te be calm” are used. The “others” defined over the words of prime minister. Ironically the fifty percent placed against the fifty percent that prime minister mentioned about. When we evaluate the whole presentation, it is clear; a biaset “us” and “others” definitions had been made at the backstage. 06.06.2013 dated ‘Bir Gün’ used a heading like “The handbook of marauder.” At the presentation of the article, “Did you fall into the hands of police, are you exposed to pepper gas? Here is a law and health guide for not to be panicked.” sentences are used. The newspaper especially had choosen the word of looter and defined the participants to the acts as “us”. The word of looter which the prime minister used that before, transformed to “others” by the newspaper.

At the headline of 11.06.2013 dated ‘Cumhuriyet’; “You did not understand our language.” heading is used. As an explanation, “the youth which Erdoğan threatened by speaking with them in a language that they could understand has decided to pursue the resistance.” sentences are used. There are some expressions used of the participants under the heading of “We are side with peace” like “The protestors of ‘Gezi’ who are completed two weeks in the acts, are saying that they are using a speech that is the side of peace, consensus and using a tolerant method.” They are blaming Erdoğan with not understanding these methods and language, “He understands only building constructions and shopping malls, he is thinking about his crowds as him property.” explanations are used. While the newspaper presenting the young participants positively and presented the prime minister and its crowds as “others” with the word of “property” in a negative example. At the same page of the newspaper, an explanation like “Creative, hoaxer children of rebellion” of Prof. Ayata is placed. As we can understand from this sample, it presented its “us” as positively.

### **3.2 Dramatization and Exaggeration**

Another category series is dramatized and exaggeration. Overstatement of the truth for benefit of a person or group by using rhetoric it is seen dramatization and exaggeration. In terms of Gezi Park Protest review on the newspapers headline which are close to the Government, faced to dramatization and exaggeration example in favor of political power.

The Sabah captioned “We Can Sacrifice Our Life for Democratic Demands” in 07.06.2013 and the comment of Prime Minister Erdogan like as “Gezi Park is an excuse but the rest of all intrigue against how can fray out the AKP and RTE” have been reported in the content of news. The Sabah argued about fraying out government and Prime Minister for the reason of Gezi Park Protest and try to attribute a dramatic character for protests within its own perspective. Also Sabah aimed to present for its readers with more exaggerated logic by using “Is this innocent protest? Police Chief is martyr, Children are injured” sub-headline.

‘Star’ presented “My life is sacrificed for democratic demands” as headline in 07.06.2013. At the same date, also Yeni Şafak presented “We Can Sacrifice Our life for Democratic Demands” on headline for readers. In the content of headline Prime Minister Erdogan’s “The Gezi Park acts exploited by DHKP-C and Labour Party Supporters exempt for protesters who are against to removal of trees at Gezi Park if the events are just related to Gezi park why the other cities attend to protest. It shows us the protests are not directly related with Gezi Park. “We can sacrifice our life for democratic demands” sentences broad to main page. When, both those two newspaper’s headlines and news report reviewing, as well as they emphasized the acceptance of democratic demands, mainly highlighted there are illegal organizations behind the acts and all those events are not related with Gezi Park. Gezi Park act associated with illegal structures, has attempted to present in content of news in an exaggerated manner.

“Women were swearing, Men were hitting” used as a headline for Star in 13.06.2013, it was mentioned in the main page with the content “young woman with head scarf was attacked by Gezi Protesters told fearful moments she lived to Elif Cakır”. In the continuation of the interview, the journalist met the girl Z.D. whom the Prime Minister talked about as “a close relative of mine was dragged on the ground”, she is the bride of the Mayor of Bahcelievler and has a six-month-old baby. I stopped for a while before asking questions. She did not look at my face and told with a hoarse and timid voice. “Suddenly 70-100 half-naked people wearing leather gloves surrounded me. Some of them attacked me and my baby and they were swearing and insulting us” In the sub headlines “Baby was pounded up” “Headscarf, see the holy” Smelling urine”. When the headlines, content and sub headlines are evaluated, a matter having social sensitivity is presented to the readers in a dramatic manner.

The headline of Yeni Şafak was “Gezi Pressure Cause Death” on 14.06.2013, in explanation of news mentioned “A.E. who goes to TED High School attended the Gezi Movement by reason of school environment. When she was in Taksim, She wrote the tweet “I want to go home”. The father of the student found his daughter early morning and dropped her off to school dorm. According to the news A.E. left the dorm again with the permission of the dorm management and hail the taxi to go to Gezi Park again. On the way she suddenly stopped the taxi on viaduct and jumped to death. Headline and explanations criticized, obviously not known of the reason of suicide news related with Gezi Act. The headline reported to readers with exaggerated presentation, also a dramatic manner used in the content of the news.

“Cities would get dark, The economy would have collapsed” captioned as a headline of ‘Star’ on 20.06.2013, in the content of news appeared the mention of Minister of Transportation Yıldırım, sustained cyber-attack assaulted while Gezi Acts, hackers assaulted cyber-attack who supported to Gezi protests to turn off the electricity all around country and to collapse down to financial system but repelled all attacks. When the headline of the newspaper is criticized, the news want to report with exaggerated presentation for readers, in the context of rendering a poor image for Gezi events don’t escape from attention.

‘Sabah’ captioned “Exact Reason is Resolution Process” on headline in 22.06.2013, in the news statement Erdogan’s words used “There is no martyr(şehit) news. People have a picnic Cudi Mountain’s feet. They already be annoyed from this”. When the content and presentation of news evaluated, appears a dramatic news presentation over from title and content.

Dated 06.25.2013 to the ‘Star’ headline captioned “Showed Beer to Europe at Mosque”, “Minister of EU Bağış, get EU Embassies who criticized Ankara because of Gezi Park Acts watched to videos of protesters who entered the mosque with alcohol, told the vandalism of protesters via photos” expressions is given at the content of news. People, who are attended to Gezi Park Acts less sensitiveness in context of faith, have tried to present with dramatic and exaggerated statement.” When Gezi Park Acts are investigated on first page of opposite newspaper which are against to political power we have faced example of dramatization and exaggeration.

Dated 07.06.2013 at 'Sözcü' headline is asked and it is tried to explain in the news "Democrat? Or Sultan? What do you think?" as an illustration on news "Tayyip did not step back, said 'I will destroy'... Turkey started went in to a decline again". "This question is asked by The Economist on its cover with a illustration of Tayyip in Padisah dresses. The answer is so simple: Is anyone can be democrat who is curial to public". The newspaper attributed an exaggerated meaning to the Acts with using sentences of Prime Minister, besides tried to justify for exaggeration with using another magazine sentences. The newspaper used the subject in a matter having social sensivity is presented to readers in a exaggerated manner. Besides demands of participants of Gezi Park Acts are presented in simple and reasonable manner, it is tried to be attributed as dramatic character for news.

'Sözcü' used two headlines on main page in 07.06.2013. In first headline is captioned as a title of "Hugging with PKK", in the part of explanation is reported in the manner "Date: June 7<sup>th</sup> Location: Sırnak: did not harm to people who burned to police car". Also in second headline is captioned as a title of "Being obstinate with Society". In explanation of headline is reported as "Date: June 2<sup>nd</sup>, Location: Taksim, Used tear gas on people who want to have park" with those sentences.

Dated 12.06.2013 at the 'Cumhuriyet' headline is captioned as title of "Savagery Came Back", the sentences of "Respond to the Protests with Dirty Scenario. Ten thousand is wetted. Violence is peaked" is placed at explanation of headline. Sentences are used in the form of "Pressurized Water to handicapped", "Do You Want Civil War?", "Democracy is on Floor" at subtitle of headline. When headline, subtitles and contents are carefully considered, social subject are that exaggerated, would be able to occur sensitive emotions and dramatic manner on readers, especially used.

Dated 13.06.2013 'Sözcü' have used two headlines at main page and support those with visual subject. At First Headline with title of "These Are Original", "PKK supporters showed of via Apo posters at Taksim. PKK Terrorists set up a festival via guns at plateau. Nobody spoke". At second headline with title of "This Are Marginal", At the Gezi Park protests, people who are carried Atatürk poster and unfurled a flag, injured the wrath of police... Wetted, Dragged" expression is given. When headlines and content evaluated, two headlines is compared, second headline is more innocent then first headline is told in a dramatic manner.

Dated 06.25.2013 to the 'Cumhuriyet' headline, "The Name is Horror of the Epic" is used. In the content of news "Policies who are promoted in speech of Erdogan like as "the police made history" drove around the city with a child and beat him who is 13 years old in the armoured police car while one and half hours" was mentioned. A singular event which is characterized like a plenary event has attempted to present exaggerated and dramatically and was compress to government.

### **3.3 Denying**

One of another catogory serie is expressions of denying. Denying expressions are generally applied types of statement. The main logic is making the "others" negative by conjunctions and adjectives after saying positive staff about the "others". So-called refusings, so-called acceptings and so-called epmhaties are realized types of denying expressions.

It is seen the newspapers which broaded the Gezi Park Acts to the public opinion, had used the denying expressions which is one of the category series directed to expressions. Particularly the newspapers which are known with the close relatives with the government had used this way too often. The headline of 'Star' dated 02.06.2013 formed as "Provocation came out under the tree." Top of the headline, the acts conquered by the marginal groups which are started with the slogans as "Do not cut trees" and "we do not want the artillery bararcks". In the article that presented under the heading, it is asserted that the protest transformed in to dissident party CHP meeting. After the starter events stated, the changing way of the acts insistly emphasized. This is a typical denying expression.

In the first page of 'Yeni Şafak' dated 04.06.2013, it is stated; the demonstrations catched by the foreing provocaters. This news are important because of including the message of "these acts started with the environment sensibility but they are in the hands of foreign provocaters anymore." A situation that include positive "others" suddenly transformed into a negative position.

The headline and information under it at the 'Star' dated 05.06.2013 are each examples of the denying expressions.

These words of vice Prime Minister Bülent Arınç are placed under the “Apologize to the peaceful protests, warning to the aggressors” headline: I apologize about the violence that shown to the protestors who are doing it with the environment sensibility but I do not apologize from the people who are caused brutality. “75 million people have seen this brutality.” As it seen, the environment sensibility of the protestors is accepted but on the other hand the brutality emphasized. At the first page of the same newspaper dated 08.06.2013; one of the news is headed as “the platform making distance with the vandalism.” With no doubt, the message that wanted to emphasize is the transformation into chaos and vandalism is being accepted by the protestors too. The headline of ‘Sabah’ dated 29.06.2013; had included a similar expression. It is formed as “Sincere protestors are made instruments for hoax.” The message under this heading is; there are real environment defenders but the whole events are a scenario.

It is possible to faced with the denying expressions at the first pages of ‘Star’ and ‘Sabah’ which are dated 10.06.2013. The headline of ‘Sabah’ was addressing the prime minister and formed as “We are patient but it is not endless”. The headline of ‘Star’ formed in frame of addressing to prime minister as; “My door is open if the aim is environment”. The content of the first article was emphasizing the democracy would be gained without leaving law. It is tended to say the protestors apply the ways which are out of law. In the content of second article, the words of prime minister placed; “If you do that in the name of environment defending, my door is open but do not join the ideological representors, break up with them!” It is emphasized the protesters are being far away from the environmental reflexes by somebodies.

The newspaper which known with the dissident behaviours to the government ‘Bir Gün’ had also used the denying as one of expression categories. 15.06.2013 dated ‘Bir Gün’, used a headline as “You are going to explain these drooped saplings”. Under this headline, “Erdoğan is applying state terror to the Gezi Park Protestors, finally accepted the Taksim Solidarity as a collocuter but leaved a black balance sheet after him. There are 4 dead people one of them is a police, 7478 wounded five of them are critical and at least ten citizen lost their eyes.” Expressions are placed. The consensus pursuer behaviour of prime minister made positive for a short sentence and the negativeness about “others” after the conjunction. This is a typical example of denying expressions.

### 3.4 History as a Lesson

Another category is the history as a lesson. We are facing the attributions to the traditional themes as comparings. These types of comparings are generalized with the lessons from history that the argumental enforcements accepted as a historical law. The closely relative newspapers with the government ‘Star’ and ‘Sabah’, formed the “history as a lesson” in favour of government and the dissident newspaper ‘Cumhuriyet’ used that opposite of the government. When we examine the ‘Star’ dated 03.06.2013, it can be seen the headline “the repeat of old scenarios” used in that way. The article that includes prime minister’s explanations, “We are seeing the traps which are in the past, for threatening the governments, subdueing them, and setting a chaos for interventions that out of democracy.” sentences are used.

06.06.2013 dated ‘Star’, was pressed with the headline as “We won’t let you eat him up” and used the photographs of Menderes and Özal it is emphasized the events are a scenario against the democracy. Also in the same newspaper dated 18.06.2013, the events are equated with the February 28 and the headline “The new version of February 28” is used.

‘Sabah’ had brought a confidence as “last ten years is an assurance for tomorrows” to emphasize the prime minister is not intervening the styles of lifes. In this article dated 03.06.2013, with an attribution to history, a generalizer expression is applied.

Like the government sided newspapers, ‘Cumhuriyet’ also got benefit from the expression of history as a lesson with the headline “kind of September 12”, the applications like demanding defences from the artists who are supporting the acts and AKP meetings being watched to the arrested people, the similarities to the September 12 are emphasized.

### 3.5 Polarization

Another category is the polarization. Polarization is setting a situation as fellows and allies have put one side and the enemies to the other side. This situation is related to a type of classification. Polarization is being deepened and improved with a clear contrast statement.



At the headline of the newspaper Star which known with close relationship dated 16.06.2013 “We resist with patience” heading is used. In the content of first page, the statements of prime minister in the meeting that made in Sincan, Ankara had placed. The number of people who are attended the meeting expressed with hundred of thousands and the name of the meeting. In the explanation of headline, “we have such a resistance, this can demolish all the resistance and all the traps. We resist with patience and prays. We bring them to account at the ballot box.” words are placed. In the subheading, there is an expression as “After the call of ‘turn your home’ warning, 80 organization stopped their protests. But remaining resistance groups are responded by the police and they had got out from the Gezi Park.” In the frame of classification made, “us” are resisting patiently but the “others” are having a place in a scenario, emphasized and a polarization realized.

A significant newspaper which is known with the dissident expressions ‘Bir Gün’ dated 03.06.2013, placed a headline as “Yesterday we were bandits, today we are marauders, be cool”. In the explanation right under the headline, it is emphasized, at Hopa in 2011, the prime minister had called as ‘bandit’ to the protestors and called as marauders. The original expressions is that: “We are going to build a mosque in the Taksim Square. I do not ask for permission from some of marauders for that.” The newspaper interiorized the negative adjectives like “bandit” or “marauder” ironically and the the polarization is accepted.

The 10.06.2013 dated ‘Cumhuriyet’ touched to “marauder” arguments with a headline as “Marauders became a flood”. At the explanation at the top of headline, as an attribution 3-5 marauders statement, “While he says 3-5 marauders, hundred thousands flooding into the squares” sentences are used. At the another heading left of the first page “Erdogan provacating and seperating” expression is used. Cumhuriyet had also interiorized the “marauders” statement and feed the polarization and tried to emphasized that the statements of provacating and seperating are belong to prime minister Erdogan.

When we examine the 10.06.2013 dated ‘Sözcü’, an expression of polarization appears. It is remarked that Erdoğan had provacated the crowds, spilled out hatred and dared, been deaf to the millions at him meetings. The participants of meetings named as mounted troops and it is described the prime minister accuseded with pouring gas into the fire.

### **3.6 Iteration**

Another category is iteration. Iteration is a quibble belongs to general rhetoric. The emphasizing positive things about “us” against to negative things about “others” constitute the general strategy.

One of the expression category that oftenly preffered is iteration in the reflections of the Gezi Park Acts to the newspapers’ pages. The memories are tried to kept alive with iterations that made consciously and systematically and manipulations that suitable for demanded way are used in the news about the protests. Particularly it is thought the emphasizes which are set on the negative things about “others” would Show the positive things about “us”. In this direction, the broading of the acts that examined in the news papers are remarkable. The newspapers which are sided with the governments had set an iteration with the words of “Foreign hands”, “external interventions”, “interest lobby”; the dissident newspapers had used the statements as “civil commotion. The common iteration expression is “violence” by the dissident newspapers as well as government sided newspapers. Both groups had complained about the violence. Government sided newspapers had complained about the violence that originated from the protestors while the dissident newspapers had been complaining the violence that originated from the police forces.

For a particular period, ‘Yeni Şafak’, ‘Star’ and ‘Sabah’s first pages emphasized a “external power” which directed the acts. ‘Yeni Şafak’ emphasized that situation for fourteen times in the thirty days examination which the subject of this study. This iteration placed for ten times in ‘Star’s first page, ‘Sabah’s first page six times. The scenario had cerated by the ailing sides about the developments in every field of Turkey, and the protestors had been an instrument of them. By that way, the inner dynamics had put away and the foreign connections of the acts emphasized by the iterarions.

The first pages which are covering a particular period of ‘Sözcü’, ‘Cumhuriyet’ and ‘Bir Gün’, it is insisntly emphasized the acts are civil commotions. ‘Sözcü’ remarked that fifteen times in its firstpage for thirty days that is subject of this study. This expressions is used for ten times in ‘Cumhuriyet’ and for seven times at ‘Bir Gün’. An iteration made with an expression as the acts developed with the inner dynamics and are civil commotions for every opportunity.

Both newspaper iterated the violence phenomenon merely like dealed. 'Yeni Şafak' and 'Star' made the violence emphasize for fourteen times in the related period. 'Sabah' made that for nine times. The 'Cumhuriyet' which had complained about violence that originated from police forces, made this iteration for twelve times, 'Sözcü' made this iteration for eleven times and 'Bir Gün' made that for nine times. The first newspaper groups made an iteration about a conscious violence by the foreign interventions, while the second group made an iteration as the acts are state terrorism.

#### **4. Conclusion**

When the place that the media covered in current times thought, this examinations show us, such an importance of expressions about construction of perceptions, transformation of perceptions and forming new perceptions. The power of mass informing of the media, naturally brings some relationships with the government. The form of these relationships differentiates the presentations of news.

In this study; the reflections of Gezi Park Acts handled in the frame of the "expressions analysis" of Van Dijk, in the government sided and dissident newspapers. This study aimed to Show if the newspaper manipulated the 'Gezi Park' Acts or not. When doing this, the definition of actor, dramatization and exaggeration, denying, history as a lesson polarization and iteration categories of Van Dijk's "expressions analysis" are used.

It is appeared clearly, when the newspapers' first pages for a particular period (thirty days after Gezi Park Acts started) examined, the point of view of the media is sided and manipulative. The government sided newspapers handled the acts in favour of government and the dissident newspapers showed the government as a unique reason of acts and tried to build a negative perception about the government.

In this context, when the approach of the 'Yeni Şafak', 'Star' and 'Sabah' evaluated, we are facing with a presentation which reads the acts in favour of government, tries to legalize the government and build a positive of itself by stating negatives over the "others". These newspapers handled the acts as positive "us" and negative "others" with manipulating them by the expressions.

Dissident newspapers as 'Cumhuriyet', 'Bir Gün' and 'Sözcü', seen as used the acts as an instrument for fraying out the government with the power of media. These newspapers had negated the government and built its own positive over that negation.

As a conclusion, media is one of the most powerful instruments for building up perceptions over the expressions. At that point, the newspapers which are powerful elements of media, would be quite effective on the manipulation of the truth. The point of view of media changes the exposition styles of events, in spite of the fact that they must have a priority as informing the readers and do that in direction of some ethical values.

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