

PANDEMİ DÖNEMİNDE PATERNALİZM:

TÜRKİYE CUMHURİYETİ SAĞLIK BAKANI'NIN ELEŞTİREL SÖYLEM ANALİZİ

Halil KANADIKIRIK¹

Tuğba YOLCU²

Öz

Pandemi sürecinde, ister liberal ister illiberal rejime sahip olsun, tüm devletler paternalist karakterlerine geri dönerek hastalığın yayılmasını ve sağlık sisteminin çökmesini önlemek için vatandaşlarının temel hak ve özgürlüklerinin birçoğunu geçici de olsa askıya almıştır. Devletlerin egemenlik haklarından kaynaklanan bu paternalist müdahaleler, bireylerin hareket özgürlüğüne sahip olmaları durumunda irrasyonel ve tedbirsiz eylemde bulunarak kendilerine ve toplumun geri kalanına zarar verecekleri şeklindeki zımni bir argümana dayanmıştır. Türkiye de pandemiye karşı bu tür önlemler alan ülkelerden biridir. Bu tedbirlerin açıklanıp hayata geçtiği süreçte kamuoyunun yöneldiği isim Sağlık Bakanı Fahrettin Koca olmuştur. Bu çalışmada Koca'nın Twitter mesajları eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemiyle analiz edilmiştir. Böylece onun paternalist müdahalelerinin türünün ve bunları meşrulaştırmak için nasıl bir söylem kurduğunun anlaşılması amaçlanmıştır. Koca'nın kurduğu söylemin büyük ölçüde bilimsel bilgi üzerine inşa edilmiş korku, geleneksel mahalle baskısı, işbirliği ve paternalist aile ortamının bir temsili olduğu ileri sürülmüştür.

Anahtar Kelime: COVID-19, İrrasyonel, Liderlik, Meşruiyet, Paternalizm, Söylem.

¹Dr. Öğretim Üyesi, Tarsus Üniversitesi, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi, E-posta: halilkanadikirik@tarsus.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0002-7215-1073.

²Doç. Dr., Tarsus Üniversitesi, Siyaset Bilimi ve Kamu Yönetimi, E-posta: tugbayolcu@tarsus.edu.tr, ORCID: 0000-0002-7131-7545.

PATERNALISM DURING THE PANDEMIC:

A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF THE MINISTER OF HEALTH OF THE REPUBLIC OF TÜRKİYE

Abstract

During the pandemic, all states, whether they have liberal or illiberal regimes, have returned to their paternalistic character and suspended many of their citizens' fundamental rights and freedoms, albeit temporarily, in order to prevent the spread of the disease and the collapse of the health care system. These paternalistic interventions stemming from the states' rights of sovereignty, are based on an implicit argument that if individuals have freedom of action, they will harm themselves and the rest of society by acting irrationally and imprudently. Türkiye is one of these countries that took such measures against the pandemic. In the process when these measures were announced and implemented, the name that the public turned to was Minister of Health, Fahrettin Koca. In this study, Koca's Twitter messages were analyzed with the critical discourse analysis method. Thus, it is aimed to understand the type of his paternalist interventions and what kind of discourse he established to legitimize them. It has been argued that the discourse established by Koca is a representation of fear, traditional peer pressure, collaboration, and a patriarchal family environment built largely on scientific knowledge.

Keywords: COVID-19, Discourse, Irrationality, Leadership, Legitimate, Paternalism.

1. INTRODUCTION

The novel coronavirus (COVID-19) has been the subject of a great social concern and wide-ranging measures taken by the government in Türkiye as well as all over the world. In Türkiye, the developments regarding the COVID-19 have been followed from the very beginning by the public authorities, and various measures have been put into effect before March 11, 2020, the date when the first case was seen in the country (Zorlu, 2020, March 11). With following the detection of the first case, measures of the government were escalated and the public restrictions were extended during the time. Restaurants, bars, theaters and cinemas, sports halls were closed, mass worship in mosques was terminated, and a two-week quarantine obligation was imposed on the people who infected and on those returning from abroad, meanwhile wearing masks outside the home was made mandatory, curfews were imposed on citizens under the age of 20 and over the age of 65, inter-provincial travels were banned, and lockdowns for all were implemented on weekends. Moreover, the Turkish Ministry of Health provided a public surveillance and control by conducting a risk analysis of citizens through a mobile application called HES (Life Fits in Home). As a result of all this Türkiye became one the championing countries that responded pandemic very quickly during the first wave (Guerin, 2020, May 29).

The difficulties that other states have had to deal with during the pandemic have undoubtedly been an important challenge for the public authorities in Türkiye as well. According to the types of measures taken or not taken, states have been found successful or unsuccessful by the international community. While South Korea, one of the countries where the virus first spread, could be found successful with a filtration process that included all social segments (Danışan Artan, 2021), the Brazilian government, which explained the epidemic with conspiracy theories and built its populist right-wing politics on this, had a lot of difficulty in dealing with deaths caused by the disease (Zengin, 2021, p. 91).

In terms of the measures implemented during the pandemic process, it has been observed that the relationship between states and individuals has exceeded its routine limits. First of all, depriving citizens of their fundamental rights and freedoms recognized by international agreements and the constitution, albeit temporarily, is a dramatic change in the relationship between the state and the individual. This is a structure that takes place in Ulrich Beck's (1992) conceptualization of risk society, on the one hand, experts inevitably climb the ladder of power under conditions of uncertainty, and on the other hand, individuation continues. In the contradictory situation between these two extremes, the political authority resorts to various ways and methods to restrict the activities of individuals with the suggestions of experts in order to mitigate the influence of the disease. These can be grouped into four categories, mainly governance, surveillance, coercion and social policy (Jarman, 2021). However, the state's ability to use these tools in all its possible capacity is directly related to its ability to justify the interventions to individuals in their private spheres to a certain extent. The way to justify this is through the state's ability to convince individuals that if they are left uninterrupted in this global crisis, they can harm themselves and others by acting irrationally for various reasons (greed, imprudence, disinformation, etc.). This has been possible with the construction of a discourse space in which a protective, sheltering government paternalistically work.

The subject that is aimed to be examined in this article is the government's discourse to legitimize paternalist intervention and the method used for this during the pandemic. The study is designed to create an introduction within the area of political science regarding the perception of paternalistic leadership in Turkish society at the time of crisis. For this reason, it is restricted to social interactions that take place through the social media account of the Minister of Health. Based on this, the Minister of Health of the Republic of Türkiye, Fahrettin Koca, has been taken as an example of paternalist leadership from the beginning of the

pandemic process. In all the measures taken since the beginning of the crisis, Koca appears at the center of communication with the society. Therefore, it is an important resource for a social media analysis.

2. THE PROBLEM OF PATERNALISM AND PATERNALISTIC LEADERSHIP

Paternalism is the idea advocating interventions against an individual or group from outside, without their consents, aimed at improving their situation or protecting them from harm through guidance, manipulation or coercion (Dworkin, 2020). Such an intervention emerges only in the realm of a social hierarchy, in the tension between “social control” and “individual liberty” (Thompson, 2013). The establishment of a paternalistic relationship is based on two main arguments: First, people can act irrationally; and, accordingly, secondly, interventions may be made for them to act in this way in order to establish their own well-being (Le Grand & New, 2015). Paternalism is a highly controversial issue, especially in today's political thought, where liberal systems prevail. For this reason, a paternalist intervention sometimes rests on very fragile legitimacy foundations. Therefore, a paternalistic policy must first of all be capable of convincing individuals that it is not merely aiming at promoting the government's interests (Dworkin, 2013).

On the basis of the debates that started with the emergence of the state in political theory, there has been a subject that under which conditions and to what extent the political authority can be restrictive on the autonomy of individuals. At an extreme point in the discussion, Thomas Hobbes appears. According to Hobbes, the essence of the state means that the members of the community transfer their rights, power and opportunities to one of them or a committee "for their Peace and Common defense" (Hobbes, 1997 [1651], p. 96). However, starting from John Locke, there have also been theorists who criticize the dominance of political authority over individuals from a liberal perspective and favor its limitation. Immanuel Kant is also seen at the extreme point of this side. He considered the “paternal government (imperium paternale)”, which means the benevolent intervention of political authority to protect his subjects from harms that they cannot realize, or to bring benefits, just like a father's relationship with his children, as "the greatest conceivable despotism" directed towards the constitutional freedoms of individuals (Kant, 2003 [1793], p. 74). There have also been liberal political thinkers who did not absolutely reject the intervention of the state restricting the freedoms of individuals, but saw this as legitimate under certain paternalistic conditions. John Stuart Mill does not justify intervention aimed at ensuring the well-being of

individuals or preventing them from intentionally harming own themselves. Paternalistic intervention is justified whenever a certain harm or danger of harm arises, either to anyone or the public (Mill, 2009 [1859]). John Rawls, one of the most famous theorists of liberal thought in 20th century, also considers the tendency of individuals to act irrationally - he says "foolish actions" – and he approves various social sanctions that have been agreed upon in order to prevent or compensate for the social harm that may arise from such behaviors of individuals. (Rawls, 1999 [1971], p. 249).

Paternalistic leadership is one of the most important components of the act of convincing. The concept expresses the protective and guiding intervention of the superior (leader) in the subordinate's work and non-work life within a family-like discourse established between the former and the latter, and the child's paying respect, loyalty and deference to the father in return (Aycan, 2006). Although such an intervention relationship is strange in societies with an individualistic character, it can have a certain social acceptance in collectivist societies (Erben & Güneşer, 2008). In the process of combating COVID-19, the political cultural structure of a society, which also determines the attitude against and trust in the political authority, has been decisive in the adherence or non-adherence with the measures taken by the governments (Bavel et al., 2020). This trust is independent of government systems and has enabled collectivist Asian countries to be more successful in the measures taken during the last pandemic (Lazarus et al., 2020). This shows that the capacity of paternalistic leadership is related to culture rather than law.

Paternalistic leadership entered the literature when Weber defined it as a type of traditional legitimate authority (Pellegrini & Scandura, 2008). Weber's concept is actually "patrimonialism" and is synonymous with paternalistic leadership (Weber 1964 [1922]). In the process of evolving from a classical empire to a modern state, Türkiye provided its modern institutionalization on the patrimonial cultural structure (Kanadıkırık, 2019). In this context, as an example of paternalistic leadership, it will be interesting to examine the degree of social acceptance and adaptation of the measures taken by the Turkish political authority during the pandemic process.

3. METHOD

Since the study aims to examine a social phenomenon, critical discourse analysis, one of the qualitative research methods, was used. Discourse analysis is one of the methods frequently used in the field of social sciences besides qualitative and hermeneutic methods. Discourse

analysis has been evaluated as critical discourse analysis in its contemporary sense. Critical discourse analysis is an appropriate method in analyzing the social dimension of discourse. Unlike other approaches in the humanities, critical discourse analysis is a method that aims to make a detailed study of text and speech structures and their interactional and social functions (Dijk, 1999). Discourse is produced by language, but it goes beyond language and reveals the meaning of words in context. Context, on the other hand, is understood as a malleable entity produced in accepted practices and discourses, in ways of organizing social reality (Ahonen et al., 2014). For example, while Foucault associates discourse with power built on the context as the history of knowledge and practice, Habermas establishes this with discursive exchanges. Despite all their differences, benefiting from critical and hermeneutic approaches, both aim to liberate marginal ideas and individuals by defining hegemony (Wall et al., 2015). Huckin (1997), similarly, establishes the relationship between text and context in his critical discourse analysis method, taking into account the historicity and complexity of social life. Here, he does not take a neutral stance by merely describing unfair social and political practices, but develops a clear and understandable critique, even for non-experts, by revealing the social construction of dominant powers.

Critical discourse analysis of social media content includes some differences from its kind of traditional one. While traditional media is the starting point for new media instruments, the multimodal nature of new media instruments and the non-linear nature of texts take critical discourse analysis beyond the textual context. In order to understand the social relations produced by the dominant ideology, it is necessary to know how people establish bonds with them. For this reason, when examining new media instruments, not only texts as it is in traditional media, but also photographs, expressions and graphics become a part of critical discourse analysis (Bouvier & Machin, 2018).

As a result of all these explanations, the method of critical discourse analysis was chosen as the most appropriate method in examining the discourse produced during the management of the COVID-19 pandemic. Discourse created by authority appear as a form of action, with ideology being defined as a material practice related to language, subject, meaning and expression. At the same time, the production of power and sovereignty through discourse will reveal the power relationship at the symbolic level. As areas where the dominant discourse is legitimized, news texts ensure the continuity of that. For this reason, an examination of these

policies of the authority in the process of producing and implementing paternalist policies will be described more clearly with critical discourse analysis.

Here, the discourses produced via Twitter by Fahrettin Koca, who is seen as the leader in the field of health policies during the pandemic process in Türkiye, was evaluated within the framework of Teun A. van Dijk's critical discourse analysis. Van Dijk (1988) carried out critical discourse analysis at two levels, macro and micro. In the analysis in the macro structure, analysis is made at two levels as thematic and schematic. Thematically structured news entries and headlines and spots are examined. In the schematic structure, the presentation of the news, background and context information is included. Micro-level analyzes are mostly for comments in news texts. The word choice, sentence structure and rhetoric of the comments on the news are expressed as microanalysis. In this work, the official Twitter posts of Dr. Fahrettin Koca, Turkish Minister of Health who has come to the forefront with his identity as the spokesperson for the social dimension of a global crisis about the COVID-19 pandemic and represented the political authority through the media since March 2020 were examined at the macro level in van Dijk's discourse analysis methodology. Taking into account the schematic analysis dimension of the macro level, the article also received support from Huckin's approach that highlights the effect of textual and contextual factors in discourse analysis. Thus, it was aimed to reach a situation analysis by revealing the cultural, political and social contexts of the paternalist authority of the texts produced by the minister of health during the COVID-19 pandemic.

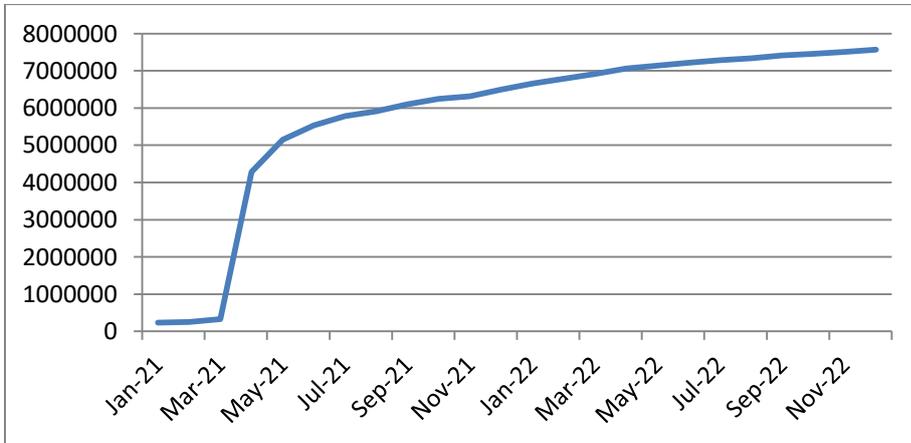
The main limitation of the study is that it does not take a holistic approach to public authority, that is, the social media discourse of the minister of health, who represent the relationship between politics-health expertise-guidance before the society, was chosen, not the authorities that enact or implement coercive measures. Of course, this alone is not enough to analyze the crisis-period communication between political authority and society in Türkiye within the framework of paternalist policies. For this reason, the findings of the study were evaluated considering this basic limitation. The fact that Minister of Health Fahrettin Koca's short or long statements in both traditional media and other social media networks other than Twitter are not included in this review is another important limitation of the study. The most important reason for choosing Twitter is that it is used effectively and frequently by official authorities among other social media networks, and because of the character limitation, messages related to the problem are transmitted more directly and strikingly than texts containing long statements. However, no doubt, there is a need for much more comprehensive

studies for Türkiye, including the other channels used by the political authorities to inform, persuade or direct their policies to the public during the pandemic period. Another limitation of the study is that only 5 tweets were included in the sample in a huge research universe. Although there is no direct relationship between the sample size and the results, this limitation affects the generalizability of the results of the study.

4. TWITTER ACTION OF A PATERNALISTIC LEADER

Twitter, which is an important social media network, was chosen in the study. The main reason for the choose is that Twitter is one of the social media networks where its users express their ideas with textual expressions rather than visual content. As an area where discourse is produced, Twitter provides an environment where users can freely express their feelings and thoughts with a certain number of character spacing. Due to the character limit, Twitter includes quick, direct and striking message transmissions about its target. This area is the meeting point of both political figures and those affected by politics. Below is the graph showing the number of followers of Fahrettin Koca during the pandemic:

Graphic 1. Change in the Number of Followers of Fahrettin Koca.



Resource: Internet Archive. (2022). archive.org/web/

When the graph is examined, it is seen that there was a serious increase in the number of followers of Koca on Twitter in March 2020, when the first case was seen. In Instagram, when it comes to June 2020, Koca has reached 10 million followers and surpassed President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, who has 8 million followers (Fahrettin Koca, Erdoğan'ı Sılladı, 2020, June 22). This is an indication that the Turkish people are focusing on Koca's statements during the pandemic process. For social media users who want to follow the process closely, the name they see as the leader of the process has become the minister of health. Considering

all these, the study seeks answers to the following basic question by analyzing the discourse of Koca:

□ On what basis is this discourse to justify the paternalist intervention (governance, surveillance, coercion, guiding, etc.) implemented to restrict the activities of individuals in order to increase the well-being or to protect them from harm during the pandemic?

In order to find answers to this question, tweets suitable for the purpose of the study were selected as samples. In this direction, the following topics have been chosen as patterns regarding paternalist policies;

- Expressions on measures of restriction of fundamental rights and freedoms, such as the obligation to wear masks, travel and curfews, and bans and restrictions on collective events;
- Recommendations to prevent citizens from suffering harm as a result of their irrational behavior;
- Vaccination promotion and restrictions on the unvaccinated;
- Accurate information activity against disinformation and conspiracy theories about COVID-19 and vaccine;
- Follow-up and inspection system via HES code and filiation team.

In this evaluation, Koca's tweets from March 2019 to January 2022 were examined and 5 tweets were included in the analysis in accordance with the above-mentioned purpose.

5. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Table 1. Tweet of Koca (2020, June 16, 11:02 am).

Thematic Analysis at the Macro Level	
Tweet	The mask is our social responsibility in our fight against the virus. Let's protect each other from the virus by wearing masks. Let's warn those who walk around without masks, those who pretend to wear masks, with the appropriate language. We cannot fight the virus without masks.
Retweet	6.647
Like	64,5K

Visual	 <p>Figure 1.</p>
Schematic Analysis at the Macro Level	
Status Description	<p>In his post, Koca conveys the phrase "what do those who see it say", which is dominant in Turkish public discourse, and expresses the peer pressure, with the metaphor of a mask. While the tweet, supported by a surgical mask image, warns the public about the use of masks, it adopts a discourse that builds a perception that being without a mask is considered a "shame" in the general public.</p>

The striking element of the message in the discourse in Table 1, which is chosen as an example of the obligation to wear a mask among the expressions regarding the restriction of fundamental rights and freedoms, is the association of wearing a mask with responsibility. The blue mask image (Figure 2) also supports the health message given in terms of symbolizing the commonly used surgical mask. In the visual used to strengthen the discourse, it was aimed to convey a message through traditional roles with the expression "What do those who see it say". He expressed an implicit pressure on society through the discourse expressing "condemnation" by referring to the traditional peer pressure. "What do those who see it say" is a phrase often used in communities where face-to-face relations take place within a narrow zone. The expression of this idiom with public discourse can be considered as the reflection of private sphere relations on public policies. Here, it is seen that the relationship between public authority and citizen is established as a representation of the relationship between traditional parents and their children. In the discourse, it can be said that governance and surveillance are preferred in the process of directing the people to paternalistic politics. Emphasizing responsibility and traditional peer pressure and bringing the subject of "us" to the fore is the will to activate a governance system for the society to monitor each other. Thus, the legitimacy of the paternalist intervention is tried to be achieved by returning to the traditional community structures of the society.

Table 2. Tweet of Koca (2020, November 6, 10:27 pm).

Thematic Analyses at the Macro Level	
Tweet	COVID-19 is spreading. Postpone your travels if possible. Restrict your activity during the day. Do not forget: The main reason for the increase in cases is to live life as before the pandemic.
Retweet	1.362
Like	15,2K
Visual	 <p style="text-align: center;">Figure 2.</p>
Schematic Analysis at the Macro Level	
Status Description	In his sharing, Koca pointed out the spread of the virus and conveyed the travel restriction with the metaphor of a bag and a mask used out of its purpose. With the warning "the disease is spreading" on the image, he built a discourse that connects the increase in cases to the society's failure to internalize the "new normal".

The discourse stated in the Table 2 has been chosen as an example of travel restriction among the expressions on the measures of restriction of fundamental rights and freedoms. A causal link was established by emphasizing that the reason for the increase in cases was the desire to live as in the pre-pandemic times. There are two messages in the image (Figure 3): One is a mask and the other is travel. It was aimed to draw attention to the imprudent behavior of the people by using a visual opposite to the message given. Keeping the mask in the person's hand and with his bag strengthens the message that the irrational behavior of the people has an effect on the spread of the virus. In addition, the bag in the image is a briefcase. The message given here is a warning to postpone even business-related travels. The hand holding

the bag is a man's hand. The identification of business travels with the male figure is an issue that should be evaluated in the context of gender. This is an indication that the language of the discourse produced by paternalistic policies also has a masculine structure. Expressions such as “postpone” and “restrict” in discourse are the imperatives and symbolize authority. In Farh and Cheng's (2000) definition of paternalistic leader, it is possible to observe the leader behavior that defends authority and control and expects obedience from subordinates. The inclusion of warning statements while producing the discourse shows that instead of coercion, one of the methods in the execution of paternalistic policies, the formative intervention way is applied to the autonomous decision-making behaviors of individuals. It refers to a libertarian way of paternalistic intervention (Thaler & Sunstein, 2003). This kind of paternalistic intervention, on the other hand, bases its legitimacy on the discourse that the people act imprudently and irrationally.

Table 3. Tweet of Koca (2020, June 2, 2:20 pm).

Thematic Analyses at the Macro Level	
Tweet	The lifting of the curfew does not mean that everything is back to normal. If you do not protect yourself against the virus with precautions, you will not know the result you will face. In Turkish: What a coronavirus patient experiences in the intensive care unit is as foreign to you as Chinese.
Retweet	9.677
Like	102,6K
Visual	 <p>Figure 3.</p>
Schematic Analysis at the Macro Level	
Status Description	Koca referred to an alphabet and language that the society is especially foreign to. He conveyed a metaphor for those who did not catch the

	disease. The level of cognition of such a person about COVID-19 has been likened to the level of understanding Chinese of a Turk who does not speak Chinese. The discourse he constructs is the lack of interest and knowledge of the society towards the disease.
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The discourse in Table 3, which is based on the assumption that citizens may act irrationally after the end of the curfew, is a warning that they may be harmed as a result of their actions. Although the language used in the expression is Turkish, making a statement with the word "Turkish" has been specially chosen to emphasize that the measures are not paid attention by the individuals and that they act imprudently. The analogy of "as foreign to you as Chinese" in the discourse is supported with a visual of the Chinese writings (Figure 4). Despite the fact that the twitted sentences are in Turkish, re-explaining with an expression such as "Turkish" is an implicit the ignorance and indifference of individuals about the virus. In addition, making the analogy over the region where the virus came up was chosen to strengthen the message. The discourse construction generated in terms of paternalistic politics is a hierarchical emphasis on the level of knowledge (the general public who does not speak Chinese). Therefore, paternalism, which is a hierarchy in its nature, has established the source of this hierarchy on knowledge in this discourse. Just as Foucault (1980, p. 119) mentions, power does not simply say "no" to the subject in order to produce consent; "but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse". Another aspect constructed in the discourse is fear based on ignorance. Therefore, both knowledge and fear policy were used together as a persuasive element.

Table 4. Tweet of Koca (2021, December 8, 7:55 pm).

Thematic Analyses at the Macro Level	
Tweet	WHAT THEY HAVE GAINED by trying to scare our people with prejudices over vaccine? However, we know the consequences of wrong decisions. The majority of Covid-19 patients hospitalized in intensive care units have never been vaccinated or are not properly vaccinated. Vaccination is a decision that must be made. Don't wait for being regretted.

Retweet	636
Like	5.010
Visual	 <p style="text-align: center;">Figure 4.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Schematic Analysis at the Macro Level</p>
Status Description	Koca, in his sharing, published his warning about the anti-vaccination propaganda and the misinformation with a table showing the number of cases, death rates and vaccination rates on the map of Türkiye. Here, Koca has constructed a public discourse based on fear.

The tweet in Table 4 is an official information sharing against misinformation or disinformation about the vaccine. Misinformation, disinformation and conspiracy theories have been among the most recalcitrant challenges for the health professionals and the public authorities all over the world since the emergence of the novel coronavirus (Zarocostas, 2020). From the very beginning, WHO and national institutions have been active in breaking this flow of information that is not considered accurate by the health scientists and that threatens society's perception of both the disease and the vaccine. For example, WHO has launched its own "Mythbusters" on its official website (WHO, 2022). With such practices called epistemic paternalism, those in authority intervene in the lives of others in the form of improving or transforming their cognition, belief, thinking and knowledge levels. The aim here is to ensure the epistemic well-being of citizens or to protect them from an epistemic harm, taking into account all possible material consequences that may occur afterwards (Ahlstrom-Vij, 2018; Jackson, 2022). An example of epistemic paternalism is encountered in

this tweet of Koca. Here, Koca is trying to steer the social perception against the anti-vaccine disinformation circulating among the society. The way he follows here is to increase anxiety based on data sharing. The first sentence expresses anger rather than asking a question. The words “scare”, "prejudice", "wrong" and "regret" are prominent in the discourse. The main point of the expression is that misinformation/disinformation about vaccines will result in a kind of disaster. Altheide (2006) attributes the fear policy not to the direct threat of the leader, but to the characterization of social life as dangerous. The discourse expressed above is based on the characterization of the social life as fearful, and full of actual or potential victims, rather than direct threats. Moreover, it was emphasized that vaccination is necessary and that not being vaccinated is an irrational choice that will result in regret. In order to construct the information pillar of the discourse, the number of vaccinated, deaths and hospitalized patients in the intensive care unit and the risk map (Figure 5) were used. The phrase "WHAT THEY HAVE GAINED" at the beginning of the first sentence and its capitalization also imply the existence of an "outsider" of the society that benefits from the aforementioned harm. It is a promise of a paternalistic leadership that will protect them from this "enemy" if society obeys him.

Table 5. Tweet of Koca (2020, September 3, 12:14 pm).

Thematic Analyses at the Macro Level	
Tweet	Our HES code and filiation applications are the most effective ways we use to track the ways the virus is transmitted and prevent its spread. Success will come with the dedication and joint work of all of us.
Retweet	636
Like	5.010
Visual	

Figure 5.	
Schematic Analysis at the Macro Level	
Status Description	While explaining the HES application, which is one of the surveillance tools of the state in the disease process, in his sharing, Koca built a discourse that bases its legitimacy with the emphasis on "collaboration".

This discourse, which constitutes the example of the HES code and the filiation team and the surveillance system in Table 5, is structurally based on the sense of unity and the protectionist approach of the state. Words such as “success”, “dedication” and “collaboration” were chosen as motivation sources. On the other hand, by emphasizing "the most effective ways", it is aimed to present these practices for state surveillance as only ways to get rid of the pandemic. Including the broadcast in which he calls out to the nation with the national and institutional flags behind him (Figure 6), shows that Koca aims to ensure that his message is perceived in the imperative mood. According to the discourse, individuals should know that they are likely to be under surveillance every second, and they should cooperate with self-sacrifice to achieve the desired result. Thus, in the fight against the pandemic, individuals should have taken their place in a power network divided into self-disciplined parts. Again, this is exactly what Foucault borrows from Bentham, an expression for the full operation of the panopticon, or for the gaze of “big brother” to produce effective consent within an Orwellian system. The paternalistic leader put forward the superior capacity of the state-of-the-art tools he is equipped with, as it were, to mobilize the virtues of altruism within the family or within the traditional community.

CONCLUSION

The novel coronavirus has started a social process in which a new lifestyle, which contemporary societies are not accustomed to, is imposed on them, even though it is stated that it is temporary. It has been witnessed that fundamental rights and freedoms, which are under sharp constitutional guarantees in liberal democracies and are not interfered with at

certain levels in illiberal democracies, are suspended in the name of public health. It is an unbelievable development before the pandemic that the public authority asks its citizens not to go out on the street, not to travel, not to worship in groups, not to hold meetings and demonstrations, not to participate in public entertainment, to close their workplaces, not to go to school physically, and that the societies of the 21st century largely comply with this demand. There is no doubt that stopping the spread of a virus that has the potential to seriously endanger the health of individuals has been one of the historical missions of states. However, considering the modern theoretical debate on paternalism in the introduction, the pandemic has brought the paternalist state back onto the stage of history in full-fledged form.

However, it is obvious that these restrictions, which are applied almost all over the world, cannot be explained by mere coercion. Even the observance of almost the same measures in countries with quite different political cultures requires a very broad explanation. In this study, the legitimacy element of the order-obedience relationship in general, and the discourse construction of the political leadership to ensure this legitimacy in particular are emphasized. It has been argued that the basis of the discourse is paternalism, which is the idea that people can act irrationally, so that their preferences can be interfered with by a higher authority for their own good. The Twitter messages of the Minister of Health of the Republic of Türkiye, Fahrettin Koca, regarding the pandemic measures were also examined within this conceptual framework and largely by making use of van Dijk's critical discourse analysis method.

The tweets of Koca show that the role assigned to him during the pandemic in Türkiye is a good, compassionate and caring traditional family man. Undoubtedly, this suited the division of labor of the political authority. Because in the process, the authorities involved in enacting and implementing coercive measures in Türkiye were largely the Presidency and the Ministry of Interior. In this case, Koca turned to guiding the society by relying on a committee of scientific advisors. Of course, in this process, he used the digital HES code application and filtration teams at full capacity. Thus, on the one hand, he constantly reminded the public that they were under surveillance, and he implicitly stated that if his well-intentioned recommendations were not followed, for example, if the quarantine was violated, those who violated it would have to endure the hard paternalism of another public authority, the law enforcement officers of the ministry of the interior. On the other hand, he carried out a kind of governance policy aimed at legitimizing his paternalist leadership by using traditional peer pressure, cooperation, altruism and of course fear through the concepts and visuals he used. Thus, under extraordinary circumstances, he directed the source of public measures restricting

the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals to their own consent. Of course, the main premise of such a discourse is that individuals can make irrational choices and act imprudently that they endanger each other. From this point of view, one of the most important instruments used to persuade citizens to get their consent has been fear. Developing a discourse built on fear facilitates the restriction of civil liberties. This is one of the striking results, especially in areas where official intervention is not coercive. Another result of the study is the use of a masculine discourse in the nature of paternalist politics. Considering that paternalist policies are implemented with the mission of "family father", the masculine structure of the discourse emerges. In the rhetorical elements of the discourse, the male figure comes to the fore, like the visual.

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