POPULISM: THE RISING DISCOURSE OF POLITICAL LANGUAGE IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is to show case critical discourse analysis populism as a form of political communication research through a qualitative approach between different wings populist discourse in Turkey. First, the political discourse of the Leaders of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) and the Republican People's Party (CHP) will be discussed and examined through their parliamentary speeches after the Coup Attempt on 15th July 2016. In the second part, the approach that news media reproduces social reality and ideology through discourse and representation, and the reflection of the afore mentioned parliamentary speeches on news paper news were discussed. In this context, the news in Yeni Şafak and Cumhuriyet newspapers, which were selected as samples, were analyzed using discourse analysis method. These two methods that complement each other have revealed how parliamentary speeches and printed media are fictionalized in the relationship between language and representation, and how populism is positioned in the frame of the language of political communication in Turkey. The main finding of the study is that the political discourses of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and consequently the ruling party AKP and the political discourse of the leader of the main opposition party Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu after the coup attempt are populist aspects. Although both political actors are populists, their construct of populism in the irdiscourses is different from each other. Moreover, the newspapers discussed possess a bias that legitimizes the populist discourse of politicians.

Keywords: Populism, political communication, discourse analysis, Turkey, AKP, CHP

TÜRKİYE'DE SİYASAL DİLİN YÜKSELEN SÖYLEMİ OLARAK POPÜLİZM

ÖZ

Bu çalışma, politik aktörlerin siyasal iletişim şekli olarak kullandıkları popülist söylemin, Türkiye siyasetine nasıl yansıdığını konu edinmektedir. Bu doğrultuda, iktidar partisi olan Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (AKP) ve ana muhalefet partisi olan Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP)'nin, 15 Temmuz 2016 Darbe Girişimi sonrası meclis grup konuşmaları karşılaştırmalı olarak analiz edilmiştir. Seçilen konuşmalar, Ernesto Laclau ve Chantal Mouffe tarafından ortaya koyulan Essex Okulu Söylem Analizi yöntemi ile incelenmiştir. Ayrıca çalışmada, haber medyasının söylem ve temsil yoluyla toplumsal gerçeklik ve ideolojiyi yeniden ürettiği görüşünden yola çıkılarak, söz konusu meclis konuşmalarının gazete haberlerine yansıması Van Dijk'in Eleştirel Söylem Çözümlemesi yöntemi ile analiz edilmiştir. Çalışmada birbirini tamamlayan bu iki yöntem ile meclis konuşmalarının ve yazılı medyanın dil ve temsil ilişkisinde nasıl kurgulandığını ve Türkiye'de siyasal iletişim dili çerçevesinde popülizmin nasıl kurgulandığı ortaya koyulmuştur. Çalışmanın temel bulgusu iktidar partisi olan AKP ile ana muhalefet partisi CHP'nin darbe girişimi sonrası geliştirdikleri siyasal söylemin popülist olduğu yönündedir. Her iki politik aktör popülist olmakla birlikte, söylemlerinde popülizmi kurgulama biçimleri birbirinden farklıdır. Ayrıca, ele alınan gazeteler de siyasilerin popülist söylemlerini meşru kılma yönünde bir dil ve söyleme sahiptir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Populizm, siyasal iletişim, söylem analizi, Türkiye, AKP, CHP

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INTRODUCTION

It is difficult to say that there is a generally accepted approach to the definition of populism which dates to the 19th century. According to Canovan, this can be explained in two ways: the first is the lack of a common view among academics and researchers about which political phenomenon is covered by populism. The second is the fact that populism has a structure that varies depending on where and when it occurs (Canovan, 1999). Therefore, rather than expressing populism with a single and general definition, it is possible to address and categorize the definitions that stand out in the relevant field.

The first definition is by the approach that brings up the relationship of populism with ideology. According to Mudde, populism is an ideology that envisages the segregation of society into two homogeneous and hostile groups: the purebred people and corrupted elites, and it claim that politics is the expression of the will of the people. The approach, which recognizes populism as an ideology, suggests that populism focuses on the relationship between *the people* and *the elites* and it can be combined with different ideologies depending on where it originates (Mudde, 2004; 2007). Populism, which is internalized with the concept of the community on the political platform, includes characterizations as populist, close to the public or ruder as stooges of public. Of course, the person who uses the populist language tries to get the public support as much as possible.

Another approach to the definition of populism is to associate the concept with the strategy, in which the aim of the populism is to mobilize the audience with the correct usage of strategy. Social values, nationalist policies and/or patronage relationships can be examples as the areas where populist strategy is used (Weyland, 2001; Betz, 1994).

One of the most widely used definitions of the populism in the literature is the approach of accepting populism as form of political communication by Jagers and Walgrave (2007). According to this approach, populism is considered as a way of communication that politicians use to reach the people and legitimize their policies, which is also the approach adopted in the current study. In fact, by referencing populist concepts such as people-*nation*-national willing their discourse, political actors try to legitimize their policies as well as to influence the masses. According to Mudde, political parties that can be considered as populists see themselves as opponents of the political order that have been mandated by their people and elite discourse, and accuse the country's political elites of being corrupted, disconnected from their services and the problems of the people. They also tend to polarize and personalize politics, often by using

friendly-hostile arguments and significantly simplifying political issues. On the other hand, particularly the opposition parties directly call for stronger elements of democracy in their populist discourse via pointing to a common sense that is assumed to oppose existing institutional arrangements (Mudde, 2004).

Even though populism transitivizes depending on the environment it is in, it is possible to grasp it universally. When we look at the world's political history, especially in the second half of the 20th century and at the beginning of 21st century, it is possible to say that populism became apparent and at that point it has been focused on three consecutive waves of populism: Agrarian populism, Latin American populism and New Right populism.

When we look at the example of Turkey, it is seen that populism is not a new concept. It is possible to say that populism has been used by politicians since the foundation of the Republic. For instance, as the first act of the establishment of the Democratic Party (DP), it was tried to create the image of being one of them. It has tried to establish close relations via having direct meetings with people in public areas. The Democratic Party, which thought there is no harmony between the government and the people and there is a serious miscommunication among them, aimed to develop a populist approach that will bring people together (Hacıoğlu, 2018). Therefore, it is possible to say that rising of populism in Turkey is based on the period of Democratic Party. After this period, the populist discourse has been used by different political parties in different periods. For example, the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which comes within the tradition of national vision, framed its populist discourse based on the religious ground and chose to legitimize its policies in this way. In another example, Republican People's Party (CHP) has framed its political discourse with the emphasize of democracy[1] by referring people as the main actor of democratic society. About this view, Laclau stated that the entire democratic political process is populist because of its references to the people and for that reason, building a community is a must according to him (Laclau, 2005). Likewise, Müller point out that populism is a rising concept with democracy and is the shadow of democracy (Müller, 2016). So much so that populism is often considered as a concept that is mostly vague, varies according to the context it is being used, and therefore has an ambiguous structure (Pauwles, 2011; Walgrave, 2007). Laclau, noting the conceptual undefinition of populism,

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[1] When talking about democracy, it is necessary to talk briefly about its political characteristics. With the shortest and most familiar definition, democracy can be described as a form of governance that the people rule themselves and perform it with their votes at the polls. The ruling suitors comprised by most of the votes take over the administration and carry out their projects within the framework of their own ideologies.What is wanted to be underlined here is to get the votes by the majority.Political parties and/or political personalities are suitors to the people's vote and intend to get as many votes as possible.Therefore, they go to every great length. They develop various actions, interactions, programs, and discourse. One of these is the populist discourse and action, which is frequently used nowadays.

emphasizes that the reason of the conceptual confusion is the fact that there is no single species of populism (Laclau, 1998).

Furthermore, the fact that populism is the language of politics, and politics is not independent of the media and communication, enforce the result of existence of populism in the media organs. Media, which is an important tool for the emergence of populism, is both a powerful mobilization tool on the masses and an important porter that manages the symbolic construction of ideas and arguments (Mazzoleni, 2008). The party leaders' attempt to influence and convince the masses in behalf of political benefit requires a rhetorical effort in discourse, while at the same time ensures that the rhetoric reaches the extent of populism. Thus, with the influence of the media, populistic discourse has the influence of framing the agenda and shaping the ways of the perception of the masses via reproduced oral and/or visual representations.

In this study, the discourses of the chosen political actors will be based on the theoretical structure developed in 1985 by Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau in a study under the name "Hegemony and Socialist Strategy". Laclau and Mouffe developed their discourse theories as a critique of structuralism. Linguistic signs are certain according to structuralism. In post-structuralism, linguistic signifiers can take shape according to different contexts and take new meanings, so that the meaning of each sign can change in relation to other signifiers (Jorgensen& J. Phillips, 2002: 25). In the populism studies of the Essex school, including the study of Laclau, populist discourse, rather than being a simple form of communication, constructs the subjectivities that are inherent in every political movement and separate society in an antagonistic way. It influences the decisions related to public affairs making it hegemonic. (Stavrakakis& Thomas, 2016: 3). According to the discourse theory they developed with Laclau and Mouffe, no identity is given before hand in the social field. All identities, the demands and these demands become elements of a temporary hegemonic performance through the transformation of these demands into a collective identity through the chain of the equivalence of those demands (Durna, 2010: 57). In this case, the identity of the 'people', which is the main element around which populist discourse is shaped, is mostly determined according to the ideological structure of the political actors adopting the populist discourse.

Another approach to discourse used in the analysis of selected newspapers in this study is the critical discourse approach developed by Teun A. Van Dijk. Van Dijk focuses on his discourse approach on the role and control of discourse in accessing power while creating an interaction between cognition, discourse and society. Van Dijk emphasizes the importance of analyzing by considering the contextual factors that shape news discourse.

The present study aims to examine populist discourse as political communication in Turkey. In this respect, the populist discourse after the Coup Attempt on 15th July 2016 both through the parliamentary speeches of the political actors and the dimensions of the speeches reflected in the print media. The speeches of the political actors in the parliament and the parts reflected in the print media can be considered as effective factors in the formation of political practices and legitimization of political discourses in daily life. For this reason, the sample chosen within the scope of the study will be analysed within the framework of critical discourse analysis.

Method

In this study, which focuses on populist political discourse in Turkey, the weekly group speeches that have been carried out in parliament routinely by the political actors of AKP and CHP parties, were selected as the data. The reason of selecting the group speeches is facts that there are no foreign interventions created by the parties themselves, they have been broadcasted live on television channels and therefore they directly appeal to the voters. The selected speeches were determined by the prediction that the coup attempt in the country would affect both the format and the content of the speeches. The first part focused on the parliamentary speeches of both political escarped on 16th July 2016, after the Coup Attempt on 15th July 2016 in Turkey. The analysis of the speeches and news will be based on the Essex School Discourse Theory which is called "Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics" (2001) led by Laclau and Mouffe.

Accordingly, the two important criteria of the Essex School; the reference to the people and will of the people, and the conversations between the people and the elites will be examined in the context of antagonistic relationship. Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse has been shaped as a criticism to the approach of structuralism accepting the certainty of linguistic indicators. So much so that according to post-structuralism, linguistic indicators may vary depending on different relationships and contexts, so there is no certainty. Besides, the meaning of each linguistic indicator makes sense through the interaction with other indicators (Jorgensen and J. Phillips, 2002). From this point of view, words such as *people* and *will of people*, which are used in the speeches discussed in the current study will be evaluated according to the meaning and context of sentences, in which they were used.

In Laclau and Mouffe's theory, the effect of the concept of hegemony, which was put forward by Gramsci, is evident, and they focus on an articulating hegemony[2]. Articulation is a moment which consists of the elements that come together within the framework of discourse. In other words, within the framework of the logic of difference and the logic of equivalence, it is the idea of articulating elements that come together at nodal points. According to Laclau and Mouffe's theory of discourse, there are nodal points that distinguish the discourse used to create hegemony and influence decision-making mechanisms from the other (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001). The nodal point is a central indicator, lined up around other indicators and derives its meaning from its relationship with this point. The Essex discourse analysis investigates how the nodal points that are blank are understood in the rhetorical field and how the meaning is produced in time. The current study also examines the nodal points involved in parliamentary speeches after the Coup by both political actors, and how their meanings have been developed.

In the second part, the selected news texts were analyzed on the basis of Van Dijk's discourse analysis. According to Van Dijk, in order to analyze the discourse in the media, the semantic aspects of the texts should be examined along with their features based on social traditions. Through the critical discourse analysis method, Van Dijk (2001a) wants to reveal the concepts such as power, hegemony and the elements of social structure of society such as ethnic, religious, economic and social classdistinctions, which are implicitly covered in media texts. Discourse in media based on discourse has an ideological character. Discourse is a significant factor in the transmission and reproduction of ideology. While the news texts are analyzed with the discourse analysis method, the sentences in the news text are evaluated within the framework of their meanings, thoughts and ideologies. For this reason, Van Dijk states that when analyzing discourse, it is necessary to pay attention to the subject in the text, the main theme and titles of the text (Inceoğlu and Çoban, 2016: 48). While many texts and speech structures shape the mental models of the recipient regarding their own special situations, their generalizations which are made to form stereotypes or prejudices (Dijk, 2001b) are determined by critical discourse analys is method. For this reason, in the second part of the application part of the study, by using Van Dijk's news discourse analysis, the news of Yeni Şafak and

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[2] The concept of hegemony was used by Gramsci to express that within a system an element is superior, more dominant than others. At the same time, hegemony is used to define the upper-structural process that affects people's consciousness. According to Laclau and Mouffe, "the concept of hegemony will emerge in a context dominated by the inability to identify and fragmentation experience between different combat and subject positions" (Laclau and Mouffe, 2001).

Cumhuriyet newspapers after the period following the 15 July 2016 Military Coup Attempt will be analyzed.

Analysis

Populism by the Government in Power: The Analysis of the Parliamentary Speech by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan

After the coup attempt in Turkey on 15th July 2016, political party leaders used a rhetoric that delivered messages of unity to the people against the coup. In this part of the study, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's parliamentary speech which was given after the coup and dated 19th July 2016 will be examined based on the criteria of the Essex school discourse theory in terms of populist quality and will be discussed within the framework of 'people (folks), equivalence and antagonistic logic since he is Turkey's first party member President and also a representative of the ruling party.

Erdoğan and Discourse of 'People'

One of the prerequisites of populism is the construction of the people. According to Stavrakakis, it is not possible to talk about populism that does not make the people look like a basic category or as a nodal point (Stavrakakis, 2007). In populist propaganda, the people are neither real nor an all-inclusive concept, they are rather a mythical and constructed subset of the entire population (Mudde, 2004). In Erdogan's discourse, the term of people is often referred as *nation.* However, Erdogan's concept of *nation* was used not as a nationalist ideology, as Laclau (2005) pointed out, but as a way of building the group unity.

In the systems where populist politics exists, the people (nation) represent a certain segment, but it is claimed to represent the whole. Accordingly, Erdoğan expressed the opponents of the coup as a whole nation even though he separated them from the others in his speech in the Parliament:

> *"We have invited everyone who loves our nation, country, homeland to go to the squares and to claim its state and democracy."*

> *"Immediately afterwards, despite all the threats and dangers, we set off to İstanbul, and together with my nation, we demonstrated our decisive stance against the coup plotters."*

According to Laclau, it is not difficult to see that the conditions of the existence of politics and populism are identical: both assume the social segregation, and in both, on one hand, there is a

part of the community oppressed and on the other hand, there are ambiguous people *(demos)* as, in an antagonist way, an actor presenting himself as if representing the all segments of the society (Laclau,2005). Among the above statements, the one which is highlighted in particular is the fact that those who take a stand against the coup and try to claim their democracy by going to the squares have been shown as the only representative of the nation. Erdoğan, as a representative of a ruling party, refers to a homogeneous community by the term *the nation,* and at this point the populist discourse is constructed in the form of *my nation* through the politics of identity and belonging.

Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and consequently Justice and Development Party, frequently underlines the "national will" discourse regarding the practice of populist construction; it is seen that the discourse of national will is paralel with center-rightpopulism. In other words, it is seen that Erdogan uses his speeches to basically "constructs and consolidates his own people", and "points out the "other" through the same discourse and the populist discourse of Erdogan, which emerged in the emphasis on national will, coincides with the understanding of populism pointedout by Laclau. Because Erdogan's discourse of national will does not ignore the political determination of social demands, which Laclau sees as the antagonistic practice of the discursive construction of the "people", as a hegemonic discourse struggle based on social demands, unlike mainstream approaches. Moreover, the purpose of populist discourse is not only to gain mass support, but also to create or change the subjectivity of the masses (Moffit & Tormey, 2014: 389). Laclau explained this situation as follows: "Populist discourse does not simply express a certain original popular identity; it creates that identity itself" (Laclau, 2011: 145). In addition, the national will included in Recep Tayyip Erdogan's discourse also positioned the AKP voters as the nation. Here, it is seen that the national will is handled quantitatively, that is, identified with the majority of votes.

Another point that stands out in Erdoğan's speech is that while glorifying the side that resists the coup, the other side is otherized through us and the other discourse. So much so that Erdoğan sees those who go out on the street in order to resist the coup on his side, and the opposition audience as pro-coup:

> *"In the face of our nation's resolute ownership of its country and will, neither weapons, tanks, helicopters, nor aircraft of the coup have worked. If they have cannons and tanks, tens of millions of citizens on the streets have faith."*

> *"... because we will be one around these principles, we will be big, we will be alive, we will be brothers, altogether we will be Turkey."*

However, the use of the people in order to ensure group unity is another dimension of the use of the people in populist discourse. According to Laclau, to establish and maintain the equivalence chain in populism, it is necessary to launch an emotional bond and unite with the 'people'. In this respect, the leader tries to establish an emotional connection with his people by showing himself as one with his people through identification. Erdoğan's statements above can also be cited as an example of the emphasis on unity and solidarity.

Erdoğan and The Logic of 'Equivalence'

One way to build a community in populist discourse is the logic of equivalence. According to Laclau, the logic of equivalence has been enlarged against the logic of difference, preferred in corporate discourse, and it was effective in the emergence of populism (Laclau, 2005). Here, the 'people' means equivalence; and what is meant to be by the difference is the ones that are the others.

The fact that the populist governments accept and show their own supporters in a way that they represent the whole of the people might mean that they ignore or otherize the rest. Thus, in the political sphere, the boundaries of the discourses 'we' and 'other' are determined and the social space is divided in an antagonist way. One of the ways to create such an antagonism is to do 'victim politics' through the discourses of us and the other:

> *"The coup attempt on 15th July showed who the real fascists in Turkey and the real dictatorship enthusiastic are, and whereas who the true democrats, the true libertarians, the true legal state supporters are."*

> *"Our nation, who has experienced the pain of not being able to be against Menderes and his friends during the coup in 1960 and of failing to protect the young people who were sent to their gallows with the understanding of "one from the right, one from the left" during the coup in 1980, said "stop" to that on 15th July 2016."*

In the first of the speeches cited above, by underlining the Erdoğan's rhetoric of *us* and *them,* people who are opposed to the coup was shown as representatives of democracy and freedom in society. In the second example, it can be seen the role of victim was emphasized again via the use of *we* and *they* discourse. According to Umberto Eco, playing the role of victim is a typical feature of populism. To glorify ourselves, it is necessary to show that there are those

who hate us and those who want to cut off our wings. Every national and populist enthusiasm prompts the creation of a constant blocking situation (Eco, 2007). With these statements, Erdoğan presents Menderes and his friends as victims, and the nation today as a *hero who saysstop the coup* instead of being a victim.

Antagonist politics creates a political environment in which the other is constructed as the reason for all the negativity in the country. In such an environment, the populists in power label the pro-coup as a terrorist organization on the behalf of the continuity of their hegemony, while also identifying them with the source of other malignancies. Self-centrist politicians who follow victim politics constantly resort to conspiracy theories with the discourse of internal and external enemies. There is someone who always tries to be the stumbling block and to stop them from developing (Açıkel, 1996).

> *"Inside or outside, individuals or institutions that try to criticize our country for this reason only show that they are not truly democrats and they act on behalf of other schemes."*

Within the Laclau-based approach, unmet demands of the equivalence chain tend to cluster based on negativity. It is also the duty of the power to meet the demands. However, the discourse of 'external powers' arises because the government must channel this negativity in other ways than itself.

Populism by the Opposition: The Analysis of the Parliamentary Speech by Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu

In this part of the study, the parliamentary speech by Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, the head of the main opposition party, after the coup attempt on 19th July 2016 will be examined concerning whether there is any discourse of populism or not. The fact that the CHP is the main opposition party might cause the dimensions of populist discourse to be built as a discourse that emphasizes democratic demands against hegemony. Mouffe also focuses on the need for opposed institutions to use populism to build a layout to overcome neoliberal hegemony (Mouffe, 2000). Therefore, Kilicdaroglu's speech was discussed within the framework of the construction of collective 'people', and position of 'the people' towards hegemony in terms of populist discourse.

Kemal Kılıçdaroğluand Discourse of 'People'

The representation of the concept of 'people' in populism varies depending on the politicians who use it. In Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's speech, the concept of 'people' was used as a citizen[3]. The concept of citizenship is a notion that is truly relevant to the communitarian ideas that advocate membership and attachment to a particular community as well as it is related to the ideas of individual rights and authority (Polat, 2011). The concept of the people is a notion that expresses the whole of a country. All citizens are, of course, the people. However, the people state the sociological and cultural whole. Citizenship politically points to the unity of ideal, emotion, destiny for everyone in that country.

> *"Dear citizens, we may have different views. You may not embrace my views, my worldview, you may not like my views on the economy, about politics, but we all must be together in the denominator of democracy. This country is our country."*

> *"There should be a state which hears out every citizen's voice and does not distinguish between its citizens."*

When Kılıçdaroğlu's above statements are examined, it can be said that he expresses the sense in which the people are approached with a pluralist and heterogeneous way and with inclusive discourse and does not conduct a divisive politics.

Another mainstay of populism in Kılıçdaroğlu's discourse is the emphasis on democracy. The mainstay of populism and democracy is the people, which merges those two concepts in the common denominator. Populism has risen with the representative democracy. It is its shadow (Müller, 2016). According to Laclau (2005), it is stated that the entire democratic political process is populist since its references are the people. According to him, because of that, building people is a must for democracy:

> *"Democracy has to be the common denominator of all of us, regardless our opinion, our lifestyle, or our faith. Democracy applies not only to me, but also to the citizens who collect paper in the trash, also applies to the citizens in Adıyaman, Hakkari, Edirne, and Tekirdağ. It also applies to tradesmen. The concept of democracy is so valuable."*

> *"Democracy also means equal citizen. Some of the citizens are not equal, some are equal; we never accept that. All the citizens living in the Republic of Turkey are fellow*

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[3] "The concept of citizenship is derived from the word *'citizen'* or *'citoyen'*, which was etymologically adapted from the word *'cite'* or *'city'* in the city-states of Ancient Greece by, underlining the belonging to the city-state. The concept of citizen, derived from the concepts of *'civis'* and *'civitas'*, developed in order to meet the status of being a member of a congregation/community in ancient Rome, only achieved its quality as a political identity before the French Revolution." (Boineau, 1998).

countrymen with equal rights. Democracy is the name of a regime in which nobody has a special privilege, and no privileges are granted to any group, class or family."

The construction of people is essential for democracy. In his speech, Kılıçdaroğlu reinforced the public's emphasis with the discourse of democracy and presented the concept of democracy in a unifying context. He again underlined the value of democracy with the rhetoric of equal rights and freedom for all people.

Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu and Institutions

According to Müller, populists in opposition claim that the control and balance mechanisms, separation of powers and similar obstacles stand before the single and homogeneous people, their single and homogeneous will. On the other hand, the ones in power have no problems with institutions in other words with their own institutions (Müller, 2016).

> *"Democracy means the supremacy of law. What does it mean? It means universal law, not the law of the superiors, not the law of a man, not the law of a group, not the law of a party; it means the superiority of law, it means that everyone must obey the rules and the law. In addition, democracy also means freedom of thought. Democracy means freedom of expression. Democracy also means equality between men and women. This is democracy."*

> *"...Our social peace is problematic, our economy is problematic, our foreign policy is problematic, our education system is problematic, our legal system is problematic. These problematic areas need to be solved. The way to solve these problems is through democracy. The solution of these problems is to discuss freely. The way to solve these problems is to follow the civilized World."*

Mouffe claims that institutions should be strengthened in such a way that they reflect the will of the collective people. Those who will serve this purpose are the opposing populists. In Kılıçdaroğlu's discourse, there are statements about institutions. Moreover, these discourses are frequently associated with the discourse of democracy.

Sabah Newspaper Macro and Micro Structure: Thematic and Schematic Discourse Analysis

According to Van Dijk, news discourse can fundamentally be examined undert wo main categories: macro and micro structure. While the macro structure consists of thematic and schematic propositions, The thematic structure covers methods such as propositions, generalizations, and constructions in the discourse of the news. On the otherhand, the schematic structure involves categories such as titles, sub-headings, newsentries, paragraphstructures, news sources, comments and evaluations that reveal the physical characteristics of the news

rather than the content. It has a priority in terms of handling and reviewing the news. Micro structure includes categories such as sentence structures, word choices, and news rhetoric. The newspaper discourse discussed in the study will be analyzed as a whole, based on both macro and micro structure and including the rhetorical language of the news.

Figure 1: Yeni Şafak Newspaper -16 July 2016, Pages 14-15

When we look at the news on the cover page of Yeni Şafak Newspaper dated July 16, 2020, we notice that the use of news sources examined under the thematic structure is not specified. The coverpage is presented to the reader after being inspected by the editor-in-chief of the newspaper and editors during the editorial process. Accordingly, it is worth noting that the source is not defined in the editorial process, and the responsibility for the news lies up to the general editor and the page editor. News agency or reporter in formation is not provided on the coverpage. The section with the explanations of the leaders can be provided as an example to the sources given in the firsthand. We observe that the situation is the same on the iner pages, and the news sources are not specified.

In this section, the news discourse on the coup attempt on the cover page of Yeni Şafak Newspaper is analyzed under macro and micro headings. When examining the macro structure of the news, the thematic structure is observed first. The news on the coverpage is presented in sub-headings under the title "TRAITORS" in capitalletters. We can say that the headlines and subheadings support the populist discourse of the leaders. Sentences such as *"dragging into civil war"*, *"taking the tanks into the city"*, *"climbed over the tanks"*, *"martyred"*, *"we will snub them"* used in the news spots and sentence structures of the militarist discourse such as, *"he*

*has claimed his country. "*By making generalizations with the use of words, we see that the *"national will"* discourses come to the fore. Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım, AKP Konya deputy Ahmet Davutoğlu, 11th President Abdullah Gül and MHP leader Devlet Bahçeli are listed under the subheadings where the discourses of the leaders who are the subject of the study are presented. The title of the text quoted from the statement of Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım, which is the subject of the research, is given as "*They will pay the heaviest price."*The title of the text quoted from the statement of another leader, MHP Chairman Devlet Bahçeli, who is the subject of the study, is given as "West and by the government". When we study at the micro structure of the news, we can say that active sentences are used in general, and this is due to the publication policy of the newspaper. The newspaper shows that it stands by the dominant discourse (populist discourse) regarding the coup attempt. Instead of giving an expertopinion, simple sentence structures are used according to the syntactic analysis method in the news where only the views of leaders and other actors are reflected. When we look at the rhetoric of the news, we see that the headlines used by the newspaper, the photographs and the statements of the eyewitnesses are given in a way that legitimizes the chaos caused by the people whore belled against the coup. Simultaneously, the use of a discourse that appeal stonational feelings shows that the rhetoric of the news is mostly pathetic. In the embedded ideology in the news, we can assume that the newspaper supports the cause-effect relationship in the news content and the resulting political discourse of the newspaper against the coup. In general, it can be stated that Cumhuriyet Newspaper's news rhetoric is presented in a waythatappealstologicwhenthephotographs, statisticalinformationandsourcequotationsareexamined.

When we examine at the coverpage of Yeni Şafak newspaper dated July 16, 2016, the newspaper with full-page print announced the coup with the headline *"Traitors."*The spot of the headline news, which is written in large fonts and bold letters and reports the coup attempt as traitors, is as follows:

> *"A group of soldiers affiliated with the Fetullah Terrorist Organization attempted a coup. They wanted to take the tanks into the city and drag the country into civilwar. Millions of people took to the streets, stood on the tanks and claimed their country."*

It is recognized that the discourse used in the headline, which forms the thematic structure of the news and defines the coup plotters with a harsh language, is also reinforced in the spot news. In a schematic structure, it can be concluded that the statements of the coup plotters affiliated to the Fetullah Terrorist Organization, that is, as a group of terrorists. At the same time that the

coup plotters want to drag the country into a civilwar. Therefore, the newspaper stands against the coup and supports the government with its discourse. Looking at the photo shared with the note "*Citizen stopped the FETOist invaders*" accompanying the news, the visual indication is the image of a tank on the street, armed soldiers on the tank, and people just around the tank with their hands on the tank and trying to stand against the coup. When this is considered in terms of news rhetoric, it reveals the pathos of the news in terms of appealing to the emotions and the logo presented within the logic that persuades the reader to stand up against the coup attempt. It is possible to say that the photograph is a visual reflection of the discourse highlighted in the spotlight of the news that people take to the streets and claim their country. Furthermore, the image of President Erdogan just below the news, the mention of Erdogan's call as *"Everybody should take to the streets"*and the emphasis on Erdogan's words*"We wills nub them"*are discursively paralel to the headline, on the otherhand, it reveals the attitude of the newspaper.

When we examine the inside pages of the Yeni Şafak newspaper dated July 16 2016, where the news on the cover are detailed, we observe that unlike other newspapers, party leaders and political actors statements about the coup are given comprehensive coverage. Still, it is noticed that there is no news about Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, the leader of the main opposition party. Thus, it can be understood that, due to the ideological structure of the newspaper, it has a discourse that supports the government and its actors. We observe that the political discourse supported by the newspaper is constructed in terms of thematic structure by generalizing the people who oppose the coup attempt to the whole of Turkey through pronouns and verbs used in the news.

Figure 2: Cumhuriyet Newspaper -16 July 2016, Cover

Figure 3: Cumhuriyet Newspaper -16 July 2016, page 6

When we look at the thematic structure in the discourse analysis made on Cumhuriyet Newspaper, it can be assumed that the source of the news presented about the coup attempt was not given and this caused the editorial staff and the general editor in charge of the news. Reporter, agency and photo journalist information is not given in the news. The news with the statements of the leaders can be given as an example to the sources provided in the firsthand. We observe that the situation is the same on the innerpages, and the newssources are not specified. Within the scope of the sample of the study, Cumhuriyet newspaper dated July 16 2016, whose thematic structure was examined as macro and micro structure, reinforced the headline of "*Democracy is the Solution*" " with the subtitle *"Neither the tank and rifle of the soldier nor the AKP ignoring the constitution."* The newspaper obviously reveals it s attitude against the military coup by emphasizing democracy with the headline and sub-heading, and simultaneously criticizes the AKP government for ignoring the constitution, clearly indicating its opposition to the government with its sentence structures and word choices. While the headline news tells about the events after the coup, the photo accompanying the news shows people standing on the tank and waving Turkish flags in their hands and cheering over. Therefore, the message is given that the people who displayed civil resistance were victorious against the military coup. When this is examined in terms of news rhetoric, it can be assumed that with the word selection, sentence structures, source quotations and photo selection in the headlines, the evidence-based logos elements are in the foreground in the reader's persuasion process, rather than the pathetic elements.

It is seen that statements of party leaders just below the left of the headline news are included. It can be observed that there is no information reduction, information about the place and time is given, the action (coup attempt and after) is summarized, and the information presented in other media organs is presented indirectly instead of direct information about the incident considering the thematic structure in general. When we look at the news entries, it is seen that the 5N1K rule is followed and the events are given in chronological order. In this context, Kılıçdaroğlu's statement titled "*We suffered many coups*" is as follows:

> *"This country has suffered many coups. We do not want the same problems to happen once again. We protect our republican dour democracy, and we defend our faith altogether. Everyone, should know very well that the Republican People's Party depends on the freewill of our citizens, which is indispensable for parliemantary democracy".*

Considering Kılıçdaroğlu's speech, he clearly stated that they were against the coup, first, referring to the coups in the past. According to the background and context information under the thematic structure, it can be concluded that the social, political and historical aspects of the events are revealed. In the rest of his speech, it is seen that Kılıçdaroğlu, who emphasized Republican Democracy, stresses the importance of the freewill of the people (where he emphasized *citizen* for the people). At this point, the parallelism seen in the headline news of Cumhuriyet newspaper and Kılıçdaroğlu's discourse gives the message that both the newspaper and the leader of the main opposition party are against the coup. Based on the background and context information, it is revealed that the embedded ideology in the news in the context of cause-effect relationship coincides with the political stance of the main opposition party, CHP.

Just below the statement belonging toKılıçdaroğlu, there is a piece of newstitled *"Commonvoice - MHP and HDP: We are against."* Here, the statements of both party leaders are given together. It highlighted that both parties, in which the political disagreements are very sharp, agree in their arguments against the coup. Besides, it is observed that the newspaper presents the actors' discourses regarding the news passively. In the news, only logos belonging to political parties are seen as photographic images. When the syntactic structure is examined under the micro structure, it can be said that sentence structures are passive in the news given without using the source and active in the quotation made from the statements of the leaders.

The details of the news on the coverpage of Cumhuriyet newspaper dated July 16, 2016, are given on page 7. In the pieces of the news, it is seen that the photograph showing the people standing on the tank in the streets upon the call of President Erdoğan attracts attention. In the details of the news, the statements of the leaders of the CHP, MHP and HDP were included. At the same time, the discourse regarding Kılıçdaroğlu was again emphasized on democracy. In the news about MHP leader Bahçeli, it is seen that Bahçeli called the primeminister Binali Yıldırım and under scored the message that they were with the government against the coup. Inthereport, which gave the signed statement of HDP Co-Chairs Selahattin Demirtaş and Figen Yüksekdağ, the party emphasized how important the will of the people is and that no body and nothing can override the will of thepeople.

As a result, looking at the discourse on party leaders in the Cumhuriyet Newspaper dated July 16, 2016, it can be concluded that they are in consensus against the coup –although their discursive emphasis differs. Still, the fact that Cumhuriyet Newspaper focuses on the social, political and historical consequences of the events, not on consensus, can be seen in the sub-

heading "Neither soldier tank and rifle nor AKP ignoring the constitution" and the related news text.

CONCLUSION

It is possible to say that populism, which divides the society into two parts as people and elites, has become the language of politics in many countries especially in recent years. Political parties or leaders referring to populism shape this concept by evolving it according to their own policies. In this study, populism was driven by a form of discourse used by politicians. Consequently, the parliamentary speeches of the leaders of the two parties, in the ruling and opposition wings, after the coup attempt on 15th July 2016 were discussed within the framework of the concept of populism. The main finding revealed by the analysis in the study is that the party-member president and the leader of the ruling party; Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, and the leader of the opposition party; Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu, used populist references in their political discourse during their parliamentary speeches. Although both party leaders have populist political discourse, the ways which they treat and practice populism conceptually differ.

In this regard, when the discourse of populism by the ruling party is examined, it can be stated that a situation which extricates the people in an antagonist way, only their supporters are considered to be the representatives of 'people', in a sense, underlining that the antagonist has separated the people in an antagonistic way, that only their supporters represent the 'people', that is, in a sense, underlining that its 'own people' have the power. Thus, it can be said that everyone else than the ones who support the ruling party was marginalized. Moreover, when it is looked at the examples in the world, the populist powers follow a policy that differentiates the people as us and the other. Another point that stands out about populism in Erdoğan's discourse is the victim politics. It can be said that the victim politics which is carried out throughout a reference to the past is an effort to influence and convince the masses.

Furthermore, it can be stated that Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu defined the concept of democracy as the basic framework during his speech and described every segment of the society as people, which can be considered to a feature of the populism of the opposition or left-wing. Kılıçdaroğlu's concept of people covers the definition of citizens with equal rights and freedom rather than class division. The concept which is frequently referred to in Kılıçdaroğlu's discourse is democracy, whereby the public sovereignty is aimed to be highlighted. Therefore, it can be stated that both the ruling and opposition party leaders, resort to populism in their discourses

although they have a different ideological and political stance. As Laclau claims, this shows that populism exists in the nature of every political movement.

On the other hand, analysis of two newspapers emphasize that different newspapers have deployed different political ideological through manipulating language. Therefore, the two newspapers have utilized positive representation about the speeches of political actors based on their ideological perspectives. It is possible to say that Cumhuriyet newspaper has constructed with a language that negates the coup attempt, but criticizes the President and the government during this negation, both with the way of handling the discourse of the party leaders and headline news. In terms of causal, functional and reference relation in microstructure, the newspaper reveals its political discourse on the coup attempt and its attitude towards the anti-coup rhetoric in a secular way.Moreover, it is possible to say that Yeni Şafak Newspaper clearly reveals the dominant discourse that it supports in a syntactic sense by using short, simple and active sentences in its news.Instead of following the 5W1K rule in general, it is seen that the discourse is reinforced here by making spot and entries based on interpretation.

The general conclusion, this study will try to examine the interaction between populist discourse of political actors and the print media discourse mainly from the ideological perspective in Turkey. It can be argued that political actors have populist discourse in their speeches and newspapers have a supportive role in media discourse to help the political actors to legitimize their discourse in society.

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