T.C.

ISTANBUL AYDIN UNIVERSITY

INSTITUTE OF GRADUATE STUDIES

ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON THE PERCEPTION CHANGE ON RUSSIA AND THE USA IN TURKEY WITH DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE: CASE STUDY OF MAINSTREAM NEWS CHANNELS IN TWITTER (2015-2019)

MASTER'S THESIS

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Department of Political Science and International Relations

Political Science and International Relations Program

FEBRUARY 2022

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FEBRUARY 2022

TEZ ONAY FORMU

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that all information in this thesis document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results, which are not original of this thesis (04.02.2022).

Yeliz ALBAYRAK

FOREWORD

I would like to thank my advisor, Assist. Prof. Dr. Filiz Katman for directing and helping me in the completion of this thesis.

I would like to thank my wonderful family for the encouragement, support and continuous motivation I have gotten over the years. I would like to thank my parents and my children especially. Without you, I could definitely not have done this. I also thank my dear friends who helped me during this period. I dedicate my thesis to my parents and my lovely family who raised me and helped to be what I am now and to my beloved children Ali, Taha and Zeynep.

February, 2022 Yeliz ALBAYRAK

TÜRKİYE'DE SOSYAL MEDYANIN RUSYA VE ABD ALGISINDAKİ DEĞİŞİME ETKİSİNİN SÖYLEM ANALİZİ TEKNİĞİ İLE ANALİZİ: TWİTTER'DAKİ ANA HABER KANALLARI ÖRNEĞİ (2015-2019)

ÖZET

Hızla gelişen teknoloji ile hayatımıza giren internet sayesinde, haberdar olma ve haber alma kavramları büyük değişimlere uğramıştır. Gün geçtikçe kullanımı artan sosyal medya insanların vazgeçilmezi haline gelmiş ve bu durum kullanıcıların her an dünyanın herhangi bir yerinde gerçekleşen bir olaydan haberdar olmasına imkan vermiştir. Kullanımı en yaygın olan sosyal medya mecralarından biri olan Twitter'in da gündemin takip edilmesi konusuna katkısı büyüktür. Saniyelik güncellemeler ile çalışan Twitter, aynı anda büyük kitlelere ulaşabilmektedir. Ayrıca ulaşılan ve maruz kalınan verinin büyüklüğü kullanıcıları manipülsyona açık hale getirmiştir. Bu çalışmada 2015-2019 yılları arasında Twitter'ın ve Twitter'daki söylemin Türkiye'deki dış politika algılarını nasıl etkilediği araştırılmıştır. Çalışma kapsamında, Türkiyede Twitter'da hesapları olan ana akım haber kanallarının Rusya ve Amerika hakkındaki söylemleri incelenmiş ve Türkiye'deki dış politika algısı ile bu söylemlerin ilişkisi gözlemlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu çalışmada Kadir Has Üniversitesi Türk Dış Politika Kamuoyu Algısı Anketi sonuçları ile Twitter'daki ana akım haber kanallarının Rusya ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri (ABD) hakkındaki tweetleri karşılaştırılarak, Türk kamuoyunun Rusya ve ABD hakkındaki algısı arasındaki korelasyonun ortaya konulması amaçlanmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Algı, Amerika, Dış Politika, Manipülasyon, Söylem, Rusya, Twitter.

ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON THE PERCEPTION CHANGE ON RUSSIA AND THE USA IN TURKEY WITH DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE: CASE STUDY OF MAINSTREAM NEWS CHANNELS IN TWITTER (2015-2019)

ABSTRACT

The concepts of being informed and receiving news have undergone great changes thanks to the internet that has entered our lives with the rapidly developing technology. Social media, which is increasing in use day by day, has become indispensable for people and this situation allows users to be aware of an event that takes place anywhere in the world at any time. Twitter, which is one of the most widely used social media channels, also contributes to the subject of following the agenda. Working with second-to-second updates, Twitter can reach large audiences at the same time. Furthermore, the size of the data that accessed and exposed, makes users vulnerable to the manipulation by media. In this study, it is aimed to investigate how Twitter and the discourse on Twitter affect foreign policy perceptions in Turkey in 2015-2019 period. Within the scope of the study, the discourses of the mainstream news channels, which have Twitter accounts in Turkey, about Russia and the United States of America (USA) are examined and the relationship between these discourses and the perception of foreign policy in Turkey is observed. In this study, it is aimed to reveal the correlation between the perception of the Turkish public about Russia and the USA by comparing the results of the Turkish Foreign Policy Public Perception Survey by Kadir Has University with the tweets of the mainstream news channels about Russia and the United States in Twitter.

Keywords: Discourse, Foreign Policy, Manipulation, Perception, Russia, Twitter, USA.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Pages

DECLARATION ..... **i**
FOREWORD ..... **iii**
ÖZET ..... **v**
ABSTRACT ..... **vii**
TABLE OF CONTENT ..... **ix**
ABBREVIATIONS ..... **xi**
LIST OF TABLES ..... **xiii**
LIST OF FIGURES ..... **xv**
I. INTRODUCTION **1**
A. Topic 1
B. Aim/Purpose 2
C. Field, Resources, Place-Duration and Support 5
D. Methods and Techniques 6
II. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PERCEPTION MANAGEMENT AND MEDIA **11**
A. Perception 11
1. Perception management 13
2. Historical background 15
3. Perception management and public opinion 19
4. Propaganda 21
5. Manipulation 24
B. Media 25
1. Types of media 28
2. Printed media 30
3. Social media 32
4. Twitter 35

5. News and news channels on Twitter 37
6. Effects of news channels on public perception 38
III. HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY ON RUSSIA AND THE USA (2015-2019) 43
A. Foreign Policy and Turkish Foreign Policy 43
1. Turkish foreign policy on Russia 51
2. Turkish foreign policy on the USA 56
IV. ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON THE PERCEPTION CHANGE ON RUSSIA AND THE USA IN TURKEY WITH DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE: CASE STUDY OF MAINSTREAM NEWS CHANNELS IN TWITTER (2015-2019) 62
A. Turkish Public Perception on Russia and the USA 62
1. Kadir Has University Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy Survey 62
a. Turkish public perception on Russia 63
b. Turkish public perception on the USA 66
B. Tweets of Mainstream News Channels about Russia and the USA 68
1. Tweets about Russia 69
2. Tweets about the USA 74
V. CONCLUSION 79
VI. REFERENCES 87
RESUME 101

ABBREVIATIONS

CAATSA : The Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act

EU : European Union

HLCC : High-Level Cooperation Council

IMF : International Monetary Fund

KHAS : Kadir Has University

NATO : North Atlantic Treaty Organization

OIC : Organization of the Islamic Conference

USA : United States of America

USSR : Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

LIST OF TABLES

Pages

Table 1. The Marshall Plan Aids in Total (000 $) 57

LIST OF FIGURES

Pages

Figure 1. An Overview of The Perceptual Process 12
Figure 2. The Infinite Media Era Arrives 27
Figure 3. Types of Media 29
Figure 4. Brief History of Print Media 30
Figure 5. The History of Social Media (1978-2015) 34
Figure 6. Twitter Users Worldwide (2019-2024) 36
Figure 7. Marshall Aid, Son Posta Newspaper, 1947 58
Figure 8. Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy, gender-age distribution. 62
Figure 9. Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy, Demographics, 2019..... 63
Figure 10. Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy, Source for News 63
Figure 11. The Most Important Issue for Current Turkish Foreign Policy (2015-2018) 65
Figure 12. Turkey-Russia Relations, 2019 66
Figure 13. Turkey-Russia Relations, 2018 66
Figure 14. USA-Turkey Relations, 2019 67
Figure 15. The Most Important Problems Between Turkey and the USA, 2019 68
Figure 16. Leading Countries Based on Number of Twitter Users (October 2021) 69
Figure 17. NTV's Tweet about Karlov Assasination, 2016 70
Figure 18. CNN Turk's Tweet about Karlov's Assasination 71
Figure 19. Oda TV's Tweet about Karlov's Assasination..... 72
Figure 20. Oda TV's Tweet about the Reaction of Russia on Karlov's Assasination .. 72
Figure 21. Cumhuriyet's tweets about the Russian Plane Crisis, November 2015 .. 73
Figure 22. Hurriyet's Tweets about Russian Plane Crisis 73
Figure 23. NTV's Tweet on Statements of President Putin about Russian Plane Crisis. 74
Figure 24. BBC News Turkce's Tweets about the Statements of President Erdogan .. 75
Figure 25. Haber Turk's Tweets about the Statements of President Erdogan..... 75
Figure 26. A Haber's Tweets about America, PYD/YPG (2016-2017) 76

Figure 27. Halk TV's and TRT HABER's Tweets on Pastor Brunson, 2018 76
Figure 28. TRT HABER's Tweet about Trump's Statatements 77
Figure 29. Haber Turk's Tweet about F-35, 2019 78

I. INTRODUCTION

A. Topic

In recent years, the concept of perception management has gained remarkable importance in developing technology and the rapidly increasing usage of social media. Although the notion of perception management was firstly used by the United States of America (USA) Department of Defense, it dates back to ancient times. Perception management is the complete act of endeavoring to influence the feelings, motives and thinking systems of the masses by directing or rejecting selected information flow and concrete documents to enable foreigners, including intelligence agencies and leaders at all levels, to take action and take official steps towards their goals (Hügül, 2011). Perception management, manipulation, and propaganda are generally studied under the concept of information warfare, and they tend to be evaluated as soft power. These concepts are used in order to influence the feelings, thoughts, and behaviors of the target audience. The target audience indicated in this thesis is the public. Therefore, the concepts mentioned above are directly connected to public policy, media, and public opinion. The human mind is considered to be open to manipulation and direction; hence, understanding the process of perception management is essential to clarify foreign policy perception.

According to the given information about the matter, the topic is to scrutinize the changes of perception on the USA and Russia in Turkey. This study aims to examine the Turkish foreign policy perception and evaluates the changes throughout the years especially between 2015-2019, in terms of perception management. In order to analyze the discerned changes in foreign policy, some events are chosen intentionally occurred in the 2015-2019 period. The events mentioned here are examined in two sections, the USA and Russia. In the Russia section, the event of aircraft crises that violated Turkish airspace that shot down by Turkish F-16s in 2015 and Turkish-Russian relations during the Syria War is taken into account intentionally. In the second part, the selected events relevant to the USA are the S-

400 purchasing process, Pastor Brunson crisis, the F-35 issue, and America's attitude towards YPG in Syria.

Following this purpose, the approaches of Twitter accounts of the mainstream Turkish news channels towards Russia and the USA are analyzed via their shares in Twitter in order to find the relation between their tweets and the changes in public perception towards these countries. In order to determine the change in the public policy perception of Turkish people, the outcomes of the "Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy Survey" by Kadir Has University are analyzed. In addition, in the aforementioned study, it is seen that the survey participants use social media as a source of news to a great extent. The table showing detailed information on the subject is shown in the fourth part of the study (Figure 4.3).

The outcomes of this survey and tweets of mainstream news channels are compared and the positive, negative or neutral correlation between the tweets of major news channels on Russia, the USA and the Turkish public perception on Russia, USA are revealed. The role and the submission and social media, namely Twitter, sources are analyzed to hint at the changes. Newspapers, radios or TV news are not included in this survey due to time, source and financial constraints.

B. Aim/Purpose

The purpose of this paper is to analyze and evaluate the changes in the public perception of Turkish foreign policy and the factors that trigger these changes from the perspective of "Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy" Survey results[1] and tweets by Twitter accounts of Turkish national mainstream news channels with the highest numbers of followers. During the related literature review, it is seen that the former studies about the issue are mostly about Twitter as being a news resource as stated in Master's Thesis of Tahsin E. Sayar (2016) titled "Analyzing Turkish TV Channels: Using Twitter as New Media Technology". Sayar (2016) argues that it is examined how the news channels, which constitute the source of television and news information, which are still active today, reach the audience by using Twitter in social media and monopoly. As it can be understood from the statement, Twitter is

[1] In the remaining parts, Khas University Survey is used for Kadir Has University Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy Survey.

taken as a news source generally, yet there is no research or such information about any specific case such as the connection between Twitter and perception change about USA and Russia. Another study is the Master's Thesis of Zehra Uzunyol (2013) titled "Social Media and Changing Journalism: Twitter as the Source of News and News".

Again, like previous work mentioned before, it can be stated that Twitter is evaluated in the context of journalism in social media. The dissertation with the closest similarity is examined and it is observed that there is no study in this context in the literature.

The fact that the news discourse on Twitter and the perception of Turkish foreign policy have not been studied in detail in a common context before has caused difficulties in investigating the subject in terms of lack of identical examples. During the preparation of this thesis study, since there is no exemplary study about the perception of foreign policy, social media discourse and especially the discourse on Twitter in Turkey, a wide literature review and social media observations were made on observing the effects of discourse and the interaction of the aforementioned concepts. In this study, different research methods are used together, since the subject has not been examined in detail before. Kadir has university's Turkish foreign public perception survey which is a reliable study based on numerical data with the quantitavie method, case analysis, and discourse analysis techniques used together in this studt to to solve the problem of the lack of a sample study in this field.

The connection between Turkey's perception on Russia and the USA and discourses of mainstream news channels' Twitter accounts are not evaluated in any study before. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the topic more specifically. According to the study conducted in Higher Education Council (*Yuksekogretim Kurulu*-YOK)'s Thesis Database, many studies that previously covered Twitter and news channels have been signed separately, but no studies have examined the relationship between these entities. In this sense, it has the distinction of being unique in the field of study.

Perception is defined as a person's perception of objects, events, and situations under the influence of the society and social environment in which he lives, and it shapes his attitudes and behaviors accordingly (Özaslan, 2014). In other words, public perception is highly connected with social perception to create public opinion

to steer the perception. It is an indisputable fact that today's developing technology has a massive power to launch and direct public opinion as well as holding power to create and change it. Media, as being a soft power, reflects the ideology of their owners or governors. Communities, in other words, the public, can easily be influenced by certain, well-shaped, and pre-designed ideologies and rhetorics. In this sense, changes in Turkish foreign policy perception cannot be analyzed separately from the media.

The big difference between the 2015-2019 years on Turkish foreign policy perception can be observed in the Khas University Survey results. To determine the reasons of this considerable change is very important in order to understand the Turkish public perception and the power of Turkish mainstream newschannels Twitter accounts upon perception management. In the literature review, comprehensive and substantial research has not been found concerning the evaluation of Turkish foreign policy perception in terms of perception management. The general findings are studies on individual events by specific or personal approaches. A study covering all Turkish foreign policy perceptions of the USA and Russia based on a certain time interval has not been found during the literature review. Moreover, it is seen that the outcomes of this important survey are not evaluated or compared in terms of the relationship between perception of Turkish peoples ‘towards USA and Russia and shares by Twitter accounts of Turkish mainstream news channels.

The main research question of the study is as follows:

- What are the impacts of the tweets of the Turkish national news channels with the highest followers on Turkish people’s perception of the USA and Russia between 2015-2019?

Sub-research questions are as follows:

- What are the effects of the tweets by Turkish mainstream news channels on public perception?
- Is there a correlation between Khas University Survey results and Turkish mainstream news channels’ Twitter accounts?
- How does Twitter affect the Turkish foreign policy perception?

- How the events and news published in social media are effective in terms of perception management?
- What is the public reaction to the pre-arranged news?
- What is the importance of discourse in social media to manage the public perception in Turkey?

In this paper, results of the "Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy Survey" conducted by Kadir Has University are used to evaluate and analyze changes and to answer these questions. This survey is chosen intentionally because perception differences can be seen clearly throughout the years. By analyzing the answers to the given questions to the subjects, it is aimed to present perception changes in Turkish foreign policy from the perspective of perception management. It is aimed to observe the relationship between the perception changes and Twitter accounts of Turkish mainstream news channels. In this study, it is aimed to reveal the correlation between the perception of the Turkish public about Russia and the USA by comparing the results of the Turkish Foreign Policy Public Perception Survey by Kadir Has University with the tweets of the mainstream news channels about Russia and the United States in Twitter.

C. Field, Resources, Place-Duration and Support

The field of this study is the Twitter accounts of mainstream news channels in Turkey. The meaning of the "mainstream" according to the Cambridge Dictionary (2021) is "(of beliefs or behavior) common and shared by most people or representing such beliefs or behavior". In this study, the meanings of the mainstream news channels are used as the most effective and followed channels in Turkey. The reason for examining the mainstream news channels' Twitter accounts is to try to analyze and hint at the affects of their discourse on Russia and USA. Moreover, another reason for choosing these channels is that the interaction can be observed more easily in terms of the size of the masses it reaches in terms of the followers they have. The news channels were selected intentionally. The purpose of selecting news channels is to clearly reflect the views of the country's agenda, the channel and certain segments. In this context, news channels play a very important role in guiding and informing the public.

The primary resources of this study are the tweets by Twitter accounts of the selected mainstream news channels and Khas University Survey results. The selected mainstream Twitter accounts are CNN TURK (5 million followers), Hurriyet (4.20 million followers), BBC Turkce (3.20 million followers), TRT Haber (3 million followers), HaberTurk (4.1 million followers), Milliyet (2.6 million followers), Sabah (2.1 million followers) A Haber (1.4 million followers), Halk TV (1.3 million followers), Oda TV (1.1 million followers). These accounts are selected according to their follower numbers on Twitter. As secondary sources articles, books, reports and all the relevant studies are used.

This study is conducted in Turkey, since the topic is about the changes of perception on the USA and Russia in Turkey between the 2015-2019 period. The 2015-2019 period is selected intentionally to examine the Turkish people's view of the United States of America and Russia in the foreign policy perception surveys conducted by Kadir Has University in 2015-2019. No financial support and budget are required or used in this study.

It is obvious that one of the most effective methods used by the active forces who want to influence the people in the political sense is the media. In this context, in this paper, Twitter is used in terms of accessibility, timeliness and power to influence people. This paper is constructed as a case study based on a specific survey in the field of foreign policy perception. Change in Turkish foreign policy perception is studied according to the results of the "Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy" survey, which is a recently published study and offers unique and comprehensive results for researchers. Moreover, selected mainstream Twitter accounts are used as the sample in this study.

D. Methods and Techniques

Twitter accounts of selected mainstream news channels are used as the sample in this study. This study is analytical research and constructed as a case study together with historical analysis as research techniques. The data analysis methods of this study are case study and comparative methods together. Qualitative methods are used in this study. Turkish foreign policy perceptions between 2015–2019 are analyzed by examining the media's discourse from different sources of information on Twitter. Discourse analyses are used to examine and present changes. Discourses

about Russia and the USA through shares by Twitter accounts of selected Turkish mainstream news channels are examined thoroughly in order to point out the reasons triggering the perception change and to analyze the relationship between the survey results and Twitter shares.

Discourse analysis covers numerous areas such as psychology, sociology, linguistics, anthropology, literature, media, and communication. It is a research technique that incorporates many disciplines and research methods. Discourse analysis examines language ideologically rather than grammatically. Discourse analysis, as pointed out by Dijk (1997), does not deal only with the formal (phonological or syntactic) aspect of the usage of language. Instead, it focuses on social events constructed by the language users, who communicate in a social and cultural context (Barker and Galasinski, 2001). According to discourse analysis, language is inclined to action and function-oriented environment, and individuals use the language intentionally to create social value or to adapt to the individual world. In Dijk (2003)'s critical discourse analysis method, the news is explained by the connection with the social structure and also the liability of the news criticized by Dijk. The tweets discussed in this study are examined based on the discourse analysis method developed by Van Dijk for news review.

Van Dijk, who performs discourse analyses on news; deals with the ideological dimension of news as the product of dominant discourse in society (Inal, 1996, p. 67). According to Van Dijk's model, in the microstructural analysis of news texts, it examines the choice of sentences or words (syntactic structure), the form of persuasion (rhetoric), the relationship of sentences to each other (regional harmony: causal, functional, referential) (Dijk, 2007, pp. 164-177). For this reason, due to the large number of news to be discussed, the syntactic structures of tweets, and the selection of the words that were used in the tweets, are examined.

Consciousness and collective unconsciousness of society are shaped by discursive practices since discourse is the fundamental element of this process, whoever determines the discourse of the society, seizes the management of social consciousness (Dijk et al., 2003, p. 211). Discourse analysis helps to examine how the discourse methods used and presented by media can affect public opinion. Therefore, in this study, discourse analysis is used in order to understand and examine the reasons of perception change in Turkish foreign policy. By analyzing

the discourse of Twitter upon certain cases of foreign politics, it is aimed to resolve the perception management behind the cases.

Case study analysis are used to examine the specific events individually to create a common outcome by the findings. Turkish case is used together with mainstream news channels. Every single case is evaluated by the way of presented in social media, on Twitter. The differences between the approaches of media resources to the events are examined in order to show the perception management.

In the process of collecting data, semi-structured and/or unstructured in-depth interviews, observations, archival records analysis, documentation analysis and questionnaires can be used using technically open-ended questions (Johnston et al., 1999, p. 207; Yin, 1994). Case Study is generally the preferred method for developing theories in scientific research (Eisenhardt, 1991; Yin, 1989). However, the case study is an effective technique to investigate and test causality relations, especially recently, it has been stated by many researchers (e.g. Hillebrand et al., 2011; Bitektine, 2008) and studies using this technique have been published in distinguished academic journals (Ozcan and Eisenhardt, 2009). It is also known that case study is often preferred in its summer for old and new institutional establishment (e.g. Zilber, 2002; Teagarden et al., 1995).

The unit of analysis in the case study method is the case itself. Unit of analysis can sometimes be an individual or a group of individuals or an organization, sometimes a process. For example, if the potential results of planned changes in an organization are observed and reported by the researcher in its natural environment, the unit of analysis is this process of change itself. In such a case, the unit of analysis also includes both organization and individuals (Yin, 1989, p. 31). In the light of this information, the unit of analysis within the scope of this study is the approach of media sources towards the selected events. Using multiple methods of data collection can also improve the quality of the research as it allows triangulation, reduces the respondent bias, provides additional information, increases support for the researcher’s conclusions, and may lead to new questions that can be answered in later research (Vissak, 2010, p. 380; Eisenhardt, 1991). Therefore, this study aims to use case study and discourse analysis techniques at the same time. By using case study, intentionally selected events will try to be analyzed towards the argument of

this study. Discourse analysis is used to examine the dissertation of the Twitter resources.

The population of this study is Twitter. Case studies are especially helpful for discovery, description, mapping and relationship building. Case study data can be collected from multiple levels, perspectives and resources (Gummesson, 2006; Leonard-Barton, 1990). The sample of this study is the Turkish national mainstream news channels' approaches to the USA and Russia issues. The relationship between the population and sample are examined in this study. The reason of choosing this sample is to present how Twitter and mainstream news channels affect public perception in Turkey in certain cases. The argument of this study is constructed according to the results of the survey by Kadir Has University and the relations between the survey results and Twitter. The method of the survey by Kadir Has University is quantitative research and the technique applied is face-to-face interviews based on the pre-prepared questionnaire. Also, the population of the survey mentioned is Turkey wide 1000 adult participants from 26 provinces. This research is used in the thesis because of being a reliable resource for these aspects and it is reflecting the Turkish foreign policy percept directly and Chrono. The dependent variable in this study is Twitter and the independent variable is the Khas University Survey results in the 2015-2019 period. The hypotheses according to the variables are as follows:

- H_0: There is no correlation between Twitter and the survey results.
- H_1: There is a positive correlation between Twitter and survey results.
- H_2: There is a negative correlation between Twitter and survey results.

The argument of the study is as follows:

There is a positive correlation between the Khas University Survey results and shares of Twitter accounts about foreign policy perception in Turkey.

Sub-arguments are as follows:

- Twitter news resources use perception management in order to create a certain public opinion in Turkey.
- Social media channels like Twitter are used by the authorities to create perception management.
- Turkish public opinion is affected by Twitter easily in specific cases.

- Perception management is a very important power to manipulate Turkish foreign policy perception.
- Different media organizations are transferring their pre-shaped ideas by Twitter.
- Twitter accounts use perception management techniques to manipulate the Turkish public opinion towards USA and Russia.
- The perception towards to the USA is changing obviously in a negative way.
- The news and information about Russia-related events affect the public perception in Turkey.
- The triggering reason for the change in public perception on Turkish foreign policy is Twitter.

The documents are analysed in this study in order to collect the needed data in testing the hypotheses. All the relevant internet news websites and social media accounts are scanned and examined within the frame of the sample and population relationship of the study. Results of Public Perception on Turkish Foreign Policy Survey conducted by Kadir Has University in 2015-2019 period are used. The process of data analysis and data collection goes on together in qualitative research. In this context, qualitative data analysis continues from the beginning to the end of the research. It is mostly obtained through observation, interview and document review. Qualitative data analysis is an approach that results in repeated and careful examination of different and detailed data. As being a qualitative technique, it is aimed that case study and historical analysis are used together.

II. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: PERCEPTION MANAGEMENT AND MEDIA

A. Perception

Perception is the process of taking, decoding and classifying the stimuli from the outside world by the person. In other words, in its simplest definition, perception, which is defined as the process of making sense of what is happening around a person, has been the subject of many disciplines such as philosophy, psychology, sociology, social psychology, communication, political science and international relations. In this context, when starting studies based on perception, it is of great importance for both the framework of the study and the next researchers to consider the issue of perception from an etymological and epistemological perspective in a historical process.

With its simplest definition, perception, which is defined as the process of making sense of what is happening around the person, has been the subject of many disciplines such as Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology, Social-Psychology, Communication, Political Science and International Relations. In this context, while starting studies based on perception, it is of great importance for both the skeleton of the study and the subsequent researchers to deal with the issue of perception from an etymological and epistemological point of view in a historical process. The subject of perception has always been the starting point of research based on mind and consciousness from the point of view of the philosophy of knowledge.

Ancient Greek philosophers used the concept of aisthesis for such meanings as sense, meaning, the ability to sensory perception, sensation, sense organs. Perception is often confused with sensation, which enters the field of study of natural science. However, while sensation and perception are connected processes, they are different situations from each other. Because perception is the name of the output that occurs as a result of the meaning of the sensations received and is the result of a process of not only physical, but also psycho-social meaning.

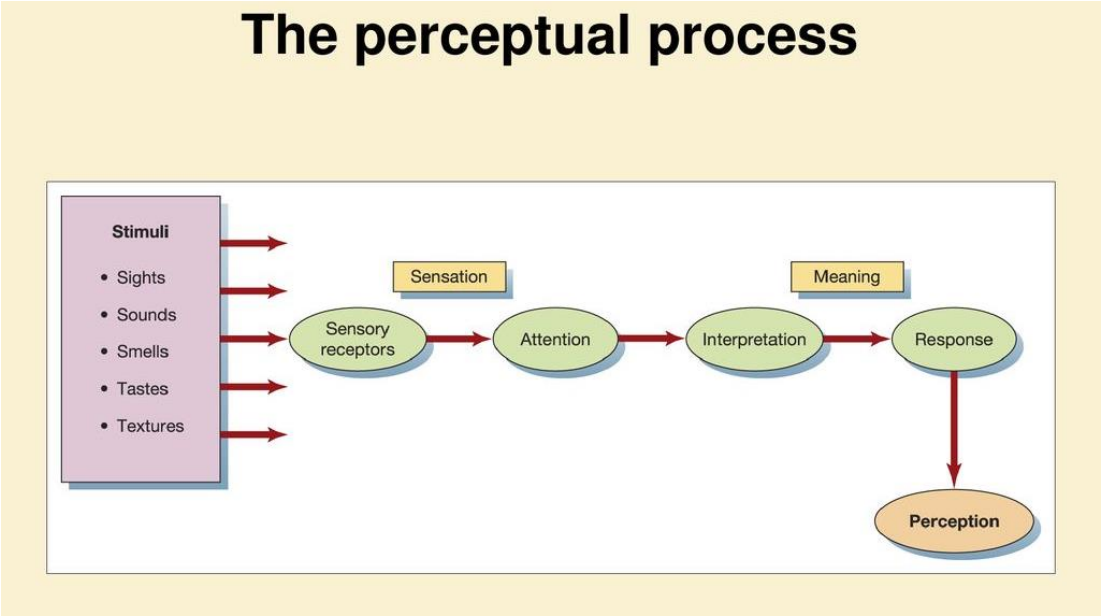

Figure 1. An Overview of The Perceptual Process

Source: Solomon et al., 2016.

In the process of perception, many situations such as the psychological state of the person, the records of his past life, the level of education and culture, the environment in which he is located, what he is interested in and need, and his expectations for the future play a decisive role. The most important feature that distinguishes perception from sensation is that perception is based on an interpretation and a process of semantics. The most basic criterion for the person to make sense of the stimuli obtained through the senses is the recorded information obtained from their past life.

While examining the conceptual framework of perception, the phenomenon of perceptual organization should also be clarified. According to the concept of perceptual organization, people have difficulty perceiving a sound, color, light, or geometric image as a single thing. Rather, they perceive them as organized, shaped and organized (Kaynak, 1990, p. 77). According to Saydam (2005), the simplest definition of perception, “transferring the objective world to subjective consciousness through sensory organs” is, in a way, an approach that takes people to reality. People care about perceptions and believe in them. Therefore, many psychologists believe that perception is the truth itself. Inceoglu (1993, p. 41) defines perception as “sensory information” and expresses it as “obtaining information from the outside world with the help of our five sense organs; hearing, tasting, seeing, smelling, touching senses”.

There is no harm in saying that they are real (Saydam, 2005, p. 38). In other words, the formation of perceptions varies according to our beliefs, behavior patterns, and the way we interpret events. As a result, they produce or reduce certain values. They solve problems or generalize them. In fact, man's power is due to the way they perceive. That is why many psychologists believe that perception is the reality itself (Stupak, 2001, p. 253). Lawrance (2000) treats perception as "the mental interpretation of physical sensations produced by stimuli from the outside world".

Various factors can be mentioned that affect the perception process. One of these is that the characteristics that are spread about a nation, community or mass are attributed to the members of that group. The subject of "perception" has a wide range of its own in the history of philosophy he has found a place for discussion. O'Brien (2004) also gives the opinion that "perception" is a central problem in the philosophy of knowledge but says that the knowledge we have is based on how we see, hear, touch, smell and taste the world. O'Brien (2004) defines perception as "the process of obtaining information about the world around us through our five senses".

1. Perception management

In its shortest form, perception management means controlling and improving the data flow from the outside world in order to obtain more comprehensive, more useful and more precise information. Accordingly, providing access to data in perception management is a vital part of an artificial information process (Saydam, 2005, p. 81). It is also possible to define perception management as the use of the perception material obtained as a result of kneading the meanings created about people in organizational processes in a way that will contribute to the realization of individual and organizational goals (Ugurlu, 2008, p. 149). According to Saydam (Saydam, 2012, pp. 205-361), the basic rules of perception management are listed as follows: the values of the target audience should be respected, the culture of the target audience should be taken care of, the approach should be above expectations, there should be no confusion, the focus should be on the result, no action should be taken if there is no measurement, it should be based on facts, it should be done again, differentiations should be managed, visuality should be managed correctly, emotions should be addressed rather than thoughts. According to Siegel, (2005, p. 118), perception management has three purposes: To gain and maintain legitimacy, to create public opinion both at home and abroad, to make the opponents believe what

will happen to them as a result of their actions, to influence the behavior and attitudes of the target audience in the desired direction.

The individual conducts his relationship with the environment thanks to the sense organs. The data received from the environment is transmitted to the brain and the individual's thought process about the event he perceives begins. By this way, a meaning is created in the mind of the individual. It is investigated whether the individual has previously had thoughts about similar events, what comments they have made, and whether there are established patterns of beliefs about the subject. Perception management is a method developed by the American army. The goal of perception management is to channel the perceptions of people, states and communities in a certain direction. The aim is to change the feelings of the masses by means of both the information and emotions at hand or to show the existing situation differently than it is. The process of perception management includes work on the right side of the brain. Because the right side of the brain is oriented towards abstract thinking, and emotions, which are the most important channel in the management of perception, are loaded here. It may be possible to change feelings and habits over time by processing the data subconsciously (Bagci, 2017, p. 11). In perception management, three different methods such as direct perception management, indirect perception management and mixed perception management can be used.

Perception management is used in all spheres, from an ordinary enterprise to a large state. Societies are accustomed to new environments, new laws, and different methods. The main goal of perception management is to change people’s feelings. This may be to convince the citizens of a country. It may be to channel world public opinion in a certain direction. Perception management can lead to manipulations, as well as lead people unconsciously. Perception management can be either positive or negative. Steven Collins, Head of the Psychological Operations Branch of North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Allied Forces Headquarters in Europe, made a determination about the relationship between political psychology and communication management and perception management, which is their field of application. In the article published in NATO Review in 2003 with the title “Mind Games”it says “Perception management encompasses any action undertaken to influence foreigners' attitudes and their ability to think objectively, and consists of

public diplomacy, psychological operations, public information, deception and covert action" (University of Leeds, 2021).

Factors, which are important in terms of perception management and affect the perception process, can be grouped under three headings (Eren, 2010, p. 70):

1. Characteristics of the perceiving individual (personality, personal characteristics, past experiences),

2. Characteristics of the perceived object (person, object, event, living and non-living things),

3. Perception environment (physical, social and organizational environmental conditions in which the perception process takes place).

In order for perception management to be successful, the target audience should not be aware of the persuasion activities carried out in order to change their attitudes and beliefs. Because when people think that they are being persuaded, they develop more counterarguments and hold on to their current thoughts and attitudes or behaviors even more tightly (Kamalski et al., 2008, p. 550).

2. Historical background

Units within the US Department of Defense (Military History, 2014) first used the concept of perception management in 1949. The Department of Defense Dictionary of Military and Associated Terms made the following definition about the perception management:

> "Perception management — Actions to convey and/or deny selected information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, motives, and objective reasoning as well as to intelligence systems and leaders at all levels to influence official estimates, ultimately resulting in foreign behaviors and official actions favorable to the originator's objectives. In various ways, perception management combines truth projection, operations security, cover and deception, and psychological operations"

Perception management has been used to take a stand and take steps in accordance with official goals for foreigners at all levels, including intelligence agencies and leaders, as well as for the broad masses of people in this country (the United States). In addition, perception management has also been applied to change the feelings, motivation and thought systems of the masses under the influence of the action taken to try to integrate by directing the flow of concrete information and

documents that have been selected or rejected. Perception management consists of a combination of elements such as reflecting facts, ensuring operational safety, hiding and distorting the truth, managing psychological operations using various ways.

According to this definition, perception management includes all activities performed to influence the views of the target audience in foreign countries. Although methods such as using force and intimidation, which are one of the first methods used to defeat the enemy in the historical process, have yielded results in the short term, it has been observed that new problems have been formed or the old problem has re-emerged in the long term. Because an enemy, who is not convinced or does not accept defeat has the potential to take action to win by getting stronger and using different methods in the process that follows.

From the very beginning of the human history, people have tried to keep their attitudes and behaviors under control by influencing and attracting people to their side in order to win wars, to maintain peace, or to achieve their other goals (Ozarslan, 2014, p. 30). The origin of perception management dates to ancient times, although perception management has not been fully defined in the past, different expressions have been used, such as rhetoric to define the concept.

Aristotle defines rhetoric as a method of persuasion that does not require any scientific knowledge. Plato, on the other hand, considers rhetoric as a type of speech that produces illusions rather than truth. In the dialectical method, the goal is to open the topic by discussing it and systematically revealing the opposite aspects and contradictions, while in rhetoric, the goal is to close the topic at the desired point. Latin Greek term *"rhetorike"* or Latin term *"oratio"* was met with terms such as ’the art of speech, the art of utterance, eloquence, the art of discourse, the art of the speaker briefly used in the form of ’rhetoric'. There is no clear consensus on the meaning of the word “rhetoric” itself, which has been constantly redefined by scholars throughout the history. Although the definitions of rhetoric vary, there are generally two main approaches to the topic.

In the first approach, the main actions of rhetoric are located on the political ground. For example, the prominent writers of ancient rhetoric like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, and Cicero believe that politics is the fundamental trajectory of rhetoric, and therefore they shaped their theories of rhetoric for the use of political actors. In the second approach, rhetoric is considered as discourse that has been thought out to

influence an audience to some extent. For example, various definitions are given while explaining rhetoric in Plato's dialogues. In the “Gorgias” dialogue, rhetoric is defined as an art that realizes its purpose with words and educates people about its own subjects, and it is determined that rhetoric is only an art related to words, unlike arts such as painting, sculpture, arithmetic and geometry. The subject of this art, according to him, is the power to deceive human societies with words. In other words, it is used to persuade crowds. Aristotle sees rhetoric as a synonym for dialectics.

According to Aristotle (2016, p. 130), the purpose of convincing speech is to lead to decisions. From this point of view, rhetoric leads us to the management of perception, which is the main topic of the study. Thanks to rhetoric, it is possible to ensure that individuals act in accordance with the given goals in all areas. Ogivly (1989, p. 115), a world-renowned public relations expert, also says about the power of rhetoric to mobilize: “When Aeschines spoke, they said, ‘how beautifully he speaks’. But when Demosthenes spoke, he said, ‘Forward against Philip!’ They started shouting. I am in favor of Demosthenes”. The point that Ogivly points out here is that thanks to the art of oratory, the audience can be mobilized in the desired direction.

Both are concerned with things that fall within the domain of human knowledge and are not specific to a particular science. To put it roughly, there are three types of persuasion methods in Aristotle’s rhetoric. These are “ethos”, which depends on the personal character of the speaker, “pathos”, which depends on the feelings of the listener, and “logos”, which depends on the evidence produced by the words used by the speaker. Socrates, a student of Gorgias, argued that in the art of oratory, not the form but the meaning and the content of the speech matter. For him, it was not important how the speech was made, but what was said.

He criticized rhetorical discourse for its emphasis on form, arguing that it was an idle method. When we come to the Middle Ages, we witness that rhetoric gains more importance. Young men had to learn this art to gain the status of “educated”, regardless of the slave class. It was even necessary to learn the arts of grammar, logic, and rhetoric to learn the arts of arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy. Modern rhetoric stems from a production theory that comes from the field of rhetorical communication in the real world; this approach distinguishes rhetoric from philology (Knape, 2013, p. 10). In modern rhetoric, we are faced with such names as Kenneth Burke, Chaim Perelman, Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca and so on. In this section,

the rhetorical insights of Kenneth Burke and Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, who have conducted several joint studies on new rhetoric, are presented.

Burke and Perelman's view of ‘new’ rhetoric is not in the form of a radical break from ‘old’ rhetoric, but it highlights some insights that cannot be fully included in the understanding of rhetoric of ancient times (Graff and Winn, 2011). Nietzsche (1989) describes rhetoric as one of the ways to make ‘conscious art’. He says that the development of understanding, rather than the development of language, reveals the artistic side within the language. Booth’s understanding of rhetoric appears to be somewhat deeper than previous definitions. Booth draws attention to the fact that the whole world order will change lanes sharply when the human being is considered as a rhetorical animal whose nature has been discovered and lives entirely through symbolic processes. When we succeed in ignoring the restrictive rules of language and knowledge imposed on us by being scientific, we can see that the only means of communication is not using “language” but using language artistically (Meyer, 2009).

The concept of rhetoric is divided into ‘Old Rhetoric’ and ‘New Rhetoric’ due to their development over time. While the Old Rhetoric is the method used in antiquity, the expression New Rhetoric has recently been used for the structure that has emerged as a result of the methodological evolutions that this method has undergone (Ozer, 2006). New Rhetoric is the name of the new evolution that started in the second half of the 20th century under the leadership of Chaim Perelman and L. Olbrechts-Tyteca. In the new trend, there is a more effective emphasis on both words and context. On the other hand, the debate between the relevant circles is not completely over.

As a matter of fact, according to Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, who constitutes an important turning point at this point, people, who apply this method remain prisoners of positivist science despite all this. On the other hand, Vernon K. Robbins, an important name in this major and a prominent figure in socio-rhetoric, says that anyone who works with ancient rhetorical devices and seeks a programmatic interpretation should consider that their work is based on scientific objectivity rather than ideological. In short, while figures of speech and thought and types of rhetoric come to the forefront in the analysis of Old Rhetoric, in addition to these, some elements such as context and audience are discussed more emphatically in the New

Rhetoric (Ozer, 2006). The person who dominates the speech gains the superiority of dominating the thought. Thus, the person can shape the other person's thoughts as he/she wants. One of the areas where the art of rhetoric is used very often today is the media. It is obvious that the news published by media have a certain, pre-shaped perspective.

3. Perception management and public opinion

The concept of public opinion, like many other concepts, is defined in various ways. "Public opinion is the sum of thoughts and concepts that reflect the common judgment of social clusters or society on the events and phenomena of social life" says Hancherlioglu (Hancherlioglu, 1996, p. 225). As a result of social mobility, the concept of "public opinion" began to be used in the 18th century. Also, Montaigne is the first to use public opinion concept in 1580s. In 1588, Montaigne referred to the concept in French as *"l'opinion publique"*. The concept of public opinion was first introduced in the political arena by Jean Jaques Rousseau before the French Revolution. Later on, it is noteworthy that sociologists and political scientists work on the concept and developed it. Deriven from the Latin words *"publicus"* and *"opinion"*, the concept, which used in Western languages, is expressed with the words *"*public opinion*"* in English. If it is remembered that different groups living in the society have different opinions and attitudes on different issues, it would not be correct to say that the public opinion is only the opinion of the majority. Public opinion is also an outcome of the mutual interaction of majority and minority opinions (Vural, 1999, p. 61).

Although public opinion, which is an important subject of Political Science, is not new as a concept, it has recently become a subject of scientific research. Especially in Western countries, the fact that researchers in different social sciences associate their research in their fields with the public has enabled them to play a leading role in this regard. Following these studies, independent research on public opinion has increased. It is seen that the research conducted in recent years has been put on a positive basis. Public opinion is the prevailing opinion of a group or groups of people dealing with a particular controversial issue at a given time; however, it should be added that this is an opinion that effectively announces itself.

A public is a group of individuals who are interested in this problem in the face of a particular problem. Individuals within the group put forward different views on

the solution of this problem and argue with each other around these views. It is not possible for all individuals to have information about the problems that arise in relation to social life. Most of the time, a large part of the society cannot even be aware of these problems. For this reason, various issues can be mentioned in line with the diversity of society's problems. The size of the group can vary as different environments cause different problems. Voters, students, and other groups form different kinds of public. However, the greatest interest in the public and public opinion is seen in the political field.

Public opinion expresses not only the scope and intensity of the opinions prevailing in the group, but also their process. A certain period of time must elapse before a dominant opinion can be obtained in the group. This period is a period of mutual discussion and interaction during which the group members exchange mutual information. Also, this period creates an element of process in public opinion. The basis of the formation of public opinion is the free disclosure of ideas and these ideas can be explained and conveyed to others. The acquired knowledge and ideas can be perceived and interpreted as well. As a result, in general, the media is very effective in terms of transmitting the ideas and creating public opinion via propaganda.

Undoubtedly, the acquisition of certain convictions by the individual is the result of the effect of the environment and the factors related to the personality structure of the individual. The individual remains under the influence of his instincts from the moment he is born, and these instincts direct his behavior. Later, by observing the events happening around during the childhood, the person adopts the right or wrong ones and accepts them as correct. These impressions, right or wrong, are effective in the adult life of the individual and in the formation of opinions. The opinions of the individual are formed as a result of mutual interaction with his personal structure and the environment that affects this personal structure.

People who encounter a certain problem come to informed, rational conclusions by weighing the data on this problem, so that the opinions reached also form public opinion. However, later studies have shown that the assumption on which this theoretical opinion is based cannot be considered valid, there is often no rational conscious assessment of this nature at the source of public opinion, and ideas and attitudes that appear in the face of concrete problems are usually determined by pre-“formed” convictions (Kapani, 1989, p. 115).

Typically, public opinion is said forming tools; indirectly, the family, education, culture, social control mechanisms, such as institutional and sociological tools conviction, motivation, perception, attitude, psychological, as well as individual tools directly with groups and political parties, pressure groups or organizations, such as political tools and the influence of media is discussedin studies (Anik, 1994, pp. 83-106). Among the many elements in the formation of public opinion, the media alone is not decisively defined as an effective and adequate tool. It can be said that it is "one of the most effective tools". Nevertheless, it is worth emphasizing that an equation such as "media = public opinion" cannot be mentioned. However, the media is one of the tools used to create public opinion, and statesmen and politicians, no matter what system they are in, attach importance to mass media to influence public opinion (Kislali, 1997, p. 330). With the development of the media and social media, it can easily be said that the media influences and mobilizes individuals and masses in the formation of public opinion. While people use media tools to receive news, it is not possible for them not to be influenced by the content contained in the media in terms of forming opinions. Therefore, it can be said that there is a robust connection between the public opinion, perception and media.

4. Propaganda

Propaganda, is the name given to all of the systematic efforts to influence beliefs, attitudes and behaviors through symbols in spreading real, half-truth or false information to influence the public (Bektaş, 1996, p. 153). Therefore, the purpose of propaganda is to influence public opinion in the desired direction and then to create desired behavior change. For this, it can be said that all kinds of tools that allow mass communication are the most suitable environments where propaganda techniques can be applied.

The first useage of propaganda, which is quite old as an action, in its present literal sense is encountered in Ancient Greece. The ancient Greek sophists practiced propaganda together with the art of utterance (oratory), then Socrates, Cicero in Rome and Chinese Sun Tzu and Indian Kantile have been the first practitioners of propaganda art (Inceoglu, 1985, p. 63). Later, in 1622, Pope Pius XV. Gregor founded the *"Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide"* (congregation for the propagation of the faith), the first systematic propaganda organization. This organization became the official organ of the Roman Catholic Church and aimed to

spread the faith and belief of the Catholic Church to the new world, as well as to promote the Catholic religion in the old world. In the modern sense, systematic propaganda has assumed a political content since the French Revolution of 1789 and used politically. While propaganda was applied by a propagandist on passive people until the beginning of the 19th century, as a result of the change in this influencer-influenced relationship with the French Revolution of 1789, propaganda began to be a result of the overlap between the purpose of the propagandist and the "need" of the person to be influenced. Understanding the importance of propaganda in modern understanding and using propaganda techniques effectively began in the first half of the 20th century. Propaganda has been used as a very powerful method of persuasion in directing and managing the masses. At the beginning of the 20th century, Lenin and Hitler were at the head of the leading figures of propaganda. These two strong names have shown a successful use of propaganda to convince the masses. Hitler used propaganda and manipulation under his rule to shape the community according to his wishes and to convince this community in the desired direction. Besides that the ministry of propaganda was also established during this period. While Hitler was constantly suggesting to the Germans "what a great nation they are", he succeeded in influencing large masses by grasping the place of radio in propaganda. Hitler, who had the opportunity to call out to the Germans through the radio wherever he went, dragged his country and the world into disasters with the power of propaganda. Propaganda Minister Goebbels, on the other hand, went down in history as a "radio genius" (Kaleli, 1995, p. 17).

Propaganda can be defined as a predefined form of communication made by individuals or government bodies and aimed at influencing and manipulating people's behavior in a certain way. The most important feature of the concept of propaganda is the element of "influence". Another distinctive feature of the concept of propaganda is the "element of manipulation". The element of manipulation is the one that distinguishes propaganda from information. Continuing its effectiveness in many areas of life from the past to the present, propaganda plays an important role in influencing, changing and directing the ideas, attitudes and behaviors of individuals in the 21st century communication age. The main reason for this situation is the messages that propaganda uses as a communication and persuasion technique in the fast flow of life. Propaganda began with the existence of man, developed with man,

had a great importance throughout the whole history religiously, culturally and politically, and shaped history. People have tried to change each other's opinions through propaganda, to convince them that they are doing what they believe in and to influence their political preferences (Erat, 1995, p. 17). As is known, effective oratory, people with high persuasion and influencing power and people with developed verbal-linguistic intelligence come to the fore in carrying out propaganda activities. People who carry out propaganda activities can effectively address different groups for different purposes, at different times, by effectively using concepts belonging to their own language. For this reason, effective and convincing use of language is very important for the concept of propaganda.

While propaganda usage methods, which were directly affected by the facts used in the communication process, were mostly provided by face-to-face and primary relations in ancient times, it becomes more and more complex by incorporating new methods with the developments in communication technologies. The intraction between the development of propaganda, technology and new media is undeniable. Propaganda, using various means of communication, ensures the systematic dissemination of certain ideologies and forces individuals to accept a system of thought or fulfill the requirements of the system (Bulbul, 2004, p. 87). Therefore, thanks to the elegant subtleties of communication used in the concept of propaganda, individuals are influenced by a one-way flow of information in the communication process, and more emphasis is placed on the emotional aspects of individuals.

W. Doob (1996, p. 23), in his book titled "Public Opinion and Propaganda", defines propaganda as the systematic activities of the propagandists to control the attitudes of the groups and the movements that emerge in line with these attitudes by means of indoctrination, and how the propaganda has an assertive and important function as a communication method. This increases in the use of mass media, on the one hand, puts classical propaganda tools at the forefront, and on the other hand, allows propaganda makers to appeal to a wider audience. Propaganda, the main purpose of which is to achieve the desired changes in actions or thoughts in the target audience, is carried out by different methods depending on the field of application, purpose of construction, source, content and nature, equipment and location of the target audience. These methods can be classified as campaigns, public opinion

surveys, face-to-face vote collection techniques, mass media, party meetings, rallies, brochures and banners. Especially, since the second half of the 2000s, communication methods expressed as social media, which have gained great popularity, have started to be used as a propaganda tool. The use of social media as a propaganda tool also coincides with this time based on the power of social media to influence the masses quickly and cost-free, it can be said that this is the reason why it is widely used. Regardless of the kind of propaganda is used, the most basic evidence that can be reached about propaganda is that propaganda is aimed at persuasion and has the idea of forming attitudes, opinions and public opinion in a certain direction in individuals.

5. Manipulation

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2021), the meaning of the manipulation is “to treat or operate with or as if with the hands or by mechanical means especially in a skillful manner and to control or play upon by artful, unfair, or insidious means especially to one’s own advantage”. In addition, the word meaning of manipulation is to direct, interrupt, add, subtract, to change a known information. It also means changing this known information for the sake of one's own thoughts or interests. In the modern world, perception management and manipulation techniques are carried out within the framework of certain rules in order to achieve a complete result. To achieve the desired change in the target audience, these rules must be applied. There are four basic elements in the form of deception, deception, subject of deception and context in the process of deception and for the success of perception management and applied manipulation techniques, the status of the deceived is in a decisive position as well as the abilities of the manipulators (Gultekin, 2017, p. 21). Manipulation means creating a change in behavior or opinion in the target person or audience using psychological techniques.

Specialists working in the field of social psychology focus on the phenomena of power and manipulation in directing behavior in the desired way. Manipulation ensures that the desired behavior from a person occurs with the free will of a person, and a person is usually not aware of the manipulation applied to him/herself and perceives the thoughts and behavior that occur as a result of manipulation as free will. In this context, social media and manipulation have become related concepts. The use of social media as a means of manipulation without people being aware of it

has become quite common with the development of technology. People follow social media in their daily lives and are unwittingly subjected to all kinds of manipulations. Information society approaches, in which information is the main determinant and that inequality between societies eliminated by arrangements that will ensure access to information, thus a truly participatory democracy can be experienced, and the global network project included in this approach creates an infrastructure that allows societies to be easily manipulated with the existing one-way information flow. The widespread use of social media has exposed every segment of society to an uncontrolled flow of information. Human beings, who are exposed to countless controlled and uncontrolled information every second, continue their daily lives in this cycle without thinking about the accuracy of the information transmitted and the effect it will have on them.

Twitter, one of the social media platforms where users can access unlimited information thanks to the constantly updated information flow and content, is a platform where news channels are also actively involved in this connection. In addition to individuals, social media platforms can be used successfully to manipulate news institutions and channels without the public noticing. In addition to the information conveyed by people, news channels operating on Twitter also use this information flow manipulatively. Thus, people who are exposed to the unlimited flow of information and news can be manipulated without realizing their real intention. In this case, certain institutions, organizations or individuals try to influence the public with various policy tools to achieve their goals. The media, with its role as an intermediary conveying the effects of all policy tools to the society, plays a fundamental role in the manipulation of societies by these power groups. Manipulation is an important element of social engineering activities because it is extremely important how information is perceived and what kind of reaction to information is given in the implementation of manipulation. The fact that perception is open to manipulation creates an important area for the intervention of actors other than the individual in the decision process. Social engineering, which means directing and changing societies in line with their own interests, is one of the most popular perception management and manipulation techniques today.

B. Media

According to the Macmillan Dictionary (2021), the word media is a plural form of the Latin word *'medium'* meaning 'middle ground or intermediate'. Its use as a word to describe newspapers, radio and other sources of information likely derives from the term 'mass media 'which was a technical term used in the advertising industry from the 1920s on. Media, in general, is the expression of a structure that covers all of the mass media. It is the duty of the media to convey information and convey messages to the masses in order to be able to appeal to the society and enable them to approve a certain idea presented (Akdag, 2014, p. 1).

Media is a general term covering the means of communication used to store and transmit information such as radio, television, newspapers, magazines, the Internet. In addition, media can be used for spreading any ideology or it can simply be a guiding tool in any topic possible. Communication activities that started with the emergence of social life were carried out verbally in the early periods, but with the passing time and developing structures, they turned into writing depending on the invention of writing. After the invention of writing, along with the reproduction of written materials, information, news, etc. the activity of distributing the elements in written form has been started. This beginning refers to mass media or media activities in the modern sense. In the ongoing process, with the use of visual materials in media activities, media tools have become both written and visual.

Again, this tool can be used for constructive or for destructive purposes by various actors. The concept of media is too comprehensive as a tool to be inserted into a single frame. When the concept of media is examined as the origin, it is seen that the word is derived from Latin. In Latin, the concept of media is derived from the plural of the word medium, which means medium, vehicle, etc. The concept includes information, education, etc., which takes place through the transfer of all kinds of information to individuals or communities. Visual and auditory tools that have basic responsibilities are defined as a whole (Soydan and Alpaslan, 2014, p. 57).

With the development of technology, in the context of social, economic and cultural power, media has become a very important concept in national and global dimensions. The importance attributed to the concept of media today is undoubtedly due to its functions such as informing the masses, mobilizing them and forming public opinion.

Media has important functions such as influencing society. The fact that the media can inform and influence the masses and have the power to form public opinion on any controversial issue (Gezgin, 2006, p. 172) has also attracted the attention of political powers. This attention and interest also formed the basis of the relationship between media and politics. Mutlu (2005) defines mass media as all non-personal communication tools in which visual and/or audio messages are transmitted directly to the audience. Mass media includes television, radio, newspapers, magazines, books and billboards. These visual and auditory tools are the elements that directly or indirectly affect the individual in daily routine. With the invention of the printing press in the 15th century, especially during the French Revolution, the importance of written materials in the dissemination of ideas emerged and showed that newspapers were effective in the political decision process.

With the invention of the printing press in the 15th century, written materials became one of the most important sources of information to the public. Besides, the development of technology, the media, which also has visual and auditory tools, has entered the field of study of many disciplines with its wide circulation network and being a source that provides information to the public.

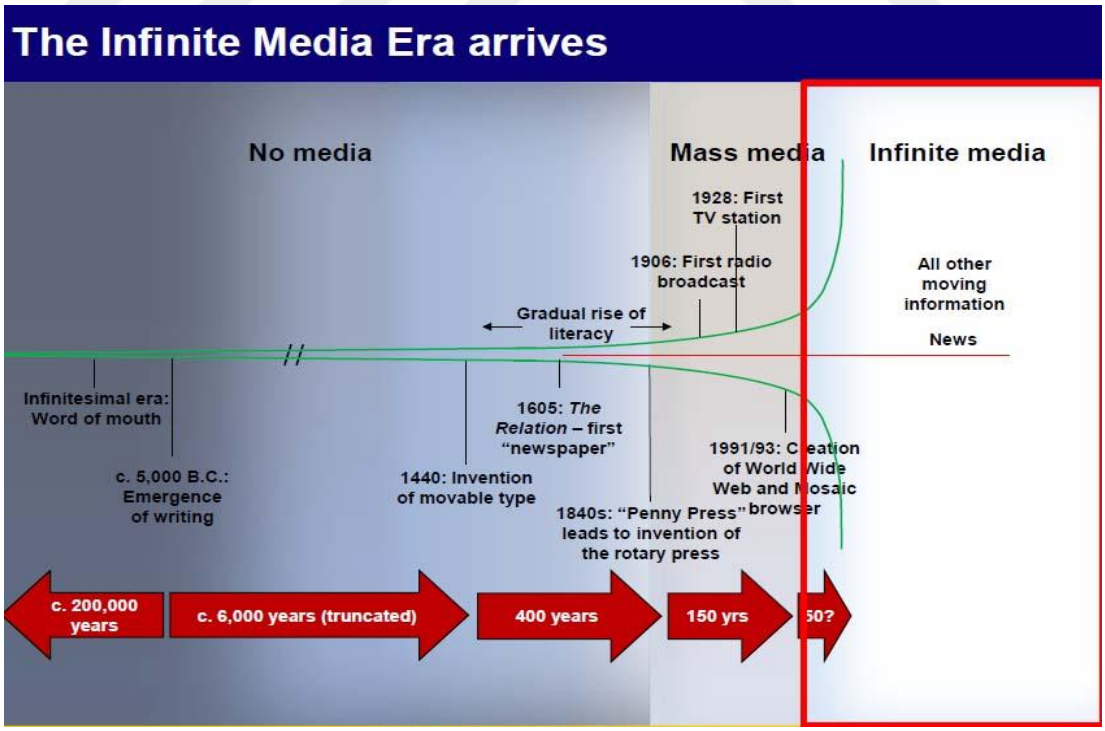

Figure 2. The Infinite Media Era Arrives

Source: Media Reset, 2012.

As time has progressed, commercial activities that have accelerated with geographical discoveries and the desire of people to stay informed of the rest of the world have become important. In the 19th century, people's need for information has also increased. In addition, the invention of the telegraph after the developments in the field of printing, the establishment of the telegraph lines network in the world, the establishment and development of news agencies also provided the speed and current news phenomenon in journalism. Today, the media has become a huge sector with the potential to mobilize the masses. Every tool that falls under the concept of media is actually a means of influencing society in a way. Although the function of a digital game and the effects of an artistic activity through the media are not the same, the general purpose is based on the concept of 'influencing'. As discussed in this thesis, the effects of media on society can be easily seen today.

The media allows directing society, managing mass movements and maintaining the flow of information. It causes globalization and cultural communication by enabling different cultures to interact. It is also used for sharing feelings and thoughts. The media tools that are the focus of social shares also have negative effects due to the ability to create asocial audiences. It can prevent access to high quality and reliable sources while providing easy options for accessing information. Although mass communication and culture sharing seem to be beautiful events, there are also opinions that local cultures will disappear in the long run thanks to media tools. Media is an important tool for transferring the core values and culture of the society to the new generation. This feature facilitates socialization. Individuals can also take the positive behavior of the popular people they see in the media as an example for themselves. However, besides positive examples, it is possible to mention negative effects such as violence, brutality, sexual abuse, moral collapse and loss of cultural characteristics.

1. Types of media

While the communication activities that started with the emergence of social life were carried out verbally in the early periods, they turned into written form depending on the invention of writing with the passing time and developing structures. The concept of media is a communication concept that arises from the need to receive and transmit news. Both the source of communication and the means of communication are generally collected under the phrase "media".

Fields such as news, literature, art, sports, science, technology, politics, religion, economics are all based on sharing information or activities. In addition, it is a common medium that forms its own financial structure, can direct people with ads, has no certain limits and has an increasing potential. With the shortest definition, the dimensions of the first media, which were considered as communication and informational activities, began to develop and expand with the onset of oral communication among people. Oral culture was formed with the communication structure that developed together with speech, and it also brought about a cultural transfer. As a matter of fact, as a result of the interaction of people and societies in this context, elements of oral culture have been transferred between societies as a result of dec interaction with each other (Berger and Luckmann, 2008, p. 80-101; Giddens, 2005, p. 508).

The media that developed with the beginning of the speech went one step further with the invention of writing in the ongoing process, and the written dimension of the media emerged. Information, news, etc., which are converted into texts along with the article. it has been started to be shared dec individuals. However, the article also has great implications for social order and cultural development.

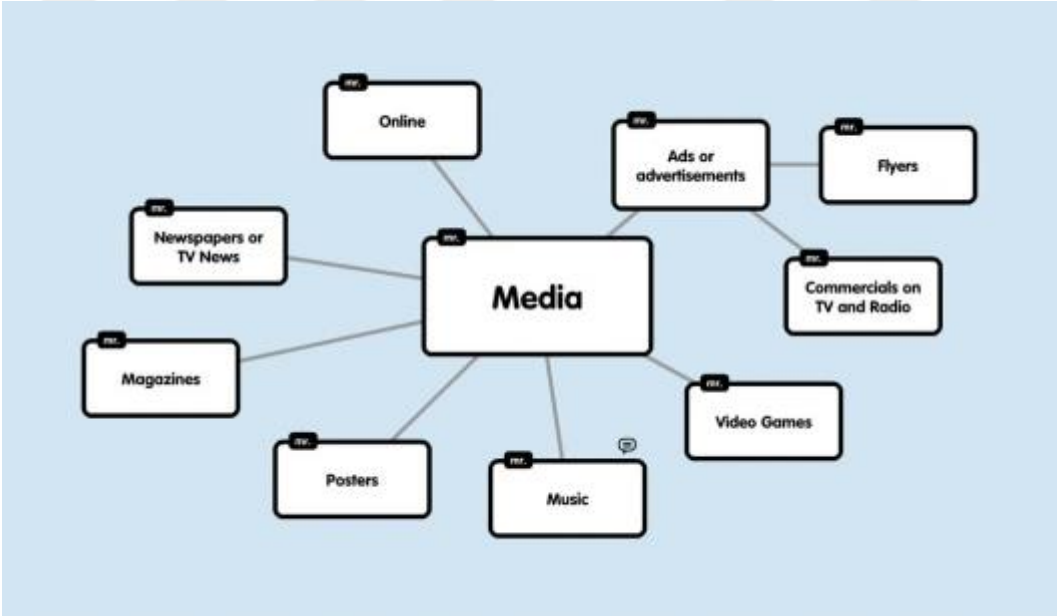

Figure 3. Types of Media

Source: Rfournetwps, 2014.

Media is the name given to all of the visual, auditory and both visual and auditory tools that convey all kinds of information to individuals and communities and have three basic responsibilities such as entertaining, informing and educating.

Media is a concept that covers a wide range of communication tools including all kinds of verbal, written, printed, visual texts and images. This concept includes print media such as newspapers, magazines, books, brochures, audio-visual media such as television and cinema, and audio-visual media such as radio. In the current sense, new tools such as the internet and billboard have been added to this concept. At this section of this study, printed media and social media are scrutinized.

2. Printed media

The need for communication with the other members of sociey increased when people started to live together collectively throughout the history, therefore the necessity of language development, communication, interaction and staying update for the daily events has been crucial in societies. The invention and usage of the papyrus in ancient Egypt can be seen as the first attampts of printing on a paper. As it can be seen in the brief history of print media chart below, the hints of the printing can be traced back to 59BC in Rome. After that the Chinese were the first to invent the art of printing. They invented wooden blocks to print letters on to the papers around 600-650 BC. The oldest known surviving printed work in a woodblock is a Buddhist scripture of 684 BC. The first printed book published in China was the Buddhist text, the “Diamond Sutra” by Wang Chick in 868 AD.

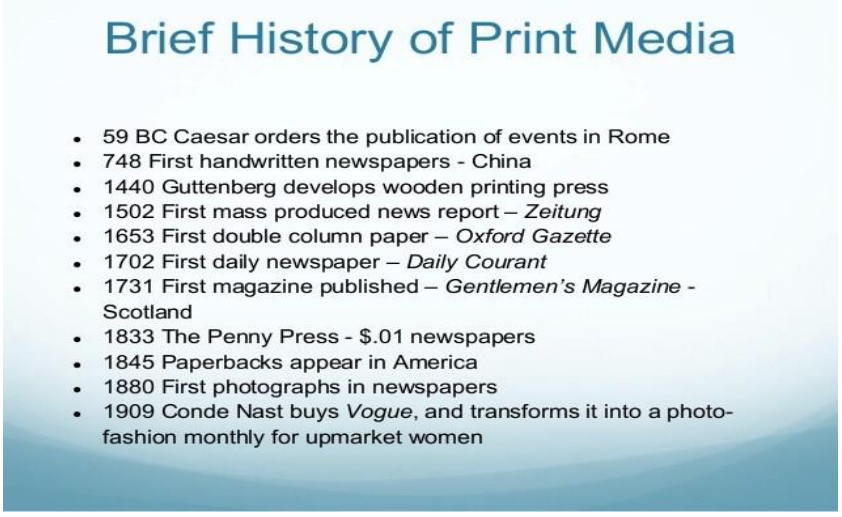

Figure 4. Brief History of Print Media

Source: Slideshare, 2013.

The main reason why the 1750s are accepted as the starting point of media history is that the second half of the 18th century was a period when the perception

and representation schemes that allowed the concreteness and manipulation of the world since the beginning of the modern age were shaken from the foundations and the social and political consequences of the enlightenment began to be felt most strongly (Barbier and Lavenir, 2001, p. 13).

During this period, the logic of enlightenment gave print and the book a central position and importance. Written and printed publications of this importance also enabled the spread of enlightenment, the use and sharing of the ideas and thoughts produced, and the advancement of a larger number of people in the final stage. The French Revolution is a result of the spread of printed publications in local languages and in very large scales, in short, the spread of mass communication and the developing mass media, that is, the media. The 19th century, on the other hand, witnessed major changes in the regime of the press, the desired model of information and, more broadly, the concrete forms of control and ownership of writing. The Industrial Revolution, which began in England, gradually spread to the continent and significantly increased non-agricultural production. However, the emergence and enrichment of urbanization, new work rhythms, and new logics and practices in the field of consumption in the medium term, turn the residence styles and lifestyles of people/masses upside down.

Economic and political considerations were at the center of the great debates of the time, and the media, especially print media (periodical press) resonates with an ever-increasing number of readers (Barbier and Lavenir, 2001, p. 14). the 19th century witnessed the emergence of networks that surrounded the entire planet and gave contemporaries a fast information experience for the first time, as well as the print and periodical press (Barbier and Lavenir, 2001, p. 14).

Considering the current position of the media, it is seen that it occupies a very important position both in human and public life. As a matter of fact, media structures that have become more widespread with developing technologies have become an informative and guiding force in all aspects of everyday life. Along with the use of technology in media structures, the media has reached the function of ensuring communication in all conditions (Soydan and Alpaslan, 2014, p. 57). Nowadays, one can diversify the types of media as visual media, audiovisual, print, internet and new media. In this study, social media and written media are discussed in terms of scrutinizing the Twitter. Printed media is a type of media that includes

written text and fixed visual materials. The daily newspaper and the magazines that published in different periods regularly are the two most basic tools of the printed media.

In today's world, which is also called the information age, it has gained importance to convey political information to individuals through mass media and to use it by individuals. However, this case requires to being aware of the developments in the political environment. Today, the easiest and most common means of reporting are mass media. As for today, the easiest and most common means of reporting are mass media. For about a century, the media was synonymous with print media because newspapers and magazines were the only sources of communication and dissemination of information. Books, periodicals, newspapers, etc. it was an excellent tool in the form of paper and text printed with ink. He relied on a huge amount of information provided by people's information and print media to give his opinion. People started with newspapers in the morning to get comprehensive information from the world of daily, politics, entertainment, sports and cities to the world. In the printed media, the information is printed, and it is possible to read the printed material at any time to move it to the desired place. However, illiterate people cannot use print media effectively. For a long time, reading was one of the virtues of the upper class, and it was not possible for all segments of society to read and be aware of printed texts. For this reason, access to books, newspapers and magazines is for everyone. Also, print media cannot provide instant information flow and is not always available, it is necessary to wait for the release of a new edition to be informed because these tools are published at regular intervals.

Since printed media and its tools can be available on internet and on electronic platforms now, it is substantial to analyze the effects of the newspapers and other printed news souces' power to inform and to manipulate people.

3. Social media

Computer-mediated communication started to develop rapidly after the second half of the 20th century and showed a dizzying pace of development in the 1990s. Computers were initially used in large organizations, regulatory agencies, scientific research, and the military. Following the development of microchip technology in the seventies, computer circuits have spread to all areas of the industry and have become

a fundamental part of household appliances, from heaters to television receivers and games. Electronic media includes all non-printed information sharing media. Therefore, radio, television and the internet constitute this electronic environment. People can listen to the radio, see live pictures of events and disasters, as well as comments from reporters and experts who are not in front of the camera and behind the scenes. All this has made the electronic media a much more powerful version of the media, as it has visual appeal and more convincing power.

The direction and content of new media technologies should be sorted chronologically similar to the communication background, in the form of word-to-letter transition, papyrus and parchment-to-paper transition, manuscript-to-print transition, printed word-to-electronic content transition, word-to-meaning meta production transition from consumerism to production "telecommunication infrastructure" (telephone, GSM, IP) and new media components: 3G, Wap, GPRS, Bluetooth, SMS etc), "the internet and digital networks" (TCP/IP, WWW, ADSL, CD-DVD-Bluray, such as IP telephony), "cellular mobile communications" (cell phone, EDGE, PDA, WAP, Smartphone, etc.), "cable TV" (platform subscription package content, such as "tele-text to video-text" (newspaper screen, the decoder similar applications) "view data" (advanced tele-text; video spelling) such as technological developments includes (Törenli, 2005, p. 21-124; Özel, 2012, p. 37-40).

The internet, which has functions such as informing, entertaining, researching, bringing people together, establishing virtual social communities, is a new and interesting type of media. Although it is called electronic media, electronic media, which has perpetuated its place as digital media, is the general name of the use of digital media such as audio, photo and video content as mass media. The fact that users are in communication in electronic environment constitutes the definition of digital or electronic media. The fact that the internet provides wider, two-way communication than the mass media is the most remarkable and important of these differences. Of the services offered by the internet, electronic mail provides internet users with an interactive communication environment by providing various services such as sending, receiving, reading and responding to messages regardless of geographical distances. This medium, which has been growing from day to day, has become the preferred platform for communication and news exchange, as well as the platforms on which the whole world spends most of its time, have become a whole.

Digital or electronic media continues to be the key to socialization. With the advent of the personal computer, it is now possible for an individual working at home to access information processing facilities that were formerly available only to large institutions.

Social media, on the other hand, is a digital field in a general sense. An internet-based program is an in-action platform that facilitates life through sites and applications, speeds up the sharing of information. One can also decry social media, which has become a rapidly developing sector that is an alternative to traditional media, as the most actively used and self-questioning media system among media platforms. It is a platform that allows you to share instant information fairly quickly. One can instantly reach a news that we will hear after 10-20 minutes on TV or that one can learn from newspapers the next day via social media along with their images. In this context, it is now common for televisions to source most of the breaking news using social media tools.

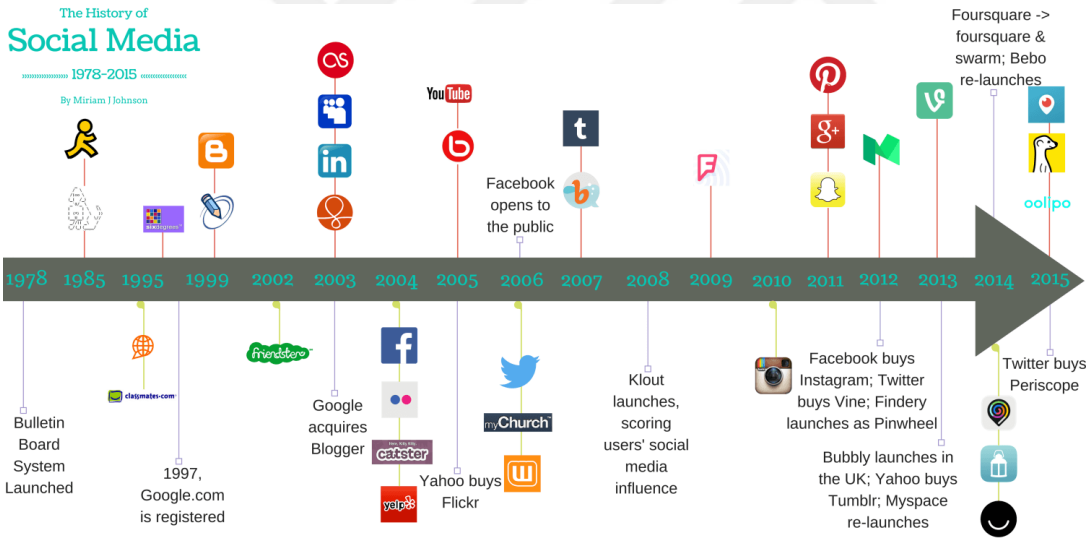

Figure 5. The History of Social Media (1978-2015)

Source: Future Marketing, 2021.

The internet is the most remarkable and important of these differences, as it provides a wider, two-way communication than the mass media. Electronic mail, one of the services offered by the Internet, provides an interactive communication environment by offering various services to internet users such as sending, receiving, reading and replying messages regardless of geographical distances. Social media creates an interactive environment where millions of people can participate in the field of internet and mobile communication through blogs and social networks, and

the influence and scope of this environment is increasing every day. User-based content forums such as news, information, videos, music, images, and events on social media can be shared and discussed without time and space limitations via Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, blogs, mobile phones and e-mail. This free environment increases participation in political, ideological, socio-cultural fields, thus creating a social media platform where individuals can feel completely free and host many publications. These aspects are the center of attraction for the political structure and news actors.

4. Twitter

The rapid process in internet technologies has also caused a change in the perception of media in the last two decades. In the literature, technological changes and limitations in the internet and its applications are used under different names such as "digital media”. Although it is accepted that social media has being active in our lives with the development of internet technologies, it is obvious that its use has become widespread in the 2000s and after. Today, individuals have come to use social media in almost every aspect of daily life. Investments by governments and private sector organizations in infrastructure and individuals' interest in computers and the internet support this increment. Studies show that the use of the internet, especially social media, is increasing day by day throughout the world. With the development of technology, the use of smartphones and mobile devices, social networks have gained considerable popularity. The number of users of these platforms is increasing every day. One of these social networks is Twitter. It is a very popular social network and micro-blogging site that is involved in the lives of many users. Twitter, one of the most popular social media platforms in the world, is a site that is limited to a maximum of 280 characters and shares content called tweets. The tweets that users post on Twitter can be seen by everyone. However, users can also limit their tweets so that only their friends can see them. Previously, on social media, which could use up to 140 characters, this limit was doubled a few years ago. Thus, it is aimed to increase the number of users. However, despite this character increase, only 1% of users were able to reach this limit in their tweets, and 12% shared content exceeding 140 characters. When these ratios were examined, in general, users continued to share as before.

Twitter was founded in 2006 by three tech entrepreneurs, Even Williams, Biz Stone and Jack Dorsey, who worked for a San Francisco-based web company called Odea (Akar, 2010, p. 63; Arvas, 2016, p. 147). Twitter allows users to create their own profile, send short messages, share various links and materials, and track other people's posts is a microblogging service. Twitter can be followed through hashtags and it is quite remarkable that it is a platform where posts about the agenda can be announced. It is a platform that is widely used by individuals and institutions. Twitter is a social media platform on which different political groups, parties, fake accounts and politicians can create an agenda or freely comment on a topic on the agenda. Twitter is also an area where a corporate identity can be created and the public can be contacted through the profile created by political parties and politicians.

On Twitter, politicians can make statements about agenda topics and get instant feedback. In addition, when there is news about a government institution, political party or political figure, users are immediately aware of the situation due to the functioning of Twitter.

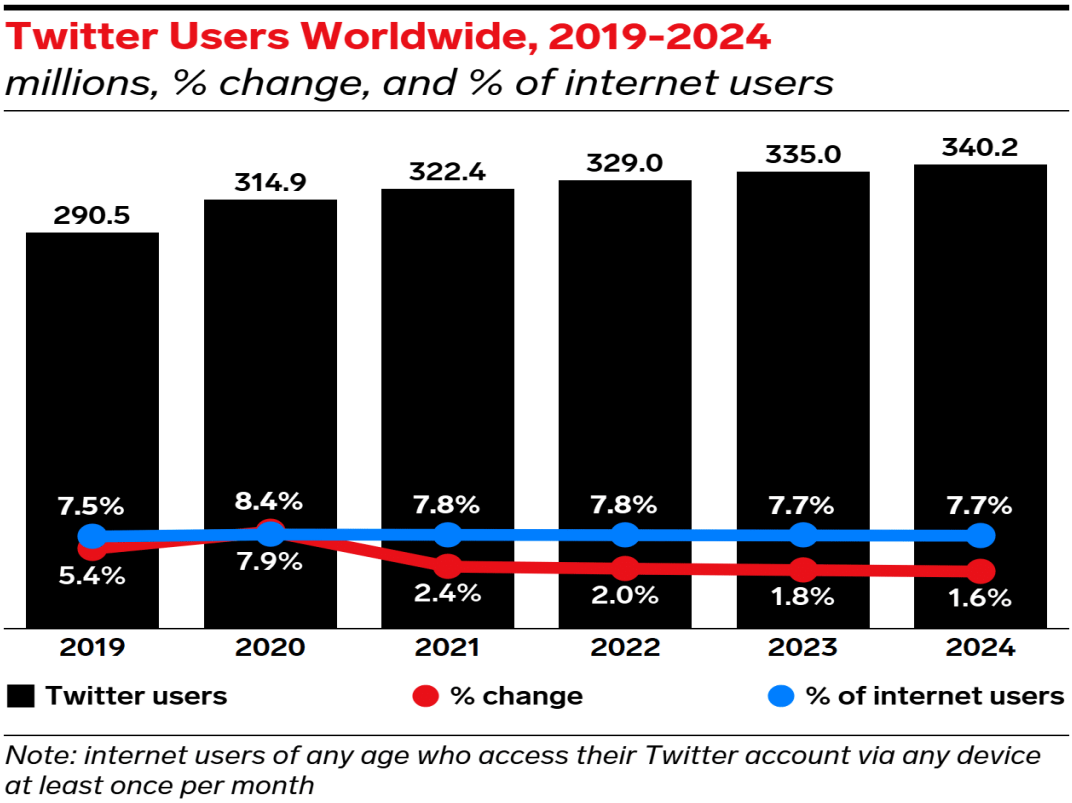

Figure 6. Twitter Users Worldwide (2019-2024)

Source: Emarketer, 2019.

According to Wikipedia, Twitter has 340 million active users as of 2020. An average of 98 thousand tweets is sent every minute in the media. Again, according to some researcs, giant brands with profiles on Twitter; It has been determined that 33% of Google, Twitter, YouTube followers and 44% of Facebook followers consist of fake or spam profiles. In addition, as can be seen in the chart of insiderintelligence.com above, although the number of Twitter users changes every year, it continues to be a very strong social media in terms of the number of users and interaction area and this situation increases the use of Twitter to create political interaction and perception management by media proprietors and political figures.

5. News and news channels on Twitter

The internet has also enabled newspapers to be translated and digitized at some points. Internet news sites have made it extremely easy for people to access the news at this point. These internet sites, which were founded by the most widely, read newspapers at first, eventually led to the emergence of the phenomenon of Internet Journalism with the establishment of different sites that focus only on news. The state of getting news and being informed, which started with the printed newspapers, accelerated with the use of television and reached wider masses compared to the newspapers. When television use is at its peak point, it has become easier for the masses to be aware of the fact that television is faster and receive instant news. In this case, the channels that tried to give the news at the last minute thanks to the live broadcasts wanted to be the first and the most watched by getting ahead of their competitors. The concept of television journalism was highly developed and increased in order to capture the news on television channels and present it live first-hand. The daily news given in “prime time” in the evening hours within the television channels has changed to hourly news over time and has been supported by live broadcasts. People have watched many social events and even wars that took place after the invention of television live on television. Similarly, Deuze (2001) states that the things that determine the characteristic structure of internet journalism are hypertextuality, multimedia structure and interaction. In order to address the privileges of the physical infrastructure of the new media environment and the

transforming structure of journalism with these differences, instant interaction, active users, hypertextuality, updatable content, low-cost structure and multimedia features are evaluated as distinctive features of the internet environment from the traditional journalism process. Media pluralism, which does not exist in traditional media, especially within the body of mainstream media organizations, is easily seen in the internet environment with its low-cost structure. With the breaking of the monopoly of traditional media organizations, the face of competition is changing. "In less than 10 years, platforms such as Google, Facebook and Twitter are competing with international news media such as the New York Times, the Guardian, and the BBC as news media" (Alejandro, 2010).

Subsequently, beyond the news broadcast on television channels, a new level has been reached in television journalism thanks to the newly established news channels that broadcast only news for 24 hours. With the launch of news channels with strong infrastructure such as CNN and BBC NEWS, the whole world has been informed of the agenda thanks to news channels full-time at the same time. People, who depended on television and newspapers for news in the period when the use of the internet was not developed had a difficult time creating a much faster and independent third news source. News portals have become very preferred as a result of providing convenience to users on many issues. At this point, the biggest advantages of news portals are rich news options. Along with the fact that social media channels have become such an indispensable level for daily life, political actors have also wanted to take advantage of the power of this field. Today, thanks to the power of social media today, Twitter is a very useful and effective medium for receiving news and influencing the masses. For the reasons mentioned above, the discourses of the Twitter news channels with the most followers in Turkey are discussed in this study. Today, news channels are highly followed in social media channels as in many other channels. According to Wikipedia, the news channels with the most followers on Twitter are CNN and BBC. Apart from this, many news institutions and organizations have accounts with a high number of followers on social media. In addition to these global mainstream news channels, local mainstream news channels of countries also have Twitter accounts on Twitter. As mentioned above, these channels are examined in this study in detail.

6. Effects of news channels on public perception

Still, television maintains its primary place in terms of reaching people's homes and informing and influencing them. Thanks to the televisions that exist in almost every home, people have the power to access the news 24 hours a day and interpret it by watching it. But contrary to all of these developments, the internet and social media are increasing their power against television every day. Social media, which is common among young people, especially in societies such as our country where the young population is high, creates a new medium at this point. The internet, which entered our lives after radio, television and newspapers, brought many innovations along with the known traditional means of communication. Twitter, which offers a great freedom of expression to the masses, has started a great flow with its developing positive and negative features also Twitter, which is an opportunity for people to exercise their right to expression individually in an individualized world, is increasing the number of its users every day clearly. In today's society, where information has been exposed more than ever throughout history, media providers who use information as raw materials have strengthened the influence of information in the relationship of individuals with each other and with society with the influence of new communication technologies.

The emergence and development of the internet in the last thirty years of the XX century is the result of a unique combination of military strategy, great cooperation of science, technological entrepreneurship and anti-culturalism innovation (Castells, 2013, p. 58). Information science, which emerged as a discipline in the 1950s, has begun to play a central role in modern society in terms of communicative knowledge. Although information and communication are extremely important for every human community in every period, modern society has begun to be called information society with the rise of information technologies and their global effects. Putting technological progress at the center of the social transformation that evolves into an information society, Marshall McLuhan argues that the advanced modern society will be shaped by advanced media technologies accordingly (McLuhan and Fiore, 2012, p. 8).

The effect of social media on the masses is an undeniable fact. With the development of news sources, the large amount of information that has emerged has a very high power to direct and manipulate people on any subject. Being aware of this power, social media organizations and political actors have also tried to use

Twitter effectively, which has the capacity to deliver countless instant information to people, in order to influence the masses and create a demand-oriented perception. Voters, political parties, political party leaders, non-governmental organizations and all political actors use Twitter effectively. Users who are aware that Twitter affects people negatively or positively use this situation according to their own wishes. This power of Twitter is not only due to the effectiveness of the leaders of political parties. Twitter has been a major communication organ in many political and social events. it is also observed that people organize using Twitter, especially when it comes to the movement of the masses. Especially news that are not published by mainstream media elements have been shared via Twitter to spread the information among the masses during the important events. In this context, Twitter has created a large alternative media in terms of effecting people's ideas and perception. With the new developments that have emerged with the internet technology, interactive content such as sound, motion, image, text and picture have become portable.

Thus, the opportunities and conveniences it provides in reaching and disseminating information, in short, in communication, have brought this new technology to us as an indispensable tool for the journalism sector and has made it widespread. While the 20th century was the age of newspapers and television, the information and news flow of the new century has evolved into a different area with the pace of digital technologies. The speed factor, one of the most important features of digital journalism, has brought some innovations to the news writing formats of journalists trying to adapt to new media platforms. Digital media organs are aware that they cannot survive without creating a new format other than traditional news formats. For this reason, with digital journalism, classical news writing formats have been moved out and short, concise and fast news in the form of pills has been presented to the reader. In the light of all this information about Twitter, journalism and social media, it would not be wrong to say that today's news channels are highly followed on social media as in many other channels.

According to Wikipedia, the news channels with the most followers on Twitter are CNN and BBC. Apart from this, many news institutions and organizations have accounts with a high number of followers on social media. In addition to these global mainstream news channels, local mainstream news channels of countries also have twitter accounts on Twitter. The way the news is presented, the choice of words and

the discourses used on the tweets of the mentioned Twitter accounts of these multi-follower news channels, can affect people's ideas and perceptions readily. It is inevitable that news sources with different views can influence their followers in line with their own views and according to a certain perception. Target shaped news can change people's thoughts and perceptions about an ongoing or happening event by these news channels. As in the whole world, Twitter is largely used in Turkey also to receive news and follow current events. Nowadays, it is emphasized that the way that case is perceived is a more important variable rather than the events themselves and the way they occur.

Studies on the subject indicate that not only the actual state of events, but also the destructiveness of the virtual effects created by their perception, their constructiveness is also very high. Public opinion can be shaped according to different directions thanks to the messages given with biased news. For this reason, it is also a well-known fact that people and institutions that manage public perception are more successful in all aspects and are able to maintain their careers and create the desired effect. Governments, official institutions, municipalities and other service agencies and institutions for their services in addition to providing impeccable service to do it properly, is very important as managing the perception of the public available for tasks and assignments. The impact of all political actors and news organizations on public perception is an undeniable fact. Another dimension of the advantage of the news channels on social media and especially on Twitter in terms of duration is the determination of the reactions to be received from the target audience. In terms of being a social sharing network, it can instantly reveal the target audience reaction in messages sent via tweets.

Thus, propagandists and news channels that want to change the public perception are either persistent in their propaganda or are able to make strategy changes according to the reactions of the target audience, and they can easily update their strategies. For this reason, all political actors and news channels use Twitter quite effectively for interaction. The most followed news channels in Turkey on Twitter (2022) are as follows:

- NTV 6.99 million
- CNNTurk 4.69 million
- Hurriyet 4.16 million

- Haber Turk 3.76 million
- BBC Turkce 2.79 million
- TRT Haber 2.46 million
- Milliyet 2.44 million
- Cumhuriyet 2.15 million
- Sabah 2.1 million
- Halk TV 1.9 million
- A Haber 1.8 million
- Oda TV 1.5 million

In this study, the discourses used in the presentation of news related to Russia and America by accounts with different opinions from the news channels listed above according to the number of followers are examined and it are analyzed whether these discourses affect the perception of Turkish foreign policy.

III. HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK: TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY ON RUSSIA AND THE USA (2015-2019)

A. Foreign Policy and Turkish Foreign Policy

Foreign policy, in general, refers to the attempts of governments to influence or manage events outside their borders, usually through their relations with foreign governments. At this point, foreign policy evaluates international political issues in terms of a state's goals, objectives and behaviors; examines the attitude of a state towards the international system or towards other states (Gonlubol, 2000). The concept of foreign policy consists of the strategies that a country or state uses to protect its international and local interests and determines how it will interact with other state and non-state actors. The primary goal of foreign policy is to defend the nonviolent or violent national interests of a country. The foreign policy encompasses the tactics and processes by which a nation interacts with other nations to further its own interests. Foreign policy can use diplomacy or more direct means, such as military force. According to Goldstein and Keoheane (1993, pp. 3-30), foreign policy is “the sum total of strategies that guide the behavior of governments in the international arena”. Foreign policy refers to the general tendencies and principles that guide the behavior of a state in its international relations. These tendencies and principles stem from the understanding of each society embedded in their lives and historical experiences, traditions, and ideals.

Foreign policies are also defined as the strategies that governments use to direct their actions in the international arena. In this framework, foreign policy describes the goals that state leaders decide to pursue in a particular relationship or situation (Neack, 2003). The basic principles on which the political figure is based in its external views can be distinguished. As such, it can be said that foreign policy is a thought, an ideological orientation. It is possible to find the understanding of political power as an orientation in foreign policy in the declarations published by a political party or by a political figure before it came to power. The determination and implementation of foreign policy is a very significant issue that needs to be handled

meticulously. Thus, the approach of foreign policymakers and political figures of states is excessively crucial. According to Derek Beach, foreign policy is both behavioral tendencies towards foreign countries and all activities carried out by a state or other collective actors towards the collective actors in the international system. Foreign policy actions can be carried out using a wide variety of means, from the adoption of declarations, the making of speeches, the negotiation of treaties, the granting of economic aid to other states, diplomatic activities through summits, and the use of military force.

Mentioning Turkish foreign policy, since this study will focus on the years 2015-2019, it would be more accurate to consider the concept historically. Thereupon, Turkish foreign policy is discussed in three separate periods as the Ataturk era, the post-Cold War era, and the post-2000s. It would not be appropriate to ignore the reflections of foreign policy and historical developments inherited from the Ottoman Empire while talking about Turkish foreign policy in the Ataturk period. After the First World War, the international environment points to a depressed period economically, socially and politically. The effects of the states and the interstate situation on the Turkish War of Independence and Turkish foreign policy are inevitable. At the end of the First World War, as the basis of the peace treaty to be made with the victorious states to determine the future of our nation and homeland, various opinions and proposals were put forward, in addition to the aim of establishing an absolutely sovereign Turkish State. The main goal of the National Struggle period in foreign policy was to introduce the new Turkish State in the international arena; this, in a sense, formed the principles of foreign policy during the founding period of the Republic of Turkey. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, founder of Turkish Republic, expressed peace, which is one of the basic principles of foreign policy, with saying “Peace at home, peace in the world”. This principle has been complied with in practice, and international disputes have been tried to be resolved peacefully in accordance with the rules of international law. Turkey’s foreign policy goals, objectives, principles and strategies have been shaped under many different historical, geostrategic and ideological factors. The lessons learnt from the foreign policy carried out during the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the extraordinary success of the diplomacy of the independence war, the philosophical stance and principles of the founding political elite during the founding years of the Republic,

ensured that Turkey was recognized as an equal sovereign state in the international arena and determined the basic foreign policy principles. These principles are *status quo* and Westernism.

The protection and implementation of the principles stated in the National Pact were effective in determining the Turkish foreign policy in the Ataturk period. In line with the realization of the goals of the National Pact, importance was given to developing agreements and dialogues against the Armenians in the east, the Greeks in the west, Russia in the north, and other minorities and European states. Having ended the war period with the Lausanne Peace Treaty, Turkey has also tried to settle its internal issues and to make the newly established order and the Republic of Turkey accepted in the international arena.

As for the second period in Turkish foreign policy, it would be appropriate to mention the Cold War period and its aftermath. With the end of the Cold War period, the world was forced to abandon the bipolar system as well. It has brought about a very big change in international politics. This change has also caused a profound political and economic change (Kirisci, 2001, p. 615). Turkey, which found itself in the Western bloc in a period of ideological polarization after the Second World War, also carried out policies in this direction. Turkey, which had to struggle with Russia in the north and Greece in the west, started to search for solutions. Soviet threat, Greek relations, USA and NATO relations strengthening, and the Cyprus problem are among the issues that make up Turkey's foreign policy during the Cold War (Gunduz, 1987, p. 52).

Turkey, which was in the category of developing countries during the Cold War, is in a better situation compared to developing countries because it received the greatest aid from the west. The period was marked by American aid, close relations with the West began to be established, and the importance of concepts such as human rights and democracy in the country increased (Gunduz, 1987, p. 53). The period between 1945-1960 is foreign-dependent. Looking at the Menderes period, it is seen that the Westernism policy, which is one of the cornerstones of Turkish foreign policy, was followed. The new situation that arose as a result of the subsequent dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the end of the socialist form of government in this country indicates a change in the international system in the form of a break. During the Cold War, Turkey’s situation was stable,

Turkey was an advanced outpost of the Western bloc, and it greatly benefited from the strategic importance it brought, although this importance was subject to fluctuations caused by technological and political influences.

In addition to the contradiction of the mentioned blocs, the conflict between the blocs has also occurred between the ideologies of capitalism, liberalism and communism, socialism. After the Second World War, this struggle consisted of a bipolar world headed by the United States and the USSR and the representation of two opposing ideologies of different poles. With the collapse of the USSR, the end of the Cold War caused liberalism to come to the fore. In addition to maintaining a Western-oriented policy from the point of view of Turkey, it has also taken part in various associations, especially the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC), to maintain its relations with the Islamic world. Thus, Turkey diversified its foreign policy and placed it on a multi-faceted axis without breaking its alliance ties with the West. In fact, although Turkey found a place in the western bloc during the Cold War, Turkey did best it to maintain its relations with the eastern bloc countries, especially the Soviet Union.

Western countries organized against the eastern bloc militarily by establishing NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organizaion) on April 4, 1949. The problem of institutional and legal participation in the political and security systems created in the West is taken back to the policy of adapting to the international system since the 19th century, and it is interpreted as taking NATO membership beyond the classical categories of “Soviet threat, “Westernization” and “ideological war”. After sending soldiers to the Korean War, Turkey also joined NATO in 1952 due to the need for a barrier against the Soviet Union and a military base in a possible war, as being a border state between the two blocs the strategic importance of Turkey increased in the eyes of the West. Thus, Turkey has displayed an attitude close to the West in terms of security and foreign policy. Turkey convinced that the only way to protect its independence and territorial integrity during the Second World War was not to enter the Second World War at all and it is managed to stay away from war by this prevision. Faced with Soviet demands on the straits and some eastern provinces after the war, Turkey turned to the west in order to protect its independence and wanted to protect itself against the Soviets. It has been tried to be in close relations with the West and to establish alliances on important issues. In this period, with the Truman

Doctrine, Marshall Aid and Turkey's participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Westernization trend reached its highest level also.

The most important factor affecting Turkish foreign policy in the 1960s was the Cyprus problem. In this process, Turkey could not get support from Western countries for the Cyprus issue. Being alone in foreign policy and not being able to find support, gave rise to the thoughts of making changes in foreign policies. Upon Turkey’s entry into NATO, many bilateral agreements were signed with the United States. The approach of the USA on the Cyprus problem and the Johnson Letter constituted a turning point in the Turkish-US relations, and Turkey sought to review the bilateral agreements. After the Cyprus operation, the USA’s arms embargo against Turkey created tensions in relations. Turkey's response to the loneliness faced by the Cyprus problem in the international arena has led to the implementation of a multi-faceted foreign policy understanding. The Western bloc in foreign policy obligations and the mainline without giving up on the one hand, chiefly Russia, with the eastern bloc, on the other hand, in general it is specially aimed to improve relations with the Islamic world in the third world. The Soviet occupation of Afghanistan since 1979, the coming to power of Khomeini in Iran and the Iran-Iraq war made the USA extremely sensitive about the region, including Turkey.

In this context, the USA stated that it sympathized with the military regime that came to power in Turkey on September 12, 1980 and tightened the relations. During this period, the “Defense and Economic Cooperation Agreement” was signed between the USA and Turkey. Turgut Özal, who came to power in 1983 with the transition to the multi-party period in Turkey, made the policy of relying on the USA striking by keeping “economic pragmatism” in the foreground. developments in Eastern Europe and the Balkans due to the change in the Soviet Union since 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 have led to fundamental changes in the international system. In the process of this change, the Socialist regimes in the eastern bloc collapsed rapidly, and important steps were taken towards democratization. To understand Turkey's foreign policy background in the 1990s and beyond, it is possible to look at the developments during the 1990-1991 Gulf Crisis. During the crisis that started with Iraq's invasion of Kuwait on August 2, 1990, the then President Turgut Ozal’s attitude, who wanted a policy against Iraq on the side of the United States, was also very influential on the government of the period. While trying to develop a

discourse based on nationalism in foreign policy, Ozal emphasized nationalism in his trips from the Balkans to Central Asia, emphasizing the importance of cooperation and solidarity to be developed on this axis (Duman, 2008). It can be said that following a foreign policy that prioritizes national interests, Turkey has always been rational, pragmatic, and has been trying to follow a balanced policy away from adventure while trying to determine foreign policy during this period.

During his period, relations with the countries of the Islamic world in many fields such as economic, political, military and security improved. Ozal tried to share his goals for the Middle East countries with all Islamic countries. In this period, Turkey faced several multifaceted and sometimes uncertain threats and new opportunities. The geography where Turkey is located has turned into a new area of conflict, and the Balkans and Caucasus regions have been added to the Middle East region, which has been identified with instability for a long time. Due to its location, Turkey had to deal with many different parameters. In later periods, Turkey's foreign policy has again progressed in both a multifaceted, conciliatory and crisis management direction. In the following periods, Turkey’s foreign policy has progressed in both a multifaceted, conciliatory and crisis management direction. Efforts have been made to combat the PKK terrorist organization, which has emerged as a matter of homeland security and to resolve rising tensions in the Middle East and the Balkans. Due to its geographical, political, economic and cultural multidimensional geopolitical position in the 2000s, Turkey has had the opportunity to become a strong country that will follow a region-centered, versatile foreign policy. Turkey has a large hinterland that can extend politically and economically to the Asia-Pacific region through the Balkans, the Caucasus and the Central-Asian strategic corridor. For this reason, Turkey has had to be in constant contact with Europe in the west, Russia, America, Israel in the east, the Middle Eastern countries that are its border neighbors, and the Far Eastern countries that are increasing in importance with developing technology. In 2000s with the early general election held on 3 November 2002 resulted in the election victory of the Justice and Development Party, thus the AK Party ruling period has begun and continude for a long time in Turkish political life as Gulec (2018 p. 154) stated below:

> “The actors that came to the fore at the level of leadership/decision maker in foreign policy making during the AK Party period were the then Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan, Abdullah Gul, who served as the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ali Babacan, and Ahmet Davutoglu, who served as the Chief Advisor, Foreign Ministry and Prime Minister. However, it can be said that while

> Erdogan represents the visible face of the foreign policy of the period in question, Ahmet Davutoglu determined the language of foreign policy to a large extent."

The appointment of Ahmet Davutoglu, a professor of International Relations, to the then Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Turkey's foreign policy during the AK Party period, made significant progress in the country's foreign policy. A zero-problem policy was followed with Ahmet Davutoglu, and in this way, an attempt was made to have a voice in the global arena. The AK Party government prefers a discourse based on consensus in both foreign policy and domestic policy. This policy of the AK Party, which is based on reconciliation, is seen to transform the country and overcome its legitimacy problems (Dagi, 2006, p. 30). Many issues that need to be dealt with during the AK Party era have been raised. For this reason, this period can be seen as a multidimensional transformation of the Turkish political system.

The country's change in these years has been multifaceted due to democratization in the context of relations with the European Union (EU), renewal in the context of relations with the IMF, changing Turkish-US relations after September 11, 2001, and the circumstances that have emerged since. In addition, the negative developments seen after the emergence of islamophobia in this period also affected the country due to its location and structure. In the face of changing regional and global realities, the government has seen that Turkey needs to re-establish its foreign policy priorities and create a new roadmap in line with its national interests.

During the AK Party government, it was realized that foreign policy needed to change. It was emphasized that Turkey should be a power center in the region due to its geopolitical position. It was thought that it was necessary to reorganize its relations with other countries as alternative, flexible and multi-axis, and steps were taken in this direction. Again, the ongoing terrorism problem in this process has greatly affected Turkish foreign policy and relations with other countries. The fight against the PKK terrorist organization, a terrorist organization based in the east of the country, has become a foreign policy issue, as well as a domestic security issue. The PKK issue, which extends to its border neighbors, has continued to be a problem over the years. The approaches and assistance of other countries to the PKK terrorist organization have influenced the steps and relations to be taken in foreign policy. The principle of "zero problems with neighbors", which is a foreign policy principle aimed at solving existing problems with neighboring countries, has also been one of

the goals of Turkey's foreign policy during the Davutoglu era. According to this principle, it is aimed to resolve the ongoing disputes with all neighboring countries through diplomacy and mutual communication.

After coming to power, the government, which pursued a reformist and pro-European foreign policy, strengthened relations with the European Union and took important steps in the field of democratization, as well as human rights, to speed up the process of admission to the union. Negotiations with the Union were raised to the highest level during this period also. After many mutual negotiations, relations were strained again when the European Union accepted Cyprus into the union as a one country. The inclusion of Cyprus as a single country disturbed the government in terms of trust in the European Union. From this point on, relations with the union were seriously disrupted and eventually came to a standstill. Subsequently, the conflicts between Israel and Palestine, the "One Minute" incident and the Gezi Flotilla *(Mavi Marmara)* raid caused tides in the foreign policy with Israel. It is obvious that Turkey is in a very complicated and challenging geography due to its geopolitical position. For this reason, the changes observed due to the Arab Spring under his nose and the Arab spring in other Arab countries, as well as the events in Egypt and Syria, have also affected Turkey's foreign policy moves. During this period, Turkey has supported governments that are at the forefront from time to time according to its interests as well as the other actors. Turkey has always been a bridge between East and West due to its geopolitical situation. Turkey is also a Middle Eastern, European, Asian, Mediterranean and Balkan country. For this reason, Turkey is a transit country between the countries and after the 2000s this situation requires Turkey to establish good relations with the EU, Russia, the USA and its all its close neighbors.

After July 15 failed military coup attempt, there were changes in Turkey's foreign policy movements, following the coup attampt, the extradition of Fettullah Gulen has became a crucial topic for Turkish foreign policy. During the events of July 15, the approaches of the United States and Gulen's position in the United States brought the relations to a tense point. In this process, the primary priority of foreign policy has been the extradition of Gulen from the USA and the fight against the activities of this community abroad. The coup attempt in 2016, Halkbank case, S-400 systems, Pastor Brunson issue and the extradition of Gulen caused fluctuations in

foreign policy between two countries. In this period, Turkey had to follow a multi-faceted foreign policy to find the balance in international area. Turkey has become a key country in its region in recent years. Following a policy that is both guiding and mediating during the developments in the Middle East, has moved Turkey to crucial place in the international arena. Due to the major developments and conflicts in the international arena in recent years, Turkish foreign policy has become very active, the decisions and the steps taken have become very important. The conflicts between Palestine and Israel, the oppression and persecution of the Turkish people in Rohingya by China, which has become the rising power of the world in many areas, and the global epidemic corona, which the world has been dealing with recently, have also become important topics for Turkish foreign policy. Recent developments between Turkey and the United States after Biden's election as president, as well as the Turkish-Russian relations, which have been moved to a different dimension with the Russian plane crisis, the assassination of the Russian ambassador, current energy agreements and negotiations for the purchasing of military equipments have also been significant issues for Turkish foreign policy. The developments in Turkish-Russian and Turkish-American relations between 2015-2019 are discussed in detail in the following sections of this study.

1. Turkish foreign policy on Russia

Due to their geopolitical positions, the contacts of Turks and Russians, two nations that have been related to each other for centuries, date back to the 13th century. The first relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Russia the Grand Duchy of Moscow began on December 31, 1492, when it sent a letter to Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II to inform him of the difficulties and mistakes faced by Russian merchants (Meram, 1969, p. 26). Although these two countries have historically been rival countries, they have also held talks as allies from time to time. It is obvious that Russia, which is a large Asian country, has an obligation to have close contact with the Turks due to its location. Turkey is the only gateway to the Mediterranean for Russia, as it is also a half-island and transit country. For this reason, the communication of these two countries goes back long before the official diplomatic relations written. For a long time, the Ottoman state had contact with the Russians through other principalities rather than a direct contact.

After the 1600s, when the Russians landed in the Black Sea, bilateral relations changed, and Russia began to be seen as a threat by Ottoman Empire. The Russians, who started to play an active role in the Black Sea and the Caucasus, also started to perceive the Turks as an obstacle for themselves. Russia's efforts to establish a dominance in the Bosphorus and the Caucasus, led to frictions and wars between the two countries. The confrontation between the Ottomans and Russia in the 1900s, that is, in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire and during the First World War, left its mark on bilateral relations. Afterwards, the conflicts that were shaped by the priority of the Russians to take control of the Black Sea area and spreading along the Turkish borders from the 18th century came to the fore in mutual relations. Russian-Turkish bilateral relations have been going on over mutual insecurities for a long time at the beginning of the 1900s and after. During the Bolshevik revolution, the Bolsheviks contacted the Ottoman Empire and sought support, and this situation led to the beginning of a new era for Turkish-Russian relations. Since the current political order in both states is mixed, the parties wanted to meet and communicate with each other. From the first days of the turmoil in Russia, the Bolsheviks became interested in the Ottoman Empire and attached importance to contacting them. First meeting with the Soviets on this issue was held in the Basin, and Husamettin Erturk (1996, p. 318) stated that such a meeting took place in the Basin, during which General Budienni said that he wanted to fight together against the Allied forces in exchange for weapons, ammunition and financial assistance from the Turks. Mustafa Kemal Ataturk also welcomed Russian aid, pointed out communism to the Russians in order to receive Russian aid, and said that they would establish an administration in Anatolia similar to the administration in Russia. However, as Mustafa Kemal Ataturk told Fevzi Cakmak, he only planned to pretend to accept communism until he got what we wanted from the Russians (Erturk, 1996, p. 319).

Again, in the 1920s and 30s, primarily the main goal of both states was to ensure territorial integrity, securing borders, and establishing a stable economic and political order, to be recognized internationally after all. These two states recognized each other politically by the Moscow Agreement of 1921. Bilateral relations, which remained relatively stable with the outbreak of the Second World War, became tense and deteriorated again in this period. The view of European countries on Russia as a major threat and Turkey's closeness to the western bloc to provide security against

Russia was not welcomed by Russia. In fact, the USSR has had a great influence in the international pressures for Turkey to join the war in these years. After Second World War, the Soviet demands in Turkey did not end. As a solution to this situation, Turkey decided to stay close to the Western bloc and sent troops to the Korean War and joined NATO to secure itself against the Soviet threat following. Turkey pursued a western foreign policy in these years due to the danger of the Soviets. With Turkey's NATO membership, the Soviet Union was seen as a communist threat for Turkey and hostility gained an ideological dimension. From this point on, the Soviets meant communism for Turkey, and seeing the Soviets as enemies brought Turkey closer to the United States and NATO, which adopted an anti-Soviet foreign policy, and led to the establishment of tight ties in terms of security. It was inevitable for these years that Turkey, which switched to a multi-party system, saw the Soviets as a threat to a pure communist regime.

With the victory of the Second World War, the Russians, who became even stronger, started to take a stronger stance. Turkey, which was exposed to military and economic sanctions after the Cyprus operation, saw this as an opportunity to get closer with the Soviet Union, and this request was not left unanswered by the Soviet Union. After mutual negotiations, various meetings were held between Turkey and the Soviet Union, which was left alone in the international arena due to the Cyprus issue, and the relations were brought to a higher level by signing the natural gas agreement in 1984. Since the 1980s, the economic relations between the two countries have moved to a deeper dimension. The approach of Gorbachev, the General Secretary of the USSR Communist Party in 1984, brought the Soviets into a new political period in the future. These approaches, which prepared the end of the Soviet Union, also put the country in trouble and indirectly caused it to progress economically with other countries and its close neighbor Turkey. The collapse of the Soviet Union meant the elimination of the historical threat for Turkey and the elimination of this great enemy, the emergence of a historical opportunity that would allow the re-establishment of relations with the Turkish geography, which had been ignored for years. However, Turkey's close contacts with other Turkish states disturbed Russia. The 90s passed with bilateral relations that developed in the axis of political problems rather than economic issues for the two countries.

During the period when the AK Party government came to power, concepts such as being proactive and wanting to take risks, trying to solve mutual problems, and having active relations with neighboring countries stand out in the foreign policy approach (Kirişçi, 2006, p. 49). In the 2000s, a new page was opened in Turkish-Russian relations with the coming to power of the Justice and Development Party (AK Party) under the leadership of Recep Tayyip Erdogan in Turkey and Vladimir Putin in Russia. The 2000s are considered to be a very important period for both countries in terms of being the scene of radical changes. Adopting the concept of "zero problems with neighbours" in foreign policy, the new AK Party government has sought to get closer to Russia, and relations have been strengthened for both countries thanks to the bilateral agreements signed and the ongoing talks. Since the neighbors are given great importance in the foreign policy of both countries, the mutual visits of the high-level names of the countries have increased. High-Level Cooperation Council (HLCC) was established between the Republic of Turkey and the Russian Federation, and the political progress was reflected in other fields. Furthermore, the visas between the two countries were mutually lifted, the trade volume increased, and new projects were signed in the field of energy in these years. Turkey-Russia relations were maintained in mutual understanding and cooperation during this period. The Arab Spring, which started in 2011 and caused a great chaos in the region, spread to Tunisia, Egypt, Libya and finally Syria, respectively.

During the Arab Spring events, Turkey and Russia, which did not come face to face at first, supported different parties as the events spread to Syria. While Turkey stood against the current Assad regime, Russia sided with the Assad regime, which is its ally in the region. This situation has caused serious tensions from time to time between the two countries, which have been in economic cooperation for many years. Russia's direct intervention in the Syrian events in September 2014 drew the reaction of both Turkey and the West. In addition, the Chechnya issue, regional problems with the Turkish States and Russia's Kurdish policies have also caused changes in the political relations of the two countries. Therefore, Turkish foreign policy has been designed considering the changing conditions and Russia's moves. 2015 has been critical year for Turkish-Russian relations. Despite the developments in Syria, relations, which are still positive at a certain level, have been reversed following the plane crisis in November 2015. In November 2015, a Russian aircraft

violated the Turkish border during patrol flights on the Turkish border and continued this violation despite warnings. Subsequently, in accordance with the rules of international engagement, the Turkish F-16 aircraft shot down the Russian aircraft in question. After the incident, along with the harsh statements made by Russia, Turkish-Russian relations entered a crisis that lasted 8 months. Both countries have suffered greatly economically from this situation. The first step to correct and normalize relations came from Turkey. Binali Yıldırım, the then Prime Minister of the government of the time, started by making some fundamental changes in Turkey's foreign policy line, especially on Russia, Israel and Syria, within the framework of the discourse of "increasing his friends and reducing his enemies" (Milliyet, 2016). On June 27, 2016, the first result of the deceleration process between the two countries was taken, in a letter to Putin, President Erdogan claimed responsibility for the incident and informed that compensation would be paid to the family of the Russian pilot who lost his life and this approach helped to normalize the ungoing crisis. To ensure its own security in Syria, which is Turkey's longest border neighbor, joint efforts have also been made with Russia from time to time and acted together in cross-border operations. Thanks to these cross-border operations carried out in Syria, Turkey and Russia have become closer militarily and strategically, while there have been fluctuations in relations with other European countries and America. Also, Russia was one of the first states to condemn the July 15 coup attempt, and the first official contacts were made with Russia after the attempted coup. It would not be wrong to see this support from Russia as a response to the first step taken by Turkey in order to soften the relations between the two countries after the plane crisis. Despite many mutual political crises, including the assassination of the Russian ambassador in recent years, Turkey and Russia did not cut their relations, and even in the corona virus epidemic that swept the world in 2020, the leaders of the two countries held face-to-face meetings 3 times. The S-400 defense systems, which have recently been negotiated to be purchased from Russia, can be considered as an indicator of the continuation of strategic and military action in bilateral relations. During the tensions in Russia-Ukraine relations, which have been escalating recently, Turkey expressed its desire to act as a mediator and pursued a peaceful diplomacy by calling for common sense to the parties. In addition, military cooperation issues within the framework of the ongoing TurkStream natural gas pipeline, Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant and Russian air defense system S-400

purchase are other common issues that occupy the agenda of both sides. These two countries, which have been in contact in different ways throughout history, are currently in close relations, maintaining mutual communication at the current stage.

2. Turkish foreign policy on the USA

It can be said that Turkish-American relations began in the 1800s with the arrival of the first US warship named “George Washington” in Istanbul. In those years when the USA gained its independence, US businessman David Offley was appointed as the first Ottoman State consul of the USA in 1824 and started his duty (Armaoglu, 1991, p. 1). The powerful Ottoman Empire, which dominated a wide geography around the world, including Europe for centuries, was weakened by its defeats and lost lands towards the end of the 17th century. For this reason, the Ottoman Empire, which lost confidence in Europe, found it logical to seek different allies outside Europe commercially and militarily. In this process, the newly established American state was also of great interest to the Ottoman Empire commercially. It can be said that this is the main reason why the first contacts between the two were through trade and sea routes. The “Trade and Navigation Agreement” signed in 1830 drew the framework of these commercial and legal relations. With this agreement, commercial privileges were granted to American traders, and the parties were given the opportunity to open mutual embassies and consulates in each other's countries (Erhan, 2004, p. 140).

The United States, which declared its independence in 1783, soon established its own unique structure. One of the first areas of commercial activity of the United States, which prioritizes commercial activities in order to gain strength internationally, has been the Mediterranean region and Ottoman Empire also. Since the Republic of Turkey needed to recover economically and commercially quickly after the war of independence, the importance of maintaining good relations with America was a well-known fact. In this direction, the newly established Republic of Turkey preferred to pursue a foreign policy close to America and passed the Chester Incentives through parliament in 1923 to get the support of the United States in the Lausanne Treaty and to improve relations. Turkey is a strategic country between America and Russia, which are two opposing polar countries with completely different ideological structures, and Turkish American relations continued this axis in this process. America, which does not welcome Russia’s spread in the region and

considers Russia a threat, also considered Turkey a buffer country against Russia. The communist ideology espoused by Russia was seen by Turkey and America as a common global threat, and it kept the two countries close after the Second World War. Later on**,** on February 23, 1945, Turkey declared war on Germany and Japan, which was losing the war, in order to become a member of the United Nations (Deringil, 2010, p. 258). Not wanting to keep allies in foreign policy until the 1940s, the United States conceived that this policy needed to be changed and the USA sought allies against Russia, which pursued an expansionist policy in its territory. In this context, in 1946, U.S. President Truman wrote in a note for Foreign Minister Byrnes that "I no longer doubt that the Soviet Union wanted to invade Turkey and seize the Straits" (Sirmen, 1998). Also the fact that the funeral of the Turkish ambassador Munir Ertegun, who was killed by Armenians in Washington on April 5, 1946, was brought to Istanbul by the Missouri warship can be considered as a sign of the change in American foreign policy. The Truman Doctrine, published on March 12, 1947, showed the world that the international policy of the United States of America had changed and that the struggle with the Soviets and communist ideology was very important in this new policy. With the Truman Doctrine, 100 million dollars aid was given to Turkey in order to prevent the expansionism of the USSR and communism. Afterwards, the cooperation between Turkey and the USA, which sent soldiers to the Korean War, continued in the military field as well. Turkey has shown that it follows a pro-American and NATO foreign policy.

Table 1. The Marshall Plan Aids in Total (000 $)

Country	Total	%	Grant	%
Total	**12,992.50**	**100**	**9,290.20**	**100**
England	3,165.80	24.4	1,956.90	21
France	2,629.80	20.2	2,212.10	23.8
Italy	1,434.60	11	1,174.40	12.6
West Germany	1,317.30	10.1	1,078.70	11.6
Holland	1,078.70	8.3	796.40	8.6
Austria	653.80	5	556.10	6
Greece	628.00	4.8	34.40	5.5
Belgium	546.60	4.2	217.30	0.3
Denmark	266.40	2.1	196.00	2.3
Norway	241.90	1.9	62.40	2.1
Turkey	184.50	1.4	18,00	0.7
Ireland	146.20	1.1	.	0.2
Sweden	107.10	0.8	-5.50	_
Portugal	50.50	0.4	15.90	0.1
Spain	26.80	0.2	_	0.2

Source: Ozer, 2014.

Subsequently, continued Marshall aids placed these two countries in the position of allies for a long time. The Truman Doctrine marked the next 40 years of US diplomacy, and also signaled that the US would assume the global leadership of the post-war era (Stein, 2003, p. 28). The US support that received for many years, has created an economic and military pressures on Turkey occasionally. The Turkish economy, which was not in a very good condition in the 1970s, continued to stay close to the United States thanks to the aid it received, but this situation changed during the Cyprus problem and operation. With the emergence of the Cyprus problem and the Cyprus embargo imposed against Turkey in 1975 made it clear the disadvantages of dependence on the United States militarily and economically (Turan and Dilek, 1998, p. 649).

HALKIN GÖZÜ
HALKIN KULAĞI
HALKIN DİLİ

Son Posta

CUMARTESİ 3 MAYIS 1947

Dost Amerikan filosu hararetle karşılandı

Amiral Biery'nin "Son Posta,, ya beyanatı

Samimî bir dostluğun nişanesi olarak sahillerinizi selâmlarız

Amiral Amerikan denizcilerine dedi ki:

Unutmayın ki sizler dostluk elçilerisiniz

Bugün misafirler şerefine bir suvare verilecek

Figure 7. Marshall Aid, Son Posta Newspaper, 1947

Source: Karatay, 2020.

In 1963, the Greeks took action to get the Turks out of Cyprus and to realize their dreams of ENOSIS and to become the sole ruler of the island and started to attack the Turks living on the island. Many Turkish villages have been subjected to Greek attacks and deaths have occurred. Nearly 40,000 Turkish troops were subsequently deployed to the north of the island, but this was not welcomed by the United States and the United Nations and was considered an invasion. In February

1975, the United States announced that it had imposed an arms embargo on Turkey. This embargo exposed the danger of Turkey's dependence on defense and military areas and led to the establishment of ASELSAN. At this point, Despite the assistance received, Turkey saw that it could suddenly be alone in the field of foreign policy when it was not done and understood that it should pursue a multifaceted foreign policy in its own interests. The fundamental changes that have occurred in the international system since the mid-1980s have led to a re-evaluation of the foreign policies of the states in Europe, and Turkey, which is neighboring or included in this region, could not be expected to remain outside of this re-evaluation (Sandler, 1998, p. 607). By the 1990s, with the end of the Cold War, American foreign policy began to change also. Until the end of the Cold War, the countries that acted in line with the common interests against the USSR and communism, but soon, these countries decided to determine new principles due to the disappearance of the communism threat and the changing global order. The United States and Turkey, which have moved away from each other by the conflict of national interests, have remained allies nonetheless. Until the 2000s, the relations between the two countries had occasional problems with the Armenian genocide issue and the fight against the PKK, but Turgut Ozal, who was prime minister of Turkey at the time, was also in favor of keeping relations warm economically and politically with America. Prime Minister and President Turgut Ozal during the Gulf War followed a policy of solidarity with US President George Bush because it was explicit that new America wanted to assume a global leadership role with the gulf war and subsequent movements during that time. Additionally, with its new foreign policy understanding, the United States emphasized concepts such as world peace, human rights and democracy, and saw it as its right to help and even intervene in countries that it thought were lacking in these concepts. For this reason, Turkey has again taken the path of maintaining good relations with America during this period.

In 2000s, the September 11 attacks became a turning point for American politics. The USA, which is the world leader after the Cold War, was seriously injured in terms of security and military with the September 11 attacks. The USA, which has exhibited its military power in different parts of the world for years, has taken a big blow in its own center with these attacks. This attack also reinforced the impression that the post-Cold War US conception of maintaining its irresistible

military, economic and political dominance as a grand strategy and the costs paid for it were not very effective in the face of terrorist attacks (Shwarts and Layne, 2002, p. 22). While seeing Communism as a threat before and during the Cold War, America started to see Islam and the Middle East as a target after the September 11 attacks. After the September 11 attacks, there was a serious change of focus on American foreign policy, and security issues, terrorism, and military issues became important. In accordance with its new foreign policy, America has preemptively intervened in other countries that it considers a threat to its own security and conducted military operations in this direction in the Middle East and Afghanistan. In the process, Turkey has tried to stand with America, as have other NATO countries, in the fight against terrorism. In 2003, the United States wanted to use Turkish territory as part of its plan to invade Iraq, but this request was turned down by the Parliament's refusal. The rejection of the rosary by the parliament caused cooling in relations and weakened the US force in the territory. In this process, NATO included the common defense obligations specified in Article 5 of the fight against terrorism, and Turkey, which has been fighting terrorism for years, welcomed the fact that the fight against terrorism has been made a NATO duty.

In the following periods, Turkish-American relations have changed with the acceleration of foreign policy during the AK Party period. The approach of the United States to the incident in the July 15 coup attempt and the Fethullah Gulen issue caused the deterioration of relations, the issue greatly disturbed Turkey and revealed the problems of mutual trust in bilateral relations. Again, due to USA's Middle East and Syria policies, the two countries have had to face off from time to time. In addition to tensions and short-term crises, America's relations with Turkey, which are quite intertwined with the Syrian issue and the Kurdish issue, have continued as allies at a certain level. The new process that started in the Middle East and North Africa with the Arab Spring changed the Turkish-American relations and brought issues that were not discussed before to the agenda. In addition, the American approach to the Israeli Palestinian issue caused problems between the two countries, and Israel's raid on the Gezi Flotilla *(Mavi Marmara)* sailing in open waters on May 31, 2010, killing 9 people, was greatly reacted to by Turkey. Turkish American relations, which have deteriorated in recent years, have also experienced crises during the Trump era. In particular, the economic sanctions imposed by

America on Turkey and America's support for regional terrorist organizations have damaged relations. The Pastor Brunson Crisis, the tensions in the process of abandoning the delivery of F35 aircraft and the subsequent purchase of the S-400 systems from Russia, The Countering America's Adversaries Through Sanctions Act (CAATSA) sanctions introduced by the Trump administration and their economic consequences have put a lot of pressure on Turkey, and Turkey has suffered a lot from these moves. All these tensions have had a bad effect on relations. These events have also affected the attitude of the Turkish public towards America.

IV. ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON THE PERCEPTION CHANGE ON RUSSIA AND THE USA IN TURKEY WITH DISCOURSE ANALYSIS TECHNIQUE: CASE STUDY OF MAINSTREAM NEWS CHANNELS IN TWITTER (2015-2019)

A. Turkish Public Perception on Russia and the USA

1. Kadir Has University Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy Survey

In this thesis, the effect of news channels on Twitter on the change in the perception of Russia and America in Turkey is discussed. In order to observe the changes in the perception of Russia and America in question, the study called Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy, which is regulary made every year by Kadir Has University, is used. In this study, the annual change in Turkish foreign policy and current foreign policy issues can be observed. This survey was started by Kadir Has University in 2012 and renewed annually with 1000 participants across 26 provinces. In this study, the information of the Kadir Has University's survey conducted between 2015 and 2019 are used to observe the perception changes in foreign policy. The aim of Khas University Survey is to reveal his view of Turkish foreign policy in Turkey and to determine their approach on foreign policy issues.

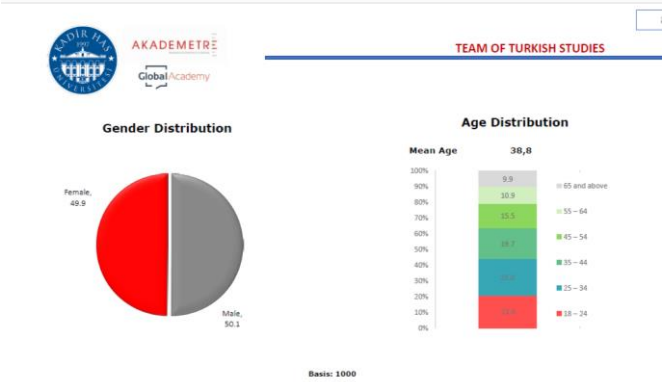

Figure 8. Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy, gender-age distribution

Source: Aydın et al., 2019.

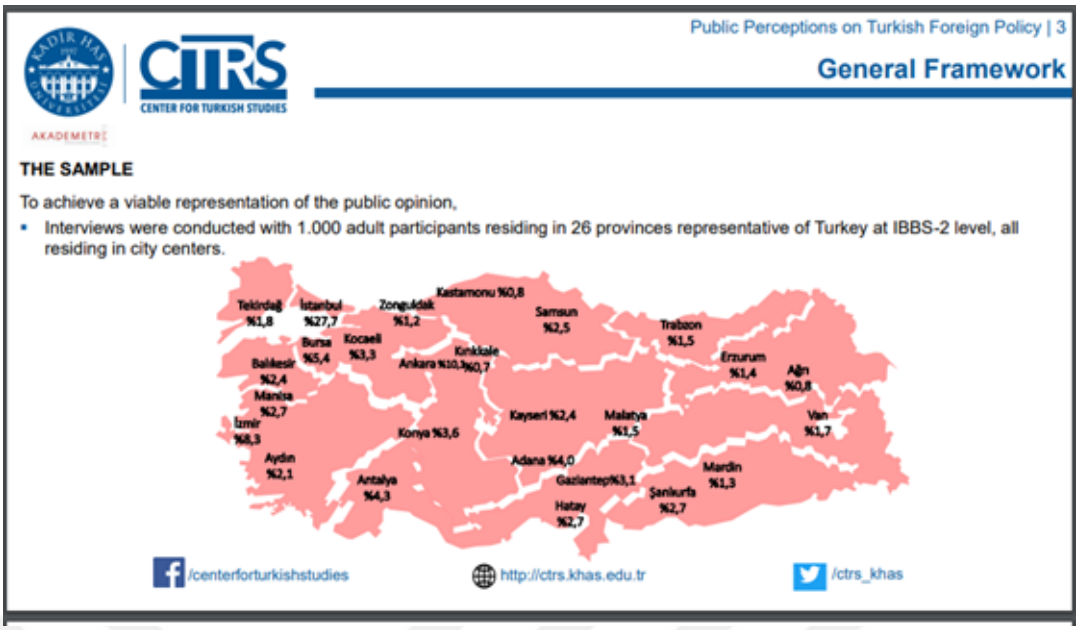

Figure 9. Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy, Demographics, 2019

Source: Aydın et al., 2019.

Figure 10. Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy, Source for News

Source: Aydın et al., 2019.

a. Turkish public perception on Russia

Russia and Turkey have been states that have had to establish close relations with each other due to their geopolitical positions throughout history. These two countries have been friends occasionaly, and from time to time they have been at odds due to developing global events and conflicts of interest and have experienced political crises. The fact that Russia is a land state that is not connected to the seas has made Russia dependent on Turkey in some respects.

Tsarist Russia and Bolshevik Russia's desire to cross Turkey and land in the Mediterranean for the state to grow politically and economically has caused Turkey to be seen as an obstacle and a risk for Russia. However, despite this view, close contacts were held during the establishment of both countries and mutual perceptions began to change. Due to their position, the perception of these two nations towards each other, which is in constant contact, has also changed in the national interest. Looking at Turkey's perception about Russia between 2015-2019, it can be argued that the public perception has changed and shaped according to the different events that occurred every year. It is obvious that withdrawals and political crises between states can have a strong impact on the citizens of these countries. The good or bad effects that these countries have left on each other are also a reflection of soft power. The positive image of a nation arising from abstract concepts within the framework of culture and enlightenment in world politics and the effect of this image on other nations is called soft power (Nye, 2005, p. 12). For many years, the perception of Russia in Turkey has been shaped by the threatening attitudes of Russia during the Cold War and the ideologies of communism. Subsequently, there were improvements again with the accelerated relations between Putin's Russia and the AK Party government, but this improvement was not always positively reflected in the perception of Turkish foreign policy. The differentiation of public perception towards Rusia yearly can be seen clearly, if one looks at the answers to the following question that asked in the "Public Perceptions on Turkish Foreign Policy 2019" survey by Kadir Has University. By looking at the answer to the question below that "What is the most important issue for current Turkish Foreign Policy?"

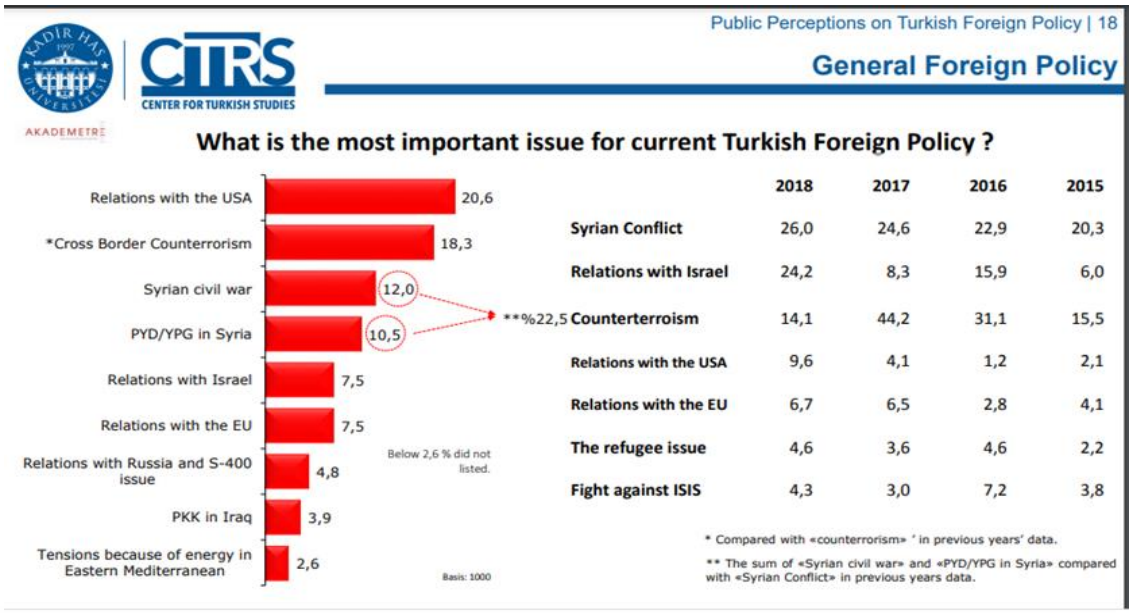

Figure 11. The Most Important Issue for Current Turkish Foreign Policy (2015-2018)
Source: Aydın et al., 2019.

It it discernible that Russia is being an important issue for Turkish foreign policy for the first time from the beginning of the Khas University Survey, year 2015. 4,8 % of the participants of the survey specify that "relations with Russia and S-400 issue is a substantial issue comparing the privious years. Apparently, there is no expression of being an issue about Russia before 2019 in the survey in previous years.

Looking at the second question about Russia, which is; "How do you define Turkey-Russia relations?" In 2019, 26 % of the participants gives the answer that "There is a strategic coorperation". In 2018's survey this rate is 46.5, while 28.4 in 2017. The rate is dropping dramatticaly in 2016 to from 34.1 (2015) to 12.9 also. Appereantly, the percertange of the people who thinks there is a strategic corporation between Russia and Turkey, changes yearly, especially in 2016.

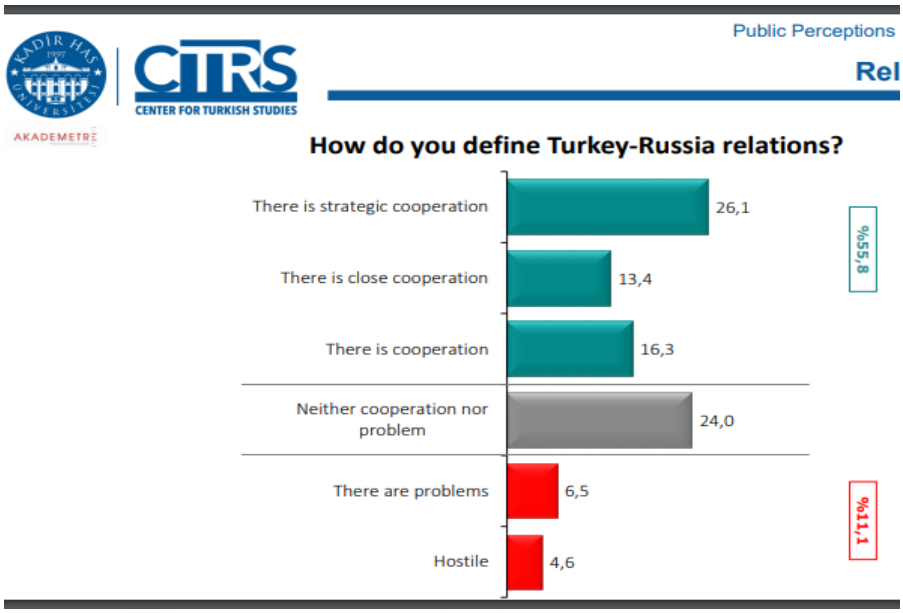

Figure 12. Turkey-Russia Relations, 2019

Source: Aydın et al., 2019.

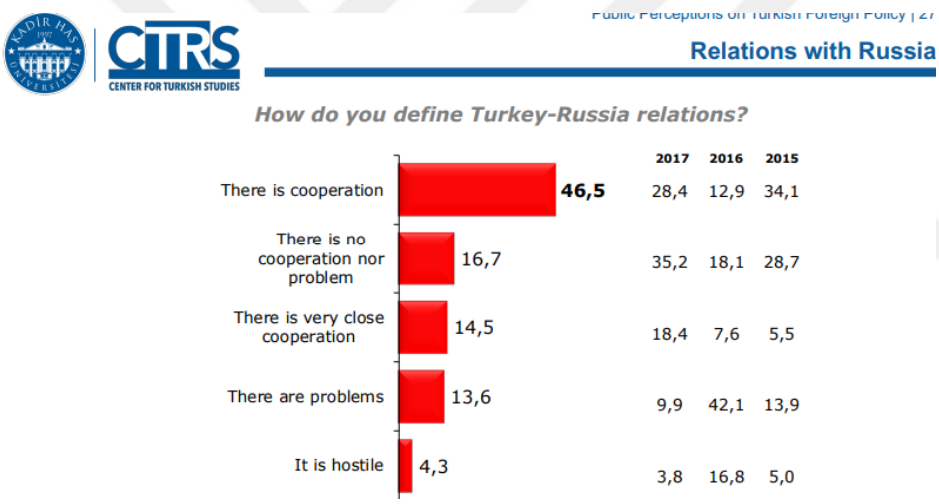

Figure 13. Turkey-Russia Relations, 2018

Source: Aydın et al., 2019.

Also, the percentage of people expressing that the relations are hostile varies over the years again. In 2015 5% of the participants, in 2016 16,8, in 2017 3,8 and in 2019 the percentage is rising to 4,6 again. Considering the data of the survey in recent years, it can be said that the perception of Russia in Turkey experienced a serious decline in 2016. This decline recovered in 2017 and 2018 but continued again in 2019.

b. Turkish public perception on the USA

The relations of Turkey and America, which cannot have any land or sea connection to each other as a geopolitical position, date back to the Ottoman era. At

first, Ottoman relations with the newly established United States were indirect and at the commercial level by sea. The course of relations later changed after mutual negotiations and contacts, both countries became allies despite the political crises that occurred. At the end of the Second World War, “Seyru Sefain” and other trade agreements between the two countries were renewed and subsequently in 1941 relations between the two countries began to take on a different dimension with the US providing arms to Turkey in accordance with the “Lending and Leasing Act” (Erhan, 2004, p.141). The relations went well thanks to the counter bloc formed against Russia during the Cold War, but the relations also changed with the changing American foreign policy after the Cold War. America has been an ally for Turkey for many years, providing arms and financial aid to Turkey. After the 2000s and recently, Turkish-American relations have declined due to many international developments and political crises. For all these reasons, the perception of America in Turkey has undergone serious changes in recent years.

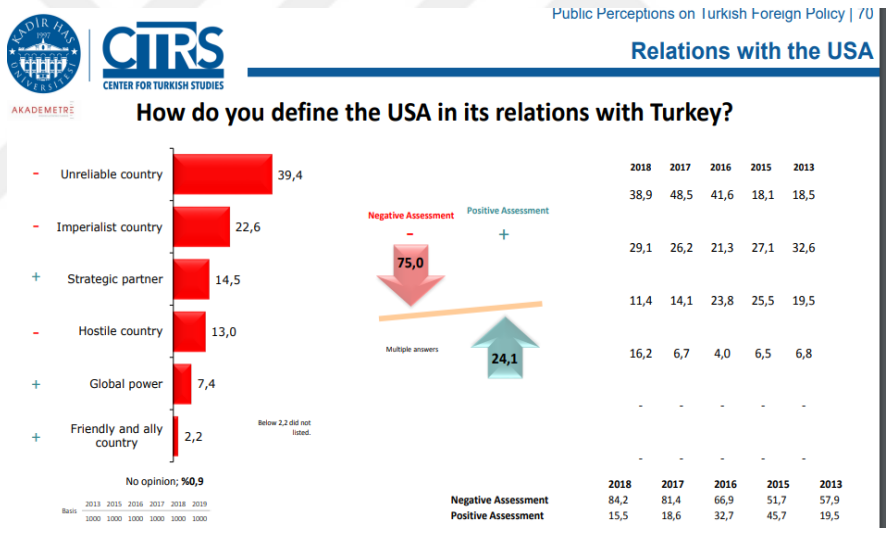

Figure 14. USA-Turkey Relations, 2019

Source: Aydın et al., 2019.

According to the 2019’s survey results, in 2019 %39.4 of the participants evaluate America as an unreliable country. This amount is %38.9 in 2018, %48.5 in 2007 and %18.1 in 2015. Also %13.1 of the participants says that USA is a hostile county for Turkey. Again, the numbers are changing as %16.2 in 2018, %6.7 in 2017, %4 in 2016 and %6.5 in 2015. A significant decline can be observed in 2017 in Turkey’s public pereption on USA clearly.

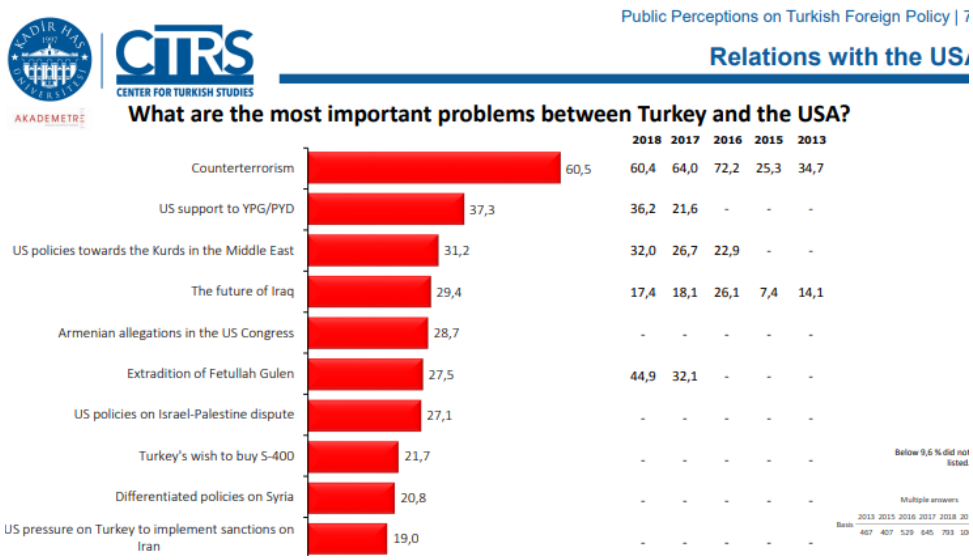

Figure 15. The Most Important Problems Between Turkey and the USA, 2019

Source: Aydın et al., 2019.

Another question takes places in the survey that "What are the most important problems between Turkey and Usa?" The 60.5% participants state that the most important problem between Turkey and USA is counterterrorism. This ratio varies in privious years, in 2018 the rate is 60.8%, in 2017 64.0%, in 2016 72.2% and in 2015 it is 25.3%. In addition, it is seen in the research that new issues that were not on the agenda before, came to the fore and new problems emerged between the two countries in 2019 like Armenian allegrations, US policies on Israil and Palastine, S-400 issue and differenciated policies on Syria. While the importance of the extradition of Fethullah Gulen decreased in 2019, the issue of American support to the YPG/PYD gained importance and the rate increased compared to 2018 up to 37.3%.

B. Tweets of Mainstream News Channels about Russia and the USA

The fact that the internet and social media platforms are rapidly entering our lives and reaching a high number of users in a short time has also greatly influenced the concepts of receiving news and making news. Realizing the power of Twitter, which is also very popular in Turkey, news channels have also kept up with the new media flow thanks to the current and instant news feed by sharing news via Twitter. In this section, the shares by the accounts of the mainstream news channels on Twitter in Turkey are discussed. These accounts are selected based on the number of followers. By examining the discourses of the news in micro level according to Dijk discourse anaysis sheme, made by these accounts about certain events, is observed

whether these tweets and the discourse of these tweets affect the changes in the perception of Turkish foreign policy. Since all the tweets does not have images in itselves, the images of the relevant tweets are not included in the scope of discourse analysis. The channels to be covered are; NTV, CNN Turk, Hurriyet Daily, Haber Turk, BBC Turkce, TRT News, Milliyet, Cumhuriyet, Sabah, Halk TV, A Haber, Oda TV channels.

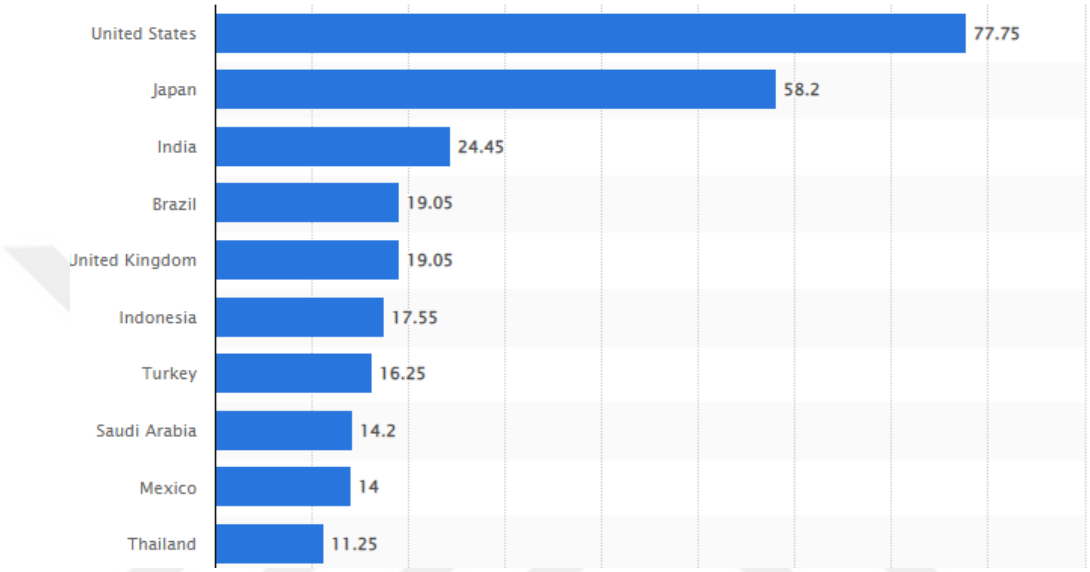

Figure 16. Leading Countries Based on Number of Twitter Users (October 2021)

Source: Statista, 2022.

1. Tweets about Russia

In this section of the study, the news and the discourse of threse news about the critical events and political crisis about Russia are examined from the news channel's twitter accounts. The first news topic to be discussed the assassination of the Russian ambassador Karlov in 2016. The assassination caused a shock effect in Russia and Turkey and affected public opinion.

Figure 17. NTV's Tweet about Karlov Assasination, 2016

Source: NTV, 2016.

After the assassination of Karlov, the Twitter news account NTV, which has the most followers in Turkey, announced Putin's statements with the phrase "This is a provocation for good relations between Turkey and Russia". The news continues with the following statements: "Russian President Vladimir Putin said that the attack that killed Ambassador Andrey Karlov was a 'provocation' to disrupt the good relations established with Turkey and the solution in Syria" (NTV, 2016). The structure of the sentence is very short and simple. Also looking at the rhetoric of the tweet in micro level and the syntctic structure, on the news following, the expressions "good relations" and "provocation" are emphasized. As it can be seen, negative statements were avoided in NTV's Twitter news abour the topic. Furthermore, the strong relationship between Turkey and Russia is highlighted with the word "good relations" with the word "provacation" it can be argued that the responsible of the mentioned event is not Turkey or Russia. The following tweet are from CNN Turk about the same issue. It can be seen that; negative expressions were avoided in tweet by CNN Turk about the subject. President Erdogan's sentence "We will never allow our relations with Russia to be deteriorated or damaged" was used in the tweet. Again, attention was drawn to the preservation of relations with Russia,

and then negative expressions were avoided in the text of the news subjected Turkey as “we” in tweet (CNN Turk, 2016).

Figure 18. CNN Turk’s Tweet about Karlov’s Assasination

Source: CNN Turk, 2016.

Examining the tweets form “Oda TV” dated 19 December 2016, as seen in the tweets, the discourse of Oda TV differs in terms of the discourse of NTV and CNN TURK accounts and the presentation of the news. In tweets from Oda TV, same issue announced with different discourses in a more negative and sharp way. In the first tweet, Oda TV (2016) announced the issue with the sentence of “Russian Ambassador to Ankara Andrey Gennadievich Karlov was killed in an armed attack”. In another tweet about the case, again Oda TV uses the following statement: “Russia: “We have questions for the Turkish side that cannot provide security”. In the both tweets the negative discourse can be noticible with use usage of the words like “killed”, “questions” and “cannot provide security”. With the word “questions”, it can be argued that there is a big trust issue between countries a Turkey is not capable of maintaining the security because “a police man” commit the crime as it highlighted in the tweet.

Figure 19. Oda TV's Tweet about Karlov's Assasination

Source: Oda TV, 2016.

Figure 20. Oda TV's Tweet about the Reaction of Russia on Karlov's Assasination

Source: Oda TV, 2016.

Subsequently, another important issue for Russia-Turkey relations is examined via "Cumhuriyet" and "Hurriyet" based on the Russian plane shot down over Syrian border. Inıtially, the two tweets published by" Cumhuriyet" is investigated. The terms like "crucial event" and "retribution" are negative statements, and "Cumhuriyet" has taken the path of announcing the event with these statements on Twitter. It can be seen that the subjectot the tweet is Kremlin Palace rather than the Russian plane, by using "Kremlin Palace" as the subject, the reader's attention is drawn to the Kremlin Palace's reaction dirctly. With the word "crucial", the reader's attention is drawn to the importance of the event and the possible upcoming reactions of the Russia. With the word "retribution", it is inticated that there is a reason behin this reaction of Russia.

Figure 21. Cumhuriyet's tweets about the Russian Plane Crisis, November 2015

Source: Cumhuriyet 2015.

Figure 22. Hurriyet's Tweets about Russian Plane Crisis

Source: Hurriyet, 2015.

In Hurriyet's tweets about the Russian Plane Crisis, it can be seen that the statements are used in a positive way with a very short and simple sentence. The sentence "Green light for first contact from Lavrov" was used in Hürriyet's tweet. "Green light" indicates the chance of recovery between two countries. Also in the second tweet, the offer from the Nazarbayev given with the sentence "Important call from Nazarbayev to two countries in the plane crisis between Russia and Turkey". In both tweets, information was given about the steps taken to end the crisis and reduce the tension and a constructive discourse was used with positive words like " call" and "green ligt. In addition to the tweets, NTV's tweet about the Russian plane issue is remarkable. The tweet presented as "Russian President Putin: The assassination will not damage relations with Turkey." In addition, in the continuation of the same news,

information was provided about the fact that President Putin's opinion on the incident has changed, giving a positive perspective on the incident (NTV, 2016).

> Putin: "I started to change my mind about our downed plane" Putin, said that he was skeptical of the thesis that the Russian plane was shot down by people who wanted to damage the relations of the two countries in the plane incident in November last year, said, "But now I have started to change my mind after the ambassador was killed by a policeman." Putin stated.

Figure 23. NTV's Tweet on Statements of President Putin about Russian Plane Crisis

Source: NTV, 2016.

In the NTV's tweet about Putin's statements, active and long sentences used to express the opion change of Putin about the Russian plane event. The main expression of this tweet to give the most importang message to the reader is "change". With the expression "change", the message is that the relations between Turkey and Russia is positive again because President Putin sees the background and truth behing the event. So, it is tried to be shown that the real responsible of the plane crises is not Turkey itself but others, who want to harm to Turkish-Russian relations.

2. Tweets about the USA

In this section of the study, the tweets and the discourse of these tweets are examined about the crucial events between Turkey and America from the mentioned news chanels Twitter accounts. The important issues like terrorism, PKK-PYD terrorist organizations and security, Fettullah Gulen's extradition and S-400 systems are tried to handle the following. In the first tweet below, the statements of President Erdogan about America's partnership with PYD-YPG covered. The tweet says; "Erdogan: America is conducting an operation in Raqqa with the PYD/YPG, which

is the abortion child of the terrorist organization PKK, in Syria". The negative approach can ben seen in the discourse of the tweet with the word "abortion child". The use of the statement "abortion child" in the body of the tweet creates an aggressive and negative discourse in the tweet. In the tweet, which uses a short and simple sentence, it is aimed to draw attention to the fact that the organizations mentioned are terrorist organizations and that the United States indirectly supports these organizations.

Figure 24. BBC News Turkce's Tweets about the Statements of President Erdogan

Source: BBC News Turkce, 2017.

Figure 25. Haber Turk's Tweets about the Statements of President Erdogan

Source: Haber Turk, 2016.

At the tweet above, it says that "President Erdogan: I condemn America's support to PYD and YPG" also it is saying "PYD coat of arms in US soldiers". The

negative discourse of the tweet can be seen with the words like “condemn” and “Haber Turk” prefers to use this part of the President Erdogan’s statements in it’s tweet. Short and simple sentence structure used in the tweet mentioned and here again the attention is tried to be drown to the partnership of USA and terrorist groups with the word “support” and the reaction to the situation is showed by the expression “condemn”.

Figure 26. A Haber’s Tweets about America, PYD/YPG (2016-2017)

Source : A Haber, 2016. ; A Haber, 2017.

In the A Haber’s tweets above, the translation of the first tweet is as follows: “President Erdoğan: America declares the PKK a terrorist organization, but provides armed assistance to the PYD, which is in cooperation with the PKK”. Second tweet about the issue which dated 2017 says that “America is looking for new excuses for the PYD”. Examining the discourse of both tweets, the terms “assistance”, “coorporation” and “excuses” are representing the USA’s force and desire to help the PYD, which is connected to terrorist organization PKK. These statements shows the reader that America is supporting the terrorist organizations directly or indirectly.

Figure 27. Halk TV’s and TRT HABER’s Tweets on Pastor Brunson, 2018

Source : Halk TV, 2018. ; TRT HABER, 2018.

Halk TV’s tweet on 26 July 2018 about Pastor Bruson is as follows: “Statement about Pastor Brunson from the USA: Sanctions are imposed on Turkey”. In addition, TRT HABER’s tweet on 30 July about the same issue is ; “U.S. priest Brunson, who was tried for allegedly committing crimes and espionage on behalf of

FETO and the PKK and was placed under house arrest under judicial control, objected to the house arrest decision through his lawyer". The expressions like "sanctions" and "imposed" describe a negative situation. In micro level, short and simple sentences are used in tweets, and an indirect expression used with the phrase "Sanctions are imposed", also it not directly stated that the party which imposed the sanctions was America, but rather the main attention or emphasis is on the actions in the phrase. At the secont tweet it can be seen that the sentence is longer and the actions again are primary like "committing crime", "espionage" or "tried for allegedly" rather than the subject itself. All these statements or words is inidicatiting the potential ideas about the subject, Brunson.

Figure 28. TRT HABER's Tweet about Trump's Statatements

Source: TRT HABER, 2018.

TRT HABER's tweet above says that "Donald Trump's threat to Turkey, using the priest Brunson as an excuse, turned his eyes to the problems the USA has with countries. @trthaber discussed the USA's relations with the world.". In addition, the sentence "The USA's fight with the world, Donald Trump and his deputy Mike Pence's threatening Turkey with Brunson as an excuse, turned eyes to the problems the USA is having with the countries" is used in the continuation of the news. While the part of the tweet about President Donald Trump is expressed in simple sentences, in the sentences that describe the event longer and more complex structure is used. The aim of the tweet is to draw attention to America and America's relationship

with the world rather than President Trump himself. The words used in tweet refer to America's conflict with other countries globally. Expressions and the word selections like “excuse”, “problems”,threatening” and turned eyes to” show that Trump has no real reason to threat Turkey and using Brunson issue as an excuse, so with the expression ”excuse”, it cen be conducted that Trump has not a legitimate right to therat Turkey. At the seconnd part of the tweet, the attention of the reader sought to be drawn to America’s international “problematic” realtions.

Figure 29. Haber Turk’s Tweet about F-35, 2019

Source: Haber Turk, 2019.

“Haber Turk’s tweet says that “USA does this all the time! The USA’s cancellation of the sale of the F-35 brought to mind the 'Himars' missile with a range of 90 kilometers, which was delayed to be delivered to Turkey in 2016, and the 'Tomahawk' cruise missiles, the sale of which was restricted”. The tweet is beginning with a short and simple expression that, “USA does this all the time!”. This expression indicates that USA is not a reliable partner and repeating the same attitudes towards Turkey. The rest of the tweet continues with a long complex sentence which contains the words like, “cancellation”, “delay”, or “resticted” point out the former disputes and disagreements between two countries on defence topics and furthermore USA is restricting Turkey’s necessary steps to be taken regarding its own security.

V. CONCLUSION

Thanks to the technology that has been advancing rapidly in the world and Turkey in the last century, all communication and news methods have changed and internet, social media and social media channels have appeared on the stage. Internet and social media channels, which increase in number of users every day, have now entered all areas of our lives and become a part of our lives. As the number of online sources of information increases, the digital media media of countries is developing rapidly. With social media and its channels reaching a very high number of users, political actors, who discovered the power of instant endless information flow, started to use this power effectively. Social media channels have a very important place in terms of communication and news in terms of the number of people they reach and interact. It is obvious that social media can easily affect its users and people interacting with them, and can shape people's perceptions on any subject. For this reason, Twitter, the social media medium where the news feed is the most up-to-date and fast, also has great importance in terms of perception and interaction.

At this point, perception management, which has become a very important issue recently, and the construction of the perceptions of the masses in the desired direction come into play. Today, media and social media stand out as the most suitable environment for the application of perception management directly on individuals and masses. The mass media requires constant and systematic propaganda to entertain, to provide information and to instill patterns of beliefs, values and behavior that bind people to society as a whole. With the decrease in the importance of television, which has been very important for people in terms of communication and receiving news for years, news channels on television have tried to make themselves available on social media as a solution to this situation.

TV channels, which were very popular in the 1980s and 1990s, now tried to operate in social media channels and kept up with the developing technology. The social media platform that tv news channels have chosen to exist in the most effective way is Twitter, which makes instant news flow and interaction possible.

Twitter also has accounts for global and local mainstream news channels with a very high number of followers.Thanks to the Twitter accounts of these news channels, instant news and information can be streamed every second, as well as reaching a very wide audience. The news served in these accounts on Twitter has an important role in manipulating people. Through the discourse in the tweets, news channels can be used to create a perception in the desired direction and to influence people, and they also have the power to change social thoughts on any subject and create public opinion at the same time. For this reason, it is possible to say that the discourses of the news channels in the tweeter can change and shape the perception of the society.

Considering all this information, the discourses of the mainstream news channels in Turkey were examined in this thesis study. The purpose of the review is to observe whether these tweets are effective in the perception of foreign policy in Turkey. Twitter accounts of local news channels selected based on the number of followers were scanned for important events selected between 2015-2019 and the discourses of these tweets were discussed. The reason for choosing the years 2015-2019 for the research is that the annual Turkish foreign policy perception survey conducted by Khas University Survey is used in this thesis study. In addition, due to the changing foreign policy issues as of 2020 and the global covid epidemic, the data of the survey in 2015-2019 were used. It is aimed to test hypotheses and research questions by taking into account the compatibility of the data obtained from the survey study in synchronization with the news discourse.While examining the selected tweets in this study, the discourse analysis technique of the linguist Teun Van Dijk is used. This model was chosen because of the shortness of the sentences and even occasionaly,the tweets can include only words due to the structure of Twitter. Furthermore, because of the excess of data to be processed, the tweets were evaluated on the level of word selections, sentence structures and the meanings indicated by the words at the micro level.

In the introduction, the topic, aim and the techniques that used in this study intoduced detaily. To sum up the aim of this study, it has been observed that there are very few articles in the literature that provide general information on Twitter's discourse analysis and media, and no study has been found using quantitative data that is comprehensive in terms of the number of news used and can be directly related to the foreign policy perception. In addition, it is seen that the studies were

only at the level of discourse analysis and were not evaluated in the same context as foreign policy perception. The purpose of this study is to test whether the social media Twitter, which has become a great power today and has the ability to create an ideology, affects the perception of foreign policy in Turkey, and to test this, the survey data of the years 2015-2019 was used and the relations between these two cases are observed.

At the second section, the history and the importtance of the perception management issues were handled. In addition, perception and perception management issues are examined historically, how these phenomena were used over the years, their places of use and their purposes are also mentioned. While explaining the subject, it was also examined historically, and the starting point of perception and perception management, discourse and rhetoric, which dates back to ancient Greece, is also mentioned. In the continuation of the section, the subject of the media and the development processes of the media has been examined in the historical context, starting from the invention of writing, the use of the printing press and the concepts of internet and social media that have entered our lives with the developing technology afterwards have been emphasized. All language contains a ‘view of life’. Language is a stereotyped expression of living life in a certain way and language is a way of understanding the way of thinking and hearing. The usage of language is a crucial issue for manipulation which means influencing the masses and aiming to change their thoughts, and it is very important for propaganda also, which is again used to manipulate people. Again, in this part of the thesis, manipulation and propaganda issues are discussed and it is tried to be expalined how media mediates these phenomenas. Besides, it is aimed to draw attention to the media, media types, propaganda and social media’s interaction with these concepts from the same angle. It is obvious how important Twitter is for news channels and interaction, as the number of users increases day by day. Therefore, today’s news channels have started to use Twitter actively. By using different discourses that are used in the presentation of information and news, it is possible to affect the readers in the desired way about the subject and given information. For this reason, after mentioning the history of the media, its formation and the media's relationship with manipulation, the news channels on Twitter, which is the subject of this study, and the role of these channels in the shaping of perceptions are also tried to be explained as well.

In the third section of the study, Turkish foreign policy history is examined and as stated at the beginning of the thesis, examinations about the foregin policy is made with historical method. Before talking about the perception of Turkish foreign policy, Turkish foreign policy from the past to the present has been discussed and tried to be explained by dividing into historical periods. Turkey-Russia relations, which are the two countries that have had to have relations due to their geopolitical positions for years, were viewed from a historical perspective and the development of relations between these two countries and culture was tried to be understood. Important events in the history of Turkish-Russian relations have been conveyed. The perception that Turkey has developed against Russia throughout the history of relations has been tried to be understood in the light of previous events.

Likewise, the relations between Turkey and USA, which are two countries that do not have any sea or land ties, were also examined and also the development and progress of the relations of the two countries, which started only at the level of maritime trade during Ottoman times, were discussed in the study. Relations are evaluated in a chronoligical order and the development of bilateral relations over the years, Turkey's pro-American foreign policy and the situation of relations in the post-Cold War period are also discussed. In addition, the developments and problems in Turkish-American relations since the 2000s have also been tried to be conveyed. Thus, the reflections of these information on the results of the Khas University Survey on foreign policy perception are tried to be understood. Due to the developments in relation to both Russia and America throughout history, it is inevitable that there would be a certain perception about these two countries in Turkey, however, the discourse of social media and Twitter, which informs us as soon as events take place, can affect the change of ongoing foreign policy perceptions today.

In the fourth part of the thesis, the tweets of the mainstream news channels in Turkey, which is the main subject of the study, were examined. The analyzed tweets were selected from the period between 2015-2019, synchronized with the Khas University Survey. In these Twitter accounts, which were selected according to the number of followers on Twitter, tweets about prominent events related to Russia and the USA the period between the years 2015-2019 were examined. The tweets were

evaluated according to the discourse analysis method and the relationship between the tweets and the survey results are tried to be examined.

In the KHAS survey used in this study,parameters such as the age of the participants, education level, sources of news and educational status were reported in numerical numbers. As seen in table 4.13 that given in the fourth part of the study, most of the participants of the survey use social media as a news source. Considering the number of followers of the news channels used in the research and the use of social media for the majority of survey participants, it is clear that millions of people in Turkey use Twitter to be aware of the agenda.

Moreover, due to the nature of Twitter which notifies people instantly and used as primary news source, the way the message is perceived by people may be affected with the effect of the discourse used in the news. It is obvious that the use of social media as a news source and the discourse used, can create a major impact on the society, and it is possible to say that the discourse of the tweets about the developments in Turkish foreign policy can also affect the perception of Turkish foreign policy in Turkey.

Looking at the research questions of the study, according to the results of the Khas University Survey, a decline is observed in Turkey's foreign policy perception towards Russia in 2016 and 2019. According to the tweets examined in the study, it is seen that the discourses of the tweets about Russia in 2016 and 2019 by the mainstream news channels on Twitter are in a negative direction in parallel with the survey. Also, the same is true for the US, according to the results of the Khas University Survey, there has been a decline in Turkey's perception of American foreign policy in 2016, 2017 and 2019. According to the tweets examined in the study, it is seen that the discourses of the tweets about US in 2016, 2017 and 2019 by the mainstream news channels on Twitter are in a negative direction in parallel with the survey.

In addition, according to the evaluations that made throughout this study, it is seen that the Prime Ministers or Presidents and political actors use Twitter to create the perception that they want through the statements made. It has also been seen that the news and news channels can reach the reader instantly via Twitter, and people can be easily influenced by these pre-designed tweets and even their perceptions about events can change. Another situation observed in parallel with the research

questions is that the discourses of the news channels are different from each other, some accounts practice a more sharp and negative approach, than the others. As the situation shows, each news channel has developed its own style of discourse and has gone on to present the news by pre-designing it according to their ideology. As the situation shows, each news channel has developed its own style of discourse and has gone on to present the news by pre-designing it according to their ideology and the expressions that are especially highlighted and emphasized in the events can be accepted as evidence.

It is clear that the perceptions of Russia and the US in Turkey have deteriorated in certain years, and that the news channels on Twitter, which are highly followed in Turkey, can affect the perceptions of these countries with the discourses they use in their tweets. The years mentioned in the Khas University Survey and the news on Twitter are parallel to each other. People's responses to constant and preconceived information and survey results overlap. For this reason, it can be concluded that from the hypothesis that tried to be tested in this study, hypothesis 1, "H1" is verified. Therefore, it is clear that there is a positive correlation between Twitter and Khas University Survey results. The power of social media today is an undeniable fact. Social media platforms used by many people all over the world are a very convenient medium for manipulating people and spreading desired ideologies. Therefore, in this study, it is aimed to draw attention to the role of discourses in social media, whose number of users is increasing every day, on influencing people and on the perception changes in Turkish foreign policy.

The following suggestions can be made for the problems encountered during this study and for similar studies to be carried out in the future; since social media is a very large database, it may be useful to determine the limitations of the selected topic and to narrow down the data examined. In addition**,** since the content on social media and Twitter can be easily deleted, it is very important that the data obtained in the studies be recorded. In order to evaluate issues such as discourse, social media and foreign policy perception together, it will be useful to use more than one research method at the same time in the study. Since there is no exemplary study of the rhetoric of news channels on Twitter and the effect of these discourses on changes in Turkish foreign policy perception, it would be more useful to use multiple methods of researching the subject together to discuss and study the concepts of discourse and

foreign policy together. It would be more convenient to make sure that the data to be used and the discourses to be examined are carefully selected and in line with the argument of dissertation while starting the study. Besides, it would be appropriate to process the data to be used with the discourse analysis technique that is appropriate for its content in terms of proper evaluation of the discourse. While doing discourse analysis, it is significant that the manipulative elements underlying the news or discourse should not be skipped and considered in detail. Thus, the effect of the discourse can be observed and the concepts in the content of the study such as foreign policy perception and discourse of social media, can be directly associated with each other's with the help of the the research methods applied in the study.

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