



REPUBLIC OF TURKEY

ANKARA YILDIRIM BEYAZIT UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF WORK ACCIDENTS IN TURKEY

PhD THESIS

Umut ÇİL

DEPARTMENT OF MANAGEMENT AND ORGANIZATION

Ankara, 2021

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Prof. Dr. Kerim ÖZCAN

Ankara, 2021

APPROVAL PAGE

The thesis, prepared by Umut ÇİL and titled “A Critical Analysis of Work Accidents in Turkey” is accepted by a unanimous vote as a degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University, Institute of Social Sciences, Department of Management and Organization.

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14.09.2021

Umut ÇİL



*To all the workers who lost their lives while trying to
earn a living with their honour and to those they left
behind...*

*Onurları ile ekmek parası kazanmaya çalışırken,
hayatlarını kaybeden tüm emekçilere ve geride
bıraktıklarına....*

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ÖZET

İş kazaları dünyanın hemen her yerinde ciddi bir sorun olsa da Türkiye’de oransal olarak çok daha fazla kazanın ve ölümün gerçekleştiği görülmektedir. Türkiye’de iş kazalarının ve buna bağlı ölümlerin neden diğer ülkelerden çok daha fazla olduğunu ve neden önlenemediklerini anlamaya çalışan bu çalışma, yalnızca iş kazalarının ardındaki dinamikleri değil aynı zamanda sonrasında gelişen ve iş kazaların artmasında etkin rolü olduğu anlaşılan doğallaştırma sürecini de ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir. İş kazalarının doğallaştırılmasının bu bağlamdaki en kritik mesele olduğundan, bu sürecin nasıl işlediğinin ortaya konması temel hedef olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda, van Dijk tarafından gazete haberlerinin analizi için geliştirilen eleştirel söylem analizi çalışmanın temel analiz metodu olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu birincil analiz corpus ve tematik analizlerle ve yine van Dijk tarafından geliştirilen manipülasyon modeliyle de desteklenmiş ve geliştirilmiştir. İlgili literatür üzerinden yapılan incelemeler, iş kazalarının ardında politik bağlam, Türkiye’ye özgü neoliberal politikalar, hukuksal sorunlar ve sendikal meseleler olmak üzere dört önemli dinamiğin etkin rolü olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır.

Türkiye’de son 20 yılda gerçekleşen en ölümlü 15 iş kazasının ulusal gazete haberleri ile yürütülen analizler şu önemli bulguları ortaya koymuştur. İlk olarak, bulgular yalnızca bu dinamiklerin etkinliğini desteklemekle kalmayıp, dinamiklerin işleyişinde ve iş kazalarının etkili bir toplumsal tepki görememesinde, egemen gücün meseleyi doğallaştırmasının etkili olduğunu da ortaya koymuştur. İkinci olarak, beş fazdan oluşan bir doğallaştırma süreci olduğu belirlenmiş ve bu sürecin ardında yatan temel motivasyonun da performans odaklı ekonomik zihniyet olduğunu ortaya konmuştur. Bu bağlamda, meşruiyet ve törensel benimseme ve uygulamaların (decoupling) da kritik rolleri olduğu anlaşılmıştır. Aynı zamanda eleştirel yönetim çalışmalarının anti-performativity ve de-naturalization prensipleri açısından da önemli bulgular ortaya konmuştur. Son olarak, Türkiye’deki haber medyasının, iş kazalarını münferit bir olaya indirgeyenler ve bu indirgemeci yaklaşıma karşı duranlar olmak üzere iki kutba ayrıldığı da anlaşılmıştır. Ancak, egemen gücün giderek artan gücüyle birlikte, indirgemeci bir yaklaşımla olayı münferit bir olaya indirgeyen ve meseleyi doğallaştıran yaklaşımı daha baskın hale gelirken, karşıt görüşün giderek güç kaybettiği anlaşılmaktadır.

Çalışmanın odaklandığı dönem dolayısıyla basılı haber gazeteleri en uygun analiz birimi olmakla birlikte, 2010'lu yılların ortasından itibaren yoğun bir şekilde kullanılan gazetelerin sosyal medya organlarındaki söylemleri ve okuyucularının bunlara verdikleri tepkiler de meselenin toplum ve okuyucu nezdinde nasıl bir karşılık bulduğunu anlamak açısından önemli görülmektedir. Dolayısıyla, ileride yapılacak çalışmaların bu organları da dikkate alması önerilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İş Kazaları, Söylem, Eleştirel Söylem Analizi, Meşrulaştırma, Doğallaştırma, Denaturalization, Anti-Performativity, Ayrışma, Manipülasyon, Eleştirel Yönetim Çalışmaları, Medya Analizi



ABSTRACT

Although work accidents are a serious problem almost everywhere in the world, it is seen that there are proportionally more accidents and deaths in Turkey. This study, which tries to understand why work accidents and related deaths are much more serious in Turkey than in other countries and why they could not be prevented, aims to reveal not only the factors behind work accidents but also the naturalization process that develops afterwards and has an effective role in the increase of work accidents. Since the naturalization of work accidents is the most critical issue in this context, revealing how this process works stands out as the primary goal. For this purpose, CDA developed for the analysis of newspaper news by van Dijk has been determined as the primary analysis method of the study. This primary analysis was supported and enhanced by corpus and thematic analyses and the manipulation model, which is also developed by van Dijk. Analysis of the relevant literature reveals that four important factors, namely the political context, neoliberal policies specific to Turkey, legal problems and trade union issues, play an active role behind work accidents.

The following significant findings have been reached as a result of the analyses carried out with the national newspaper news of the 15 most fatal work accidents that took place in Turkey between 01.01.2000 and 31.12.2019. First, the data not only supported the effectiveness of these factors but also revealed that the naturalization of the issue by the dominant power is effective in the functioning of these factors. Naturalization also makes it difficult for work accidents to elicit an effective societal reaction. Secondly, a five-phase naturalization process was discovered, and it was revealed that the fundamental motivation behind this process was the performance-oriented economic mentality. Moreover, it has been observed that legitimacy and ceremonial adoptions and practices (decoupling) play significant roles in this context. At the same time, important findings have been revealed in terms of the anti-performativity and de-naturalization principles of CMS. Finally, it has been understood that the news media in Turkey is divided into two poles: those who reduce work accidents to an isolated incident and those who oppose this reductionist approach. However, with the increasing power of the dominant power, it has been understood that while the approach that reduces the issue to an isolated incident with a reductionist approach and naturalizes the issue becomes more dominant, the opposing view gradually has lost its effectiveness.

Although the printed news newspapers are the most appropriate unit of analysis due to the period in which the study focuses, the discourses of the newspapers, which have been used extensively since the mid-2010s, in the social media organs and the reactions of their readers to them are also considered important in terms of understanding how the society and the reader have responded to the issue. Therefore, it is recommended that future studies should consider these organs as well.

Keywords: Work Accidents, Discourse, Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Legitimation, Naturalization, Denaturalization, Anti-Performativity, Decoupling, Manipulation, Critical Management Studies (CMS), Media Analysis



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ABBREVIATIONS

AFAD	Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency
AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANAP/ANAVATAN	Motherland Party
BDP	Democracy and Peace Party
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CDS	Critical Discourse Studies
CHP	Republican People's Party
CIM	Presidency of The Republic of Turkey Directorate of Communications
CMS	Critical Management Studies
CP	Critical Performativity
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DDK	The State Supervisory Council
DİE	Turkstat (Old Version)
DİSK	Confederation of Progressive Trade Unions of Turkey
DM	Dissident Media
DSİ	State Hydraulic Works
EDP	Equality And Democracy Party
EMEP	Labor's Party
EMO	Chamber Of Electrical Engineers
ESENER	European Survey of Enterprises on New And Emerging Risks
ESP	Socialist Platform of The Oppressed
EÜAŞ	Electricity Generation Company
FETO / PYD	Fethullahist Terrorist Organization/Parallel State Structure
GMİS	General Mining Workers Union
HAK-İŞ	Hak-Is Trade Union Confederation
HDP	Peoples' Democratic Party
HSE	Health and Safety Executive
IBB-AL	Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library
ID	Inaccessible Day (<i>known that there is news but could not accessed</i>)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IP	Inaccessible Page(s) (<i>known that there is news but could not accessed</i>)
ISSA	International Social Security Association

ITO	İstanbul Chamber of Commerce
İSiG	Health and Safety Labour Watch
KESK	Confederation of Public Laborer's Unions
LPT	Labour Process Theory
METU	Middle East Technical University (METU)
MGK	National Security Council
MHP	Nationalist Movement Party
MMO	Chamber of Mechanical Engineers
MNCS	Multinational Corporations
MUSIAD	Independent Industrialists and Businessmen's Association
NGOS	Non-Governmental Organization
OIZ	Organized Industrial Zone (OSB)
ÖDP	Freedom and Solidarity Party (Now its new name is Left Party)
PGM	Pro-Government Media
REIT	Real Estate Investment Trust (GYO)
RNM	Relatively-Neutral Media
SDIF	Saving Deposit Insurance Fund (TMSF)
SES	Trade Union of Public Employees in Health and Social Services
SSI	Social Security Institution of Turkey
TEMA	The Turkish Foundation for Combating Erosion Reforestation and the Protection of Natural Habitats
TEPAV	Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey
TKİ	Turkey Coal Enterprises
TMMOB	The Union of Turkish Engineers And Architects
TOBB	The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey
TTK	Turkish Hardcoal Authority
TÜİK	Turkstat - Turkish Statistical Institute
TÜRK-İŞ	Confederation of Turkish Trade Unions

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1. INTRODUCTION

Although work accidents are one of the most critical problems worldwide, the situation seems to be even worse in Turkey, which has the worst statistics in Europe and the third-worst in the world after India and Russia. (Ceylan, 2021; Euronews, 2017; Radikal Daily, 2012). Various studies (e.g., HSE, 2020; Wang, Wu, Kang, Reniers, and Huang, 2018) indicate the falling tendency of work accidents and related deaths in most countries, especially in Europe, since the early 90s. According to data from Turkey's Social Security Institution (SSI), although there is no regular reduction in deaths, work accidents showed a regular decrease from 1992 to 2010 (see Figures 2.2 and 2.3) in Turkey. However, there has been an increase in work accidents since 2010, with a very sharp increase since 2012, and no year has seen a significant decrease until 2020. On the other hand, it is understood that the naturalisation of work accidents is the most critical issue in the high number of work accidents. In addition, society's lack of an adequate reaction to work accidents stems from this naturalisation carried out by the dominant power in the media. Therefore, the primary purpose of this study is to reveal how work accidents are naturalized and how they should be denaturalized. To that end, the current study attempts to answer the following research question: *How are work accidents (de)naturalised in Turkey?*

The issue of work accidents is essential and problematic and has a rich literature. However, when the relevant literature is examined, it is seen that there are no holistic studies that deal with the problem with its various dimensions, while the few studies that examine different dimensions together examine limited and specific factors for certain incidents (i.e., Hafeez, Abdullah, Riaz and Shafique, 2020; Öztürk, Mevsim and Kinik, 2018). In the comprehensive review, it is understood that studies focusing on the factors behind work accidents reveal those four important factors, namely political context, neoliberalism and its specific characteristics, union and legal issues, have severe effects on work accidents (i.e., Fisman and Wang, 2015; MMO, 2018; Özveri, 2015, Saymaz, 2016). Although they are not directly related to work accidents, it is seen that these factors in Turkey have been revealed by numerous studies in various fields and have been extensively researched (i.e. Alpay and Alkin, 2017; Berkman and Özen, 2008; Boğaziçi University Soma Research Group, 2015; Boratav; 2015; Buğra, 2015a; Çolpan and Hikino, 2008; Ekzen, 2016; Gürcan and Mete,

2017; Öniş, 2004; Özen and Akkemik, 2011; Öztürk, 2018; Özveri; 2015; Pamuk, 2017; Sayarı, 2014; Saymaz, 2016; Simaku, 2021; Şafak, 2006; Tezel, 1982; Yeşilay, 2005; Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2015; Yıldırım, 2020). However, these four factors are valid in almost every country, especially in developing countries, albeit to varying degrees. Therefore, it has become necessary to examine why there are more accidents in Turkey than in other countries and the reasons that make these factors much more deadly.

These factors are important for naturalization, and they do also not encounter any social reaction even though they are known commonly. In other words, why there is no social reaction to such an important issue become more critical. Investigations on this subject revealed that work accidents did not receive any reaction due to the naturalization of work accidents with the help of justification and legitimization in the framing process by the dominant power and its media. In addition, it has been found that performativity is the primary motivation that triggers this naturalization process, and decoupling plays an active role in the repetition of this naturalization process. Therefore, understanding and explaining this process has been the study's primary purpose, and it has been questioned how the naturalization process can be de-naturalized. Moreover, CMS has been decided to be the main theoretical framework because it is directly related to management theories and deals directly with the issues of performativity and naturalization. The new institutionalism theory, which contributes significantly to legitimization and decoupling issues, has also been utilized.

The study is designed as explanatory and qualitative research. Critical Discourse Analysis was determined as the most appropriate method, and in this context, the CDA approach developed by van Dijk (1988a and 1988b) for the analysis of newspaper news was adopted. This CDA approach was chosen as the major analysis for various reasons, including its issue-oriented and multidisciplinary nature, its focus on social concerns, particularly power abuse or domination, and its connection between language and power (Amoussou and Allagbe, 2018; Fairclough, Mulderring and Wodak, 2011; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2014).

This approach, whose competence in newspaper analysis is widely recognised in the literature, was also developed through the articulation of several approaches in response to the study-specific needs, making it more suitable and effective for a longitudinal and comparison study: First of all, corpus-assisted articulation, used with various kinds of discourse studies in the last period, has been added to CDA. Thus, the microstructure and lexical style have been developed and made it more suitable for comparison. Secondly,

thematic analysis was added to improve the macrostructure and enable the comparison of themes between different incidents. Finally, van Dijk's manipulation model was added to monitor the change and development of manipulative discourses in the long term. Thus, it has become possible to compare all incidents at different times in terms of the exact keywords, themes and manipulation strategies. These three additions have improved the primary method and have become a valuable alternative for later longitudinal studies. Moreover, it also made it possible to compare various numerical data in the form of frequency distributions.

The study focused on 15 incidents' news, determined as the study sample, in the printed versions of nine national newspapers divided into three groups according to their political stances: Dissident Media (DM), Relatively-Neutral Media (RNM) and Pro-Government Media (PGM). All the news of these 15 incidents has been compiled. As a result, 6495 news texts consisting of 1028716 words and published in the first 14 days after each incident, in which approximately 85% of all relevant news were made, were analyzed. In these 6495 news texts, it was seen that 152 themes divided into six main groups were covered 29526 times. In addition, it is seen that corpus, which is divided into nine groups according to the actor and subject and consists of 45 separate keywords or key phrases, has been used 43387 times.

This study makes significant contributions in the following specific areas. Firstly, in the literature, the relevant factors have either been empirically tested on their own or focused on a few with non-empirical studies. Thus, a meaningful contribution has been made to fill the gap in this context by presenting a study that deals with the four factors and analyses all the factors empirically, with an applied study directly addressing a problem.

Secondly, in addition to testing the factors that are the antecedents of the problem, the naturalization mechanism that develops after the problem and is very effective in maintaining the problem has been demonstrated with a data-driven design. Although no study directly examines work accidents in terms of legitimacy and (de) naturalization, the data obtained reveal that legitimacy and (de) naturalization are effective in the higher number of work accidents and their more fatalities.

On the other hand, this thesis reveals the critical role of the concept of decoupling, expressed as the gap between practice and policy, used as a strategy by the dominant power in the repeated use of the naturalization process: This is one of the first studies to examine

together the concept of means-ends decoupling (Bromley and Powell, 2012), which has gained attention in recent years due to its use by more macro-level actors, as well as policy-practice decoupling (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), which is common in the management literature. In this regard, the study claims to contribute to the field. The study data reveal that decoupling is used both as a strategy by firms to overcome environmental pressures and as a tool for the government to protect close firms in the context of clientelism and legitimize itself. Thus, the application of both decoupling notions examined and an example of the use of the decoupling concept in legitimizing power abuse is shown, as stressed by MacClean and Benham (2010).

Another theoretical issue concerns two of the three basic principles of Critical Management Studies, anti-performativity and denaturalization. In the discussion of anti-performativity (Fournier and Grey, 2000) vs critical performativity (Spicer, Alvesson and Karreman, 2009), which CMS has focused heavily on in recent years, both sides try to demonstrate strong arguments that their contextualization is better one. However, although there is no consensus on which concept is the better one, those who support both views criticize that the related studies are only based on theoretical academic studies and that empirical studies are not carried out (i.e., Dallyn, Marinetto and Cederström, 2015; Delbridge, 2014; Fleming and Banerjee, 2016; Leca and Cruz, 2021; Spicer, Alvesson and Kärreman, 2016). Furthermore, several researchers criticize both concepts since how the procedure should be carried out is ambiguous (i.e., Alvesson, 2021; Cinque and Nyberg, 2021; Leca and Cruz, 2021; Reedy and King, 2019). Similar criticisms are made for denaturalization, but it seems that this principle is not discussed as much as performativity. Therefore, this thesis presents essential data on the lack of empirical work that both sides agree on in terms of both (anti or critical) performativity and denaturalization.

In summary, this thesis further developed van Dijk CDA approach as exploratory and qualitative research, making it more suitable for longitudinal research. Thus, the research question (*How are work accidents (de)naturalised in Turkey?*) was answered with a more effective method and provided methodological and theoretical contributions by examining various theoretical and controversial issues.

This dissertation is organized as follows. In the next chapter, the theoretical framework of the study is discussed by considering the relevant literature. Work accidents and related factors, critical management studies, critical discourse studies and denaturalization process and related theoretical issues are briefly discussed here. Chapter 3 contains the methodology,

which describes the approach, sampling, data gathering and processing, and the approaches utilized as analysis methods. In chapter 4, the findings of each incident individually and collectively are presented in detail, while chapter 5 consists of the discussion of the findings considering the relevant theory and literature. In this section, every critical issue for the study is discussed in detail, and the (de)naturalization process is revealed in all its phases. In Chapter 6, which is the conclusion part of the study, the main results, limitations of the study and suggestions for future research are presented.



2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

When the massive literature on work accidents is examined, it is seen that related studies in various fields from engineering to occupational safety have focused on individual factors such as age and work experience (i.e., Hasebe and Sakai, 2018), job-related factors such as hazards in work system and shift of working (i.e., Paul and Maiti, 2007), and organization-related factors such as workgroup size and management support (i.e., Abas et al., 2020). In other words, there are lots of studies at various levels. Albeit limited, there are also studies that deal with various levels or topics holistically (i.e., Hafez et al., 2020). However, the number of studies examining the mechanisms behind work accidents is scarce, and these scarce ones focus more on event-specific mechanisms rather than generalizable mechanisms at the systemic level (i.e., Öztürk, 2018). There is no holistic study on generalizable factors, nor any study associating factors with the naturalization of work accidents. Therefore, this study aims to examine the naturalization process that plays a role in making these factors more effective by focusing on the general factors behind work accidents, without mentioning the micro issues mentioned in the literature.

2.1.1. Work Accidents

International Labour Organization (ILO, henceforth ILO) (ILO, 2014a; 2014b; International Social Security Association, henceforth ISSA, 2016) state that more than 2,3 million workers die every year as a result of work accidents or work-related diseases. A relatively current report claims that more than 7,600 people die due to related accidents and diseases every day (ILO, 2018 as cited in Öztürk, 2018: 1020). Even though these numbers are decreasing with the precautionary measures and regulations issued in some countries, work accidents have still been experienced every three minutes and deadly work accidents every four hours in the world. Thus, this situation has still been maintained as a big problem all over the globe (Buehler, Werna and Brown, 2017).

The rate of work accidents has been reduced in many countries, but a similar tendency could not be observed in Turkey. Although there is a zigzag pattern in mortality rates, there has been a continuous increase in the number of accidents since 2010, especially after 2012 (Figures 2.1 and 2.2). Hence the case of being the subject with the emphasis on "first place" to the news in terms of work accidents has become a common issue for Turkey (e.g., Euronews, 2017; Radikal Daily, 2012; T24, 2016). Various sources (e.g., Dupre, 2001; ESENER, 2010; Hämäläinen, Takala and Kiat, 2017; ILO, 2016; Saari, 2001; Saymaz, 2016) have indicated that almost all of the work accidents (98%) are due to and can be avoided by employers and personnel negligence, while 50% of these accidents are easily avoidable.

On the other hand, work accidents cause not only human loss or damage but also economic losses to the country (Gül, Özçoban and Aydoğan, 2021; Gümüş, 2017). The ILO estimates that the annual cost to the global economy from accidents and work-related diseases alone is a staggering \$3 trillion. According to the ILO (2016, as cited in Gül et al., 2021), the economic cost of poor occupational safety and health policies is around 4% of worldwide GDP. Furthermore, the world's 3,2 billion employees are becoming increasingly ill, with the vast majority facing substantial economic insecurity: 77% work in part-time, temporary, "vulnerable," or unpaid jobs (Buehler et al., 2017). Similarly, Mahzar Yıldırımhan, who is the Deputy Secretary at Ministry of Labour and Social Security, told in an interview that "the total cost of work accidents and diseases to Turkey in 2016 is 80 billion Turkish Liras per year. This is a figure that is well above the world average" (Milliyet Daily, 2017). Moreover, state officials are so aware of this fact that they gave the status of civilian martyrdom to the victims of Soma and Zonguldak mine accidents (HaberTürk Daily, 2014; İHA, 2018).

Accident rates are gradually declining in the countries where legal arrangements have been made with increased awareness. However, the work accident rate in Turkey is rising, although the number of the regulation and the agreements with international organizations such as the ILO and EU, and awareness on the issue has increased with increasing consciousness in recent years. In other words, while accidents decrease in other countries where the same regulations are made, they do not decrease in Turkey. Then, what's creating this disparity? Or what is the mechanism behind the failure of the regulations to fulfil their function in Turkey?

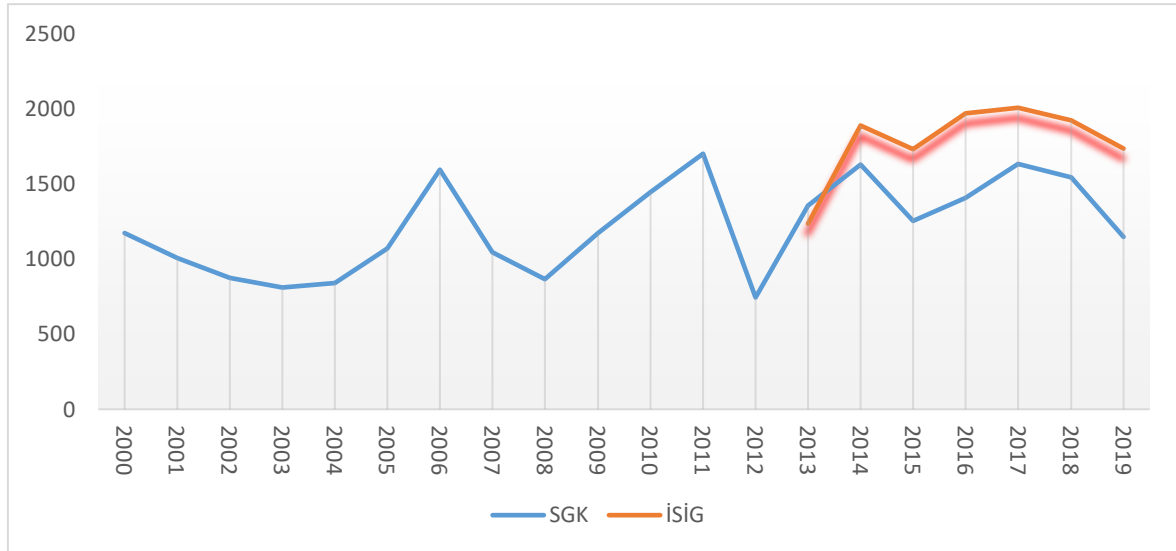


Figure 2. 1: Number of insured people who died after work accidents in Turkey

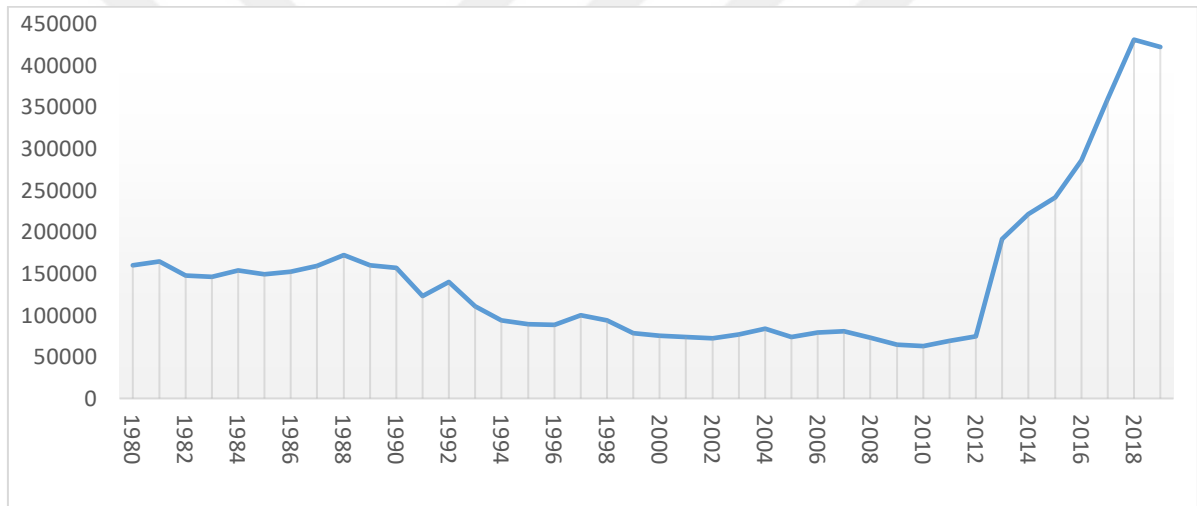


Figure 2. 2: Number of Work Accidents between 1980 and 2019 (SSI)¹

A stable situation cannot be observed in reducing deaths in Turkey. Moreover, there are great differences between the official figures of the state and the Health and Safety Labour Watch (İSİG Meclisi, henceforth İSİG). İSİG lists all deaths by specifying their

¹ It is seen that the change in the definition of work accidents has also been influential in the sharp increase in the number of work accidents since 2012. In the report of the 2014 SSI Work Accident Statistics, this situation was expressed as follows: “While giving statistics on the number of insured persons who had work accidents in 2012 and before, the number of work accident cases paid and closed were taken as a basis. With the introduction of the work accident notification form in the electronic environment since 2013, the data on all the insured persons who had a work accident has been started to be given by taking into account the European Union standards (ESAW).” However, the continuation of the increases after 2012, when even the whole calculation and definition method is the same, indicates that the related increases continue for reasons independent of the change made in the definition. The fact that Turkey has had the highest accident rates in work accidents in Europe since 2011 also supports this. Furthermore, these data indicate that there were actually more accidents before 2012 (Ceylan, 2021; Euronews, 2017; Radikal Daily, 2012).

names, ages and cities, so it is clear that it is not misleading. Moreover, although there are relative decreases in deaths in some years, there is always an increase in the total number of work accidents between 2010 and 2018. The picture is even direr when it is considered that this data is obtained entirely with the official figures of the state and does not include the accidents of illegal and uninsured workers. The situation is much worse than reflected since the differences in work accident statistics among institutions reveal how unreliable the relevant statistics are (i.e., Table 2.1. or Figure 2.1.). For example, Morantz (2013) had revealed that before the laws about work safety were accepted in the USA in 1978, the number of work-related accidents and death of workers was higher in unionized workplaces compare to non-unionized ones. Then, it is understood that this result does not reflect the reality because the non-unionized workplaces do not register the accidents properly while the unionized ones do it properly. With Morantz's (2013: 90) words, *"taken together, these findings lend credence to concerns that injury reporting practices vary significantly across union and non-union settings"*.

Table 2. 1: Work accidents Statistics of Turkstat vs Ministry of Labour in 2007

	TURKSTAT	MINISTRY
<i>Number of employees</i>	23.523.000	8.505.602
<i>Work accidents</i>	221.675	80.602
Number of employees exposed to work accidents	682.187	246.662
Number of employees died in the work accidents	1.043	2.880
<i>The rate of work accidents</i>	2,9%	2,9%

Source; The "Work Health and Safety Report" prepared by the Chamber of Civil Engineers (2009)

2.1.2. The Main Factors Affecting Work Accidents

Considering the factors behind the work accidents, Daubas-Letournex (2005 as cited in Thebaud-Mony, 2017) - in her PhD thesis of sociology in France- specified three main mechanisms, which are strategic preferences of businesses, public policies and employees' life path. While fully supporting the effectiveness of these three mechanisms, I aim to focus on the whole of the issue by making a little differentiation of the classification and taking into account the issues of economic and legal aspects as well. This is also a necessity to understand Turkey context rather than France. Therefore, I will focus on the following factors affecting work accidents and death of workers in Turkey:

- a) **Political context** (i.e., *weak policy-making capacity, clientelism, strong politician-business world ties*),

- b) **Neoliberal policies specific to Turkey** (i.e., subcontracting and temporary employment system, changing characteristics of working-class, performance-oriented working or performance concerns of businesses, economic mind)
- c) **Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions** and
- d) **Legal Issues:** lawlessness, the lack of deterrent laws or lack of implementation of existing (deterrent) laws.

i. Political Context

The legislation on work health and safety was bringing great burdens to our SMEs, and it has been removed by us. (Rıfat Hisarcıklıoğlu, the President of The Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey, henceforth TOBB, 15.05.2018) (Aşçı, 2019, Cumhuriyet Daily, 2018; Genel-İş, 2018; TOBB, 2018)

Keynesian policies came to light as the world entered the economic crisis in the 1930s. Especially after the Second World War, demand-oriented Keynesian economic policies have found application areas with the fact that the economic system based on liberal philosophy fails to maintain the social order. In addition, the fact that many states' obligatory economic and social interventions during the First and Second World Wars gave positive results also played a role in the transition from the liberal state to the interventionist or welfare state (Güven, 2001). During this period, Turkey has also adopted the *inward-oriented industrialization* model through statism and despite the adoption of the industrialization model through *import substitution* in the 1950-80 period under the leadership of the private sector (Pamuk, 2017), the role of the state in the economy and its political context gained considerable importance and became rooted in every aspect of the economy (i.e., Berkman and Özen, 2008; Buğra, 2015a; Çolpan and Hikino, 2008; Gökşen and Üsdiken, 2001; Tezel, 1982). As Yeşilay (2005) emphasized, statist application in Turkey has not brought an alternative system to capitalism; but rather -by staying within the capitalist system- it has taken its own way to succeed the economic goals that capitalism's failure to achieve. Since the entire capitalist world has adopted statism in the 1930s as a method to overcome the deflationary crisis, there are not any eccentric aspects of the application in Turkey. The original part of the statist practices in Turkey was the establishment and management of industrial enterprises such as the State Industry Office, Etibank and Sümerbank by its own hands of the state.

The decision to adopt the liberal economic model -which was referred to as the decisions of 24 January 1980 - and the subsequent implementation process of this model has naturally led to the expectation that the statist polity features would disappear or at least become very weak. However, despite the acceptance and application of liberal philosophy as an economic model, statist polity features such as clientelism, neo-patrimonialism, and arbitrariness can still be found in Turkey, and in some cases, are quite powerful. (i.e., Gürcan and Mete, 2017; Özen and Akkemik, 2011; Pamuk, 2017; Sayarı, 2014; Simaku, 2021; Yıldırım, 2020). Öniş's (2004) statement which specifies the characteristics of Özal's unique style of governance as the weak commitment to democracy, institutions and the rule of law, is one of the prominent examples of this situation. However, despite all the years that have passed, current studies reveal that the situation was not much different in the AKP period (i.e., Gürcan and Mete, 2017; Simaku, 2021; Yıldırım, 2020).

Before beginning to discuss the characteristics of statist polity and its consequences in our context, it should be emphasized that there is no intention in the aims of this study to make any comparison about whether liberal economic models are better or worse than statist models or vice versa. Just as I will do for neo-liberal models in the next section, it is only aimed to discuss the internal and external factors observed in statist models within the causation relation. Indeed, many studies are showing that similar statist characteristics do not give the same results in countries like Japan and South Korea, which have similar characteristics with Turkey. (i.e., Buğra, 2015a; Çolpan and Hikino, 2008; Pamuk, 2017).

In discussing the political context in terms of work accidents, it will be argued why and how these traits lead to work accidents and, therefore, worker deaths. In this context, especially clientelism or patronage or nepotism, poor policy making capacity and arbitrariness as the statist polity characteristics will be focused on during the study. Turgut Özal, who prepared the decisions of 24 January, adopted and implemented policies towards liberalization and outward opening during the period of military administration between 1980-83 and in the period when he was in power alone with the Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*) (i.e., Alpay and Alkin, 2017; Boratav, 2015; Buğra, 2015a; Ekzen, 2016; Özveri, 2015; Pamuk, 2017; Saymaz, 2016; Şafak, 2006; Şenses and Kırım, 1991; Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2015). In this process, however, arbitrariness and the privileges granted to individuals and groups close to the government, such as frequent changes of lists of goods within the scope of liberalization, showed that the features of statist polity would not change easily. Thus, this

situation created uncertainty about how stable and sustainable the new policies would be (Pamuk, 2017: 267).

It is not difficult to understand that these uncertainties, coupled with the political connections of the companies, would cause a tendency to reduce or "ignore" many "costs", especially work health and safety. In a similar vein, arbitrariness and clientelism, together with the opportunist characteristics of the business world, have laid the groundwork for many illegal and legal-looking illegal behaviours, such as informal economy, lawless and insecure working environments, temporary employment, subcontracting system and weakening labours, and each of them has been influential in work accidents in various forms (Özveri, 2015; Saymaz, 2016). For instance, Özal used the following statements frequently; 'economic punishment for economic crimes' and according to Öniş (2004), the common 'fictitious exports' practice during the mid-1980s may be the most serious manifestation of this notorious principle in practice occurred in the context. The government was using the export tax rebates tool to promote exports and rent-seeking enterprises tried to use this tool in a malicious manner, such as over-invoicing, because of weak government discipline. In short, many firms violated the law and claimed large amounts of export subsidies without actually undertaking the required level of exports, and they were not punished by any governmental authorities or institutions. Hence, this also points to the influence of discourse on the action. This has resulted in some serious corruption activities that are almost never punished in Turkey.

Çeviker-Gürakar (2018) studied the nearly 50,000 tenders in the Public Procurement Authority of Turkey's database and disclosed the links, including the ruling party, of enterprises that won the tender, and addressed the quantitative component of clientelism in tenders. According to the findings, companies that do not have a political connection have an equal tender rate with those with political affiliation (both are 45%). However, while the tender received by firms without political affiliation constitutes 25% of the total value, the tender of firms with political affiliation has a share of 60% in total economic value. As a result, although it appears to be done right on paper, it is evident that there is a major clientelism relationship. Who can therefore say that similar statist polity traits have not resulted in similar illegal workplace safety and worker health actions? Similarly, Özen and Akkemik (2011) studied the relationship between the polity and conflicting institutional logics to analyse illegitimate corporate behaviours and revealed that statist polity characteristics could cause illegitimate corporate actions. Some of these statist polity

characteristics leading to illegitimate corporate actions may also be one of the factors behind the high rate of work accidents in Turkey because it has still shown these statist characteristics such as clientelism although they have spent big efforts to establish a liberal system since the 1980s (i.e., Alpay and Alkin, 2017; Boratav, 2015; Buğra, 2015a; Çeviker Gürakar, 2018; Ekzen, 2016; Özen and Akkemik, 2011; Özkiziltan, 2019; Özveri, 2015). Özen and Akkemik (2011) also indicate that, by blurring the boundaries of legitimate and illegitimate corporate actions for large business groups, Turkish polity has created a controversial business environment helping such groups to behave opportunistically even if these behaviours are illegitimate. To be more precise, it seems that these characteristics lead to illegitimate corporate actions, including work health and safety in Turkey.

As Öniş and Türem (2002) emphasized, one of the major characteristics of late industrializing societies is the key importance of business leaders and associations as political actors. Considering the clientelism as a characteristic of statist polity, governments give some privileges like ignorance of inspections and investigations to some business groups (i.e., Boratav, 2015; Buğra, 2015a; Fisman and Wang, 2015; Öniş and Türem, 2002; Özen and Akkemik, 2011), which leads to accidents and deaths because these business groups have the belief that their political connections will help them in such adverse circumstances. A striking example of this has been demonstrated by Fisman and Wang's (2015) research conducted on Chinese companies. According to the results of the study, the rate of fatal work accidents seen in politically connected firms is two to three times higher than those without political affiliation. Moreover, even in the absence of mortal accidents, firms with political links are less likely to comply with the regulations of work safety, and they are subject to fewer sanctions and investigations in terms of worker safety and health. It is evident that these companies use their political links to circumvent security investigations and regulations. It is thought that there is a similar structure in terms of political relations and applications in Turkey. To give an explicit example, after the Ermenek mine massacre, the statement given by the minister of labour in the mentioned period stood out this situation clearly: *"when we want to close any mine, the employer sent us 50 people. Responsibility belongs all of us"* (WSJ Türkiye, 2014). Political connections of the business world may encourage them to behave in an illegitimate way, and this situation can cost not only human loss but also an economic loss to countries. Therefore, the relationship between statist polity characteristics and work-related accidents is meaningful to be evaluated.

Moreover, while Sayarı (2014) reveals how political clientelism and patronage relations are effective in the distribution of goods and services in return for votes, Gürcan and Mete (2017) reveal the effects of clientelism and AKP on unionism and the working class (see chapter 5 in *ibid*). Yıldırım (2020), on the other hand, directly reveals how the AKP government gained advantages through clientelism and in the context of the urban neighbourhood. In sum, there is a significant relationship between political context and work accidents in Turkey.

ii. *Neoliberal Policies specific to Turkey*

The economic program announced by "January 24th decisions" is considered to be the end of the "import substitution" policy and as the first step towards the neoliberalism (i.e., Alpay and Alkin, 2017; Boratav; 2015; Buğra, 2015a; Gürcan and Mete, 2017:108; Kolsuz and Yeldan, 2014; Önder, 2016; Özveri; 2015; Pamuk, 2017; Saymaz, 2016; Şafak, 2006; Şenses and Kırım, 1991; Yeşilyurt Gündüz; 2015). By these decisions, Turkey, which has traditionally statist governance, developmental and planner policies (Özen and Akkemik, 2011), has decided to open its doors to neo-liberalism and capitalism until the end (Boratav; 2015; Çölaşan, 1983; Özveri; 2015; Saymaz, 2016). The common result of the literature reached is that the transition period of the neoliberal economic model, which started with the decisions of 24 January, reached the final point in the AKP period (i.e., Çarkoğlu, Baruh and Yıldırım, 2014: 300; Özkiziltan, 2019: 220). However, there are very different studies in the literature in terms of the problems brought about by this change and change process (Kolsuz and Yeldan, 2014; Öniş, 2003). Moreover, these situations have created a problematic synergy in full together with the problems and contradictions that arise from the characteristics of neoliberalism and the difficulties of late industrialization.

When the role of the business world's activities on political actors in the transformation process to the neo-liberal/capitalist model is considered, the different discourses and actions of the business world, which are completely contradictory to each other, at different times would be noticed easily. In recent years, the business world has often emphasized the importance of democratization and the rule of law on every occasion. However, different discourses contrasting with this situation and supporting authoritarian statist structure have been stood out in the past. Öniş and Türem (2002: 440) addresses and argues the following question: Why do business interests tend to support, or at least not refuse, authoritarian practices in the past, especially when large corporations give increased

support for liberal democracy and political pluralism in the recently emerging second and third wave democracies?

Market-driven globalization facilitates economic expansion through rapid development of technology, as well as growth in international trade and capital flows. In the cultural and political arenas authoritarian regimes can no longer isolate themselves and shield their citizens from the unifying influence of global norms and the devastating impact of the information revolution, which at an unprecedented pace tears down national wall. Increasingly, democracy is recognized as the norm and as a necessary counterpart of market-oriented reforms in a wide variety of national settings previously dominated by authoritarian or semi authoritarian governments. ... Consequently, it becomes increasingly difficult to disentangle domestic politics from transnational influences. For the political and business elites in emerging democracies, the costs involved in failure to conform to global norms are considerable. Failure to conform means isolation, insecurity, and inability to capitalize on economic benefits such as large-scale investment by transnational capital and membership in supranational organizations such as the European Union.

With another and more precise expression, the business world has mostly supported democratization and the rule of law in order to be legitimized themselves in the international arena. However, there are also studies indicating that neo-liberal globalization has not always provided democratization or achieving this legitimacy due to the following reasons: first, the neoliberal globalization process is highly unequal in terms of the influence on particular groups or regions within nations and second, micro-nationalism and ethnic politics are working on expanding the boundaries of representation, but at the same time threaten the basic existence and unity of the nation-states which are the only institutional structure in which democracy can successfully survive (Öniş and Türem, 2002). The difficulties of the change process caused by these inequalities between different parties and the contradictions arising from conflicts between the nation-state and global state can usually be overcome through the system becomes well established, and the dominance of the dominant mechanism is accepted.

Similar to the business world, governments have emphasized the importance of democratization and the rule of law in recent years because they know that it is important for their country to become an attraction centre for international capital, especially multinational corporations (MNCs). In this sense, as Tağraf (2002) stated, MNCs have become the decisive factor in economies in the new world order. Thus, government policies have also become important factors that play a role in this process, and governments use a variety of tools and methods to attract the MNC's investments for their countries, such as state aids, privileged tax practices and other benefits. On the other hand, the importance of quality in the market strategies of enterprises in the globalization process has also affected working conditions. A perspective that focuses on businesses' production activities has become the issue, and the insight that it is important to reduce the cost has become

widespread. In this direction, the global competition pressure is emerging on domestic companies as well as governments. While governments are focusing on neoliberal practices, particularly privatization, in order to cope with these pressures, local companies are trying to break this pressure through cost leadership, outsourcing, strong political links and so on. For instance, Yeşilyurt Gündüz (2015) notes that the economic model of AKP is built on two bases, on the one hand, encouraging consumption and on the other hand, commercialization and privatization of everything: The author claims that AKP has encouraged people to fill in shopping centres by encouraging craze consumption with consumer loans and hence most of the people have become silent, happy and obedient with the "opium effect" created by consumption. On the other hand, AKP has made tremendous profit gains through the commercialization of all-natural resources- that all the people of the society ought to benefit from- such as lands, rivers, mountains, agricultural land, historic buildings, forests, parks, etc. The AKP's program is built on economic growth and ever-growing capital, and the government is, therefore, resisting the increase of workers' security regulations. It is also important to refer to Turkey's unique characteristic separating it from the literature in this context: Although Turkey also strives to be a centre of attraction for international capital, it is trying to open up the fronts of local giants more than international capital, probably as a result of its statist features.

From 2002 to 2011, work accidents increased by 40 per cent - an average of 219 accidents, four deaths and five unemployed in a day. The mining industry is the most dangerous sector, and more than 10% of miners are exposed to work accidents. These are the lethal consequences of thirty years of privatization, subcontracting, outsourcing, poor job safety and health regulations, and non-institutional audits prepared in advance by the authorities. These factors have made Turkey "cheap" and "competitive" to serve Western capitalism (Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2015). Sönmez (2015) also states that together with mining and energy, construction is one of the locomotives of the government in the economy, and therefore various irregularities are tolerated. The other common aspect of these three sectors is that they are the sectors where work accidents are seen the most. Considering the change process, while Güler (2016) stated that the main goal of "integration with the world" and "reduction of the state" would be realized with three tools: "liberation", "privatization" and "localization"; according to Arı (2006), this transition process consists of four basic stages: deregulation, decentralization, privatization, and reregulation. With globalization, certain economic policies have been envisaged for all countries. The narrowing limits of profit were

the main reason for this new model, which does not allow capitalist decisions within a single nation by opening the entire earth to the capital, and it aims to move the input and product markets of capital beyond the nation-state. While the capital of the central countries faced with a crisis of accumulation is trying to open up the entire global market to its own capital as a field of marketing and manufacturing activities of their products; the nation-state rules have changed in the political and economic spheres as if they completed each other and a great change has occurred in the direction of the central capital's objectives. This powerful transformation, which is the harmonization of the economies, the adaptation to globalization or various other expressions, forces the change of the old and established rules on the basis of the nation-state. In other words, by the deregulation of the fundamental rules of the nation-state first, they want to reregulate the new rules as they wish. The deregulation operation has carried out reregulation, which is suitable for globalization, through the establishment in the form of decentralization in the political arena and privatization in the field of economy.

The transition process included liberalizing commodity markets and integrating with global capital markets, financial liberalization. While the expectations with the transition were to achieve fiscal and monetary stability, stimulate business confidence to invest in productive sectors, produce stable growth, encourage privatization and control inflation; Turkey's post-1980 neoliberal model has suffered persistent problems, and the new hegemony of the capital markets has gone hand-in-hand with deteriorating macroeconomic performance, a worsening income distribution, the discrediting of politics and its isolation from society (Cizre-Sakallıoğlu and Yeldan, 2000). But what were the reasons for the dramatic gap between the expected gains from market-led growth and the lacklustre results that have been achieved so far? According to Cizre-Sakallıoğlu and Yeldan (2000), this failure could be a result of deviations from stabilization policy objective or 'the inherent difficulties with the neoliberal structural adjustment model, at least in the Turkish setting' (Boratav et al., 1996: 391 as cited in *ibid.*) or 'the dilemma of simultaneity'. Öniş (2004: 115) has looked at the issue from another point of view and specified an interesting explanation: The origin of the crises in 1994, 2000, and 2001 was the Özal's decision to open up the capital account fully in August 1989. This decision was Özal's own initiative, and many commentators have interpreted it as "a premature decision in the presence of pervasive macroeconomic instability and a severely under-regulated financial system". Lastly, when the globalization trend is seen as a means to bring about restructuring policies in developed economies, which have a capital texture with the intense crisis, it is observed that the policies

developed and implemented in this direction are in favour of the developed economies in the long run while they are a disadvantage to developing peripheral economies (Arı, 2006).

Contradictions and problems arising from the characteristics of the neoliberal model is also important. Many studies analysed the relationship between work accidents and the characteristics of the neoliberal economic model have shown that there is a direct or indirect relationship between them. In this context, privatization, subcontracting and temporary employment system, changing characteristics of working-class, strategic preferences of businesses, performance-oriented working or performance concerns of businesses, income inequality may have an increasing effect on work accidents and death of workers.

With the examples of the Soma Massacre and Gezi Park uprising, Ercan and Oğuz (2015) revealed how the working class and the control mechanisms on the working class have changed with neoliberal policies and how this change caused the work-related accidents. According to the authors, the neoliberal policy tools such as the systems of redevalue, subcontracting, charity distribution, and repression and hegemony with the problems of late industrialization and energy need have revealed the unity of fate of workers and stated that all workers, regardless of whether they are qualified or not, are victims of this system. For instance, the death of the qualified and non-qualified workers together in the Soma massacre, which is a direct result of neoliberalism and government policies, was a striking example of sharing a common fate for workers.

Since neoliberal economic policies require the establishment of new and diverse control mechanisms on labour, the workforce was often controlled by absolute surplus-value production and wage-pressure policies made possible by a number of restrictions on labours. This has led to a direct link between education and employment, as it requires a more qualified and flexible labour force, which has led to a reduction in the importance of formal education and an increase in the importance of short-term vocational training. In this context, on the one hand, indirect voluntary programs such as lifelong education programs, on the other hand, the "4+4+4 education model" as a direct and compulsory program have been implemented.

Thus, when the class phenomena of the 2000s are considered, neoliberal economic policies have led to the dissolution of the peasantry and the massive growth of waged labour, Participation of Kurdish peasants and women in the workforce, especially as cheap labour force, Transformation of the public sector and proletarianization of professionals, increased

insecurity among all segments of the working class. "In brief, the change in the orientation of Turkish capitalism towards productive accumulation in the 2000s meant more exploitation, labour flexibility and significant changes in the pattern of class formation in Turkey" (p.122). Gezi Park Protests, on the one hand, has helped raise awareness of the working class, which is unaware of this situation, while on the other hand, has encouraged the working class, which is aware of this situation, to claims their rights.

Privatization, which is the form of the structural adjustment policy implemented by the MNCs on nation-states, emerged when the social state withdrew from the economic sphere as a result of the economic clogging of the 1970s. It is stressed by the neo-liberal economists that the public sector is inefficient, and hence it uses the resources in an inefficient way. In addition, they pointed out that the presence of the government has an adverse effect on competition (Ellwood, 2002). In this direction, many public administrations have been privatized to be more effective!

Neoliberal globalization has also caused changes in the social security systems of countries in the labour market (Eyck, 2003). In many countries, reforms have been made in social security systems to reduce public spending. Employers and public contributions to the system have been reduced, and health benefits and pensions have been redefined. Applications such as subcontracting practices and voluntary pension systems that reduce labour costs have also been reorganized in accordance with laws, pensions, health and safety conditions. In this process, the applications such as subcontracted companies, partial or temporary employment, the right to change the number of workers as the employer wish have become very common practices for large companies and especially subcontracting system which could be defined as the transfers of the large companies' operations that were done by themselves to "small-scale enterprises" operating as union-free and even insecure and in working conditions where health and safety conditions are ignored, is considered as inevitable (Uyanık, 2008).

It would be useful to focus on Soma Holding, an example of where most of the above explanations take place. Soma Lignite Mines which were a state-owned property and operated by Turkey Coal Enterprises (TKİ), was privatized in 2005 with the 'redevance' system, first introduced into Turkey in the late 1980s as a means to prevent unlicensed mining. Before the Soma massacre, Alp Gürkan, CEO of Soma Holding, has announced in an interview that they have reduced their production costs from \$ 130 to \$ 24 per ton, including the 15 per cent royalty share, after privatization (Hürriyet Daily, 2012; Ercan and

Oğuz, 2015; Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2015). When it is asked how they succeeded this, Gürkan simply answered, ‘the business style of the private sector came into play, that’s all’. Ercan and Oğuz (2015) emphasize that what Gürkan meant by ‘business style of the private sector’ included various elements of the new control mechanisms like the subcontracting established over labour. Moreover, Yeşilyurt Gündüz (2015) highlighted that this "success" was the result of the reductions in production costs such as wages and security precautions and stated that many miners are inadequately trained and temporary or informal workers and some of them are even underage. Interestingly, in July 2013, the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources appreciated Soma Holding for creating "example mining complexes that hold miners’ safety in the foreground". After the accident, it was understood that the real situation was different. Then, why is this "appreciation" given? Could it be because of the close ties between Soma Holding and the government? This issue will be dealt with in detail in terms of concrete outputs showing firm state relations such as activity permits, audits, sanctions. In other words, in the context of organizational control, in contrast to the mainstream approaches that centralize the interests of the organization, the controlling phenomenon will be dealt with from the perspective of Critical approaches, which stresses control as a restraint mechanism and a process of self-production as Özcan (2014) emphasized.

Interesting examples do not end with this: In October 2013, seven months before the Soma massacre, a deputy from the main opposition party proposed a parliamentary commission to investigate numerous workplace accidents and emergency safety precautions in the context of the Soma mines to improve safety regulations. This was rejected by the AKP parliamentarians on 29 April 2014, and the AKP parliament has declared that Turkish mines are safer than most countries (Saymaz, 2016; Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2015), but neither this statement nor the strong link between the government and the firm did nothing in preventing the Soma massacre. The necessary lessons were not taken even after this massacre. Just six months after the massacre in Soma, on October 28, 2014, a broken wall had been forced by 11,000 tons of water, and as a result of this, 18 miners in Ermenek / Karaman have been stranded in the coal mine. The miners were at the lunch break and normally needed to eat their meals outside the mine. However, it has not been allowed by the mine owner because it would last longer on the earth and therefore would reduce profit. Later, it was learned that miners sent 124 letters of complaint to the Ministry of Labour about the inhuman and unsafe working conditions of the mine (Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2015) but nothing had done, and the massacre happened.

Both the characteristics of clientelism stemming from statist polity and the applications reducing the role and power of states due to the neoliberal policies have led to the reduction of the control capacity of states and hence of government's effectiveness in decision-making processes. This also means that managerial inadequacy of managerial and organizational functions is increasing. In this case, national governments lose the powers of mobilizing all existing mechanisms to manage the domestic economy, accelerating economic growth, and providing the foundation for legitimacy. In the case of the nation-state, it brings many negativities together, such as the disappearance of sovereignty and independence, the transformation of the social state, and the lack of social politics (Esgin, 2001). It is also evident that the regulatory role of the government is declining for working conditions, which include work health and safety. The characteristics of labour also have altered, and this change in the labour market takes place as two sets of related processes. First, the role of direct state action and market allocation has been changed in terms of the national and subnational regulatory pattern. Thus, the labour market has been deregulated, and rules have been re-established. This has limited the scope of the welfare state and has caused the resolution of pressure on employers' administrative and economic sovereignty. Latter; due to the growth in unemployment and people seeking waged work, businesses have implemented radical changes to their competitiveness and profitability, including methods of production, business models, corporate organisational forms, labour recruitment and retention practices, and approaches to control the labour process (Hudson, 2002: 317).

International forces and the globalized market economy have been trying to strictly limit the state's liberty in both internal and external politics, and as a consequence of this, the decrease in the economic power of the state and the changes in the way the state intervenes in the economy have been observed. In the process of the rapid spread of free trade rules and global competition, while the development of international relations, the increase of competition, the weakening of the nation-state structure has brought supranational structures to the forefront; the capital has gained power, and the labours have suffered power loss at that rate. Making the free-market economy principles the only standard around the world has caused a shift in trends that protect capital, labour-based competition, and competitive dependence rather than regulations that protect the workforce (Balkır, 2008).

The decline in the strength of the nation-state has changed the power relations in the market economy in favour of MNCs' policies. In this sense, the mobility of the capital

creates problems, especially for the underdeveloped and developing countries, and the capital chooses the countries where the workforce is not adequately protected. In other words, the countries which have no or very weak work health and safety policies and social security for the workforce have become the first choice of the capital (Hudson, 2002).

Lastly, as mentioned many times above, although Turkey wanted and applied the neo-liberal economic model, it still retains the power of statist polity characteristics in its own internal organs and institutions, and this situation has created a conflict between *étatiste* mindset or bureaucratic elites and capitalist mindset (Öniş, 2004). Similar conflicts can be observed when the strategic preferences of companies are considered. For instance, when Özen and Akkemik (2011) explain the drawbacks of having hybrid missions that becoming both manufacturing and financial companies, they also explain why Turkish industrial companies have limited innovation capacity and poor competitive advantages in international markets. Due to the necessity to become flexible, even though this can be regarded as a ‘rational’ survival strategy, they have neglected the commitment to long-term investments in production technology, human resources, product development, and R&D. Therefore, with their own words (p.19), “to be able to apply this strategy, organizations would avoid commitment to long-term, embedded relations with other organizations because the adoption of a hybrid mission would become more difficult. As a result, despite its flexibility advantage, this strategy would make organizations short-term oriented and atomistic. In the long run, this would lead industrial organizations to face difficulties in developing distinctive competencies in production, products, and human resources as well as in benefiting from external economies arising from embedded inter-organizational relations (see Uzzi, 1996). These causal links may partially explain why Turkish industrial companies have had limited innovation capacities and poor competitive advantages in international markets, as stated by a Turkish businessman, Kavi (2003). In such a case, local companies remaining behind their international competitors may try to keep themselves in the race by providing cheaper workforce and working conditions which has less control and secure mechanism for workers. Indeed, Turkish industrialists aim to provide their international legacies with neoliberal policies on the one hand; with the statist polity features on the other side, they have applied such hybrid strategies to counterbalance their innovation and competitive advantage weaknesses towards MNCs. For this reason, it should be further discussed that the application of such strategies by the Turkish industrialists caused many undesirable situations, especially at work accidents.

iii. *Weak or Politicized Union System*

The most important tool in the implementation of neoliberal policies has been privatization (Sarımehmet Duman, 2019) and subcontracting (Gürcan and Mete, 2017; 101-108). It was also revealed that privatizations, which means the liquidation of the public sector, caused a significant decline in terms of both employment creation and unionisation. Another important factor that weakens the unions and unionization is the subcontracting system which is “a kind of flexible work” and considered as a form of employment synonymous with insecurity. In addition to these, the issues such as changing characteristics of the working-class (Gürcan and Mete, 2017: 127), performance-oriented working (Katsakiori et al., 2008), income inequality (Gürcan and Mete, 2017: 10) and adverse global context and precarity (i.e., Trif et al., 2021) have played an important role in the process of weakening trade unions.

Considering the total number of workers and unionized workers in Turkey, the change of them between 2003 and 2016 is significant. In this period, while the total number of workers increased by almost three times, the number of unionized workers has decreased to 1.714.397 from 2.717.326 (Table 2.2). In other words, the per centage of unionized workers has reduced to 12,98 from the 57,98% and during this period. The highest rate in this period was 58.98% in 2009, while the lowest rate was 8.40% in 2012.

Table 2. 2: The numbers of workers and unionized workers (2003-2018)

	Total Number of Workers	Number of Unionized Workers	Rate (%)
January 2003	4.686.618	2.717.326	57,98
January 2004	4.857.792	2.806.927	57,78
January 2005	4.970.784	2.901.943	58,37
January 2006	5.088.515	2.987.431	58,70
January 2007	5.210.046	3.043.732	58,42
January 2008	5.414.423	3.179.510	58,72
January 2009	5.434.433	3.205.662	58,98
January 2010	Not available	Not available	
January 2011	Not available	Not available	
January 2012	11.110.104	937.810	8,40
January 2013	10.881.618	1.001.671	9,21
January 2014	11.600.554	1.096.540	9,45
January 2015	12.180.945	1.297.464	10,65
January 2016	12.663.783	1.514.053	11,96
January 2017	12.699.769	1.546.565	12,18
January 2018	13.844.196	1.714.397	12,38

Source: The Ministry of Labour and Social Security

According to the DİSK-AR report (10 August 2017), despite the official unionization rate of 12 per cent in 2017, the actual situation is even more depressing and the actual unionization rate, including unregistered workers, is 10 per cent. The more interesting result

is observed when the different unions have become the subject: There are three main union confederations in Turkey which are Türk-İş, Hak-İş and DİSK. The change and fluctuations in the number of these confederations show highly interesting figures (Table 2.3 and Figure 2.4). For instance, while the number of Türk-İş members increased by 28 per cent in the last four years, the increase in the number of DİSK members was 46 per cent. However, Hak-İş increased the number of members between 2013-2017 by 227 per cent. There has been no significant increase in terms of independent labours and other confederations. I need to state here that Hak-İş is considered the official union of the government.

Table 2. 3: Number of Members of the Main Confederations (2013-2017)

Period	TÜRK-İŞ		HAK-İŞ		DİSK		OTHERS		TOTAL	
	Num. of Member	Change (%)	Num. of members	Change (%)	Num. of members	Change (%)	Num. of members	Change (%)	Num. of members	Change (%)
2013-Jan.	709.162		166.553		100.202		25.754		1.001.671	
2013-July	726.350	2,42	176.696	6,09	103.156	2,95	25.964	0,82	1.032.166	3,04
2014-Jan.	770.441	6,07	191.587	8,43	107.858	4,56	26.664	2,70	1.096.540	6,24
2014-July	788.388	2,33	251.232	31,13	112.393	4,20	37.468	40,52	1.189.481	8,48
2015-Jan.	820.893	4,12	300.630	19,66	122.547	9,03	53.394	42,51	1.297.464	9,08
2015-July	842.322	2,61	388.078	29,09	143.251	16,89	55.405	3,77	1.429.056	10,14
2016-Jan.	877.587	4,19	436.542	12,49	144.291	0,73	55.633	0,41	1.514.053	5,95
2016-July	882.486	0,56	447.930	2,61	141.940	-1,63	27.504	-50,56	1.499.860	-0,94
2017-Jan.	889.509	0,80	488.723	9,11	141.729	-0,15	26.604	-3,27	1.546.565	3,11
2017-July	907.328	2,00	544.566	11,43	145.988	3,01	25.744	-3,23	1.623.626	4,98

Note: Other categories include independent labours and other confederations. **Source:** It is adapted from the DİSK-AR report (10.08.2017)

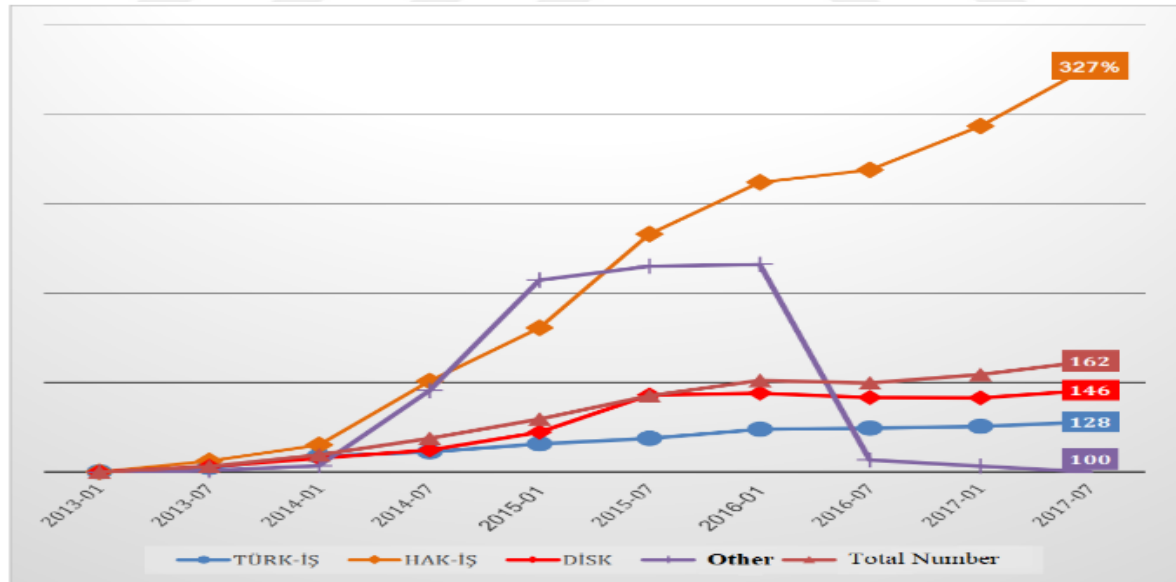


Figure 2. 3: Membership Growth Rate of the Confederations 2013-2017 (2013: 100)

Between 2013 and 2017, the distribution of the 622,000 increases of members in union membership among the confederations is quite asymmetrical. Since January 2013, the membership growth rate of Hak-İş was 227 per cent. It is seen that Hak-İş is rapidly

organized, especially among the public and subcontracted workers during this period (DİSK-AR, 2017). Hak-İş, which has received the government's open support, is rapidly approaching Türk-İş.

The distribution of the increase in membership among the confederations is even more striking in Figure 2.3. While there was a sharp rise in Hak-İş, the increase rate of Turk-İş remained below the rate of increase in the total number of workers. The member increase rate of DİSK was above Türk-İş while it was below the total union member increase rate. It would not be wrong to claim that the reason for the fluctuations in independent and small confederations (which represents as other) is the member unions of Aksiyon-İş. This confederation was closed after the 15 July 2016 coup attempt due to its link to a terrorist organization (FETO / PYD). The probable cause of the sudden rise of this confederation as of January 2014 may be the operations on 17/25 December 2013, when the government and the FETO group took sides against each other. Even only this situation is an important sign of politicized unions.

These numbers and signs are important variables in terms of the effectiveness of unions. According to Morantz (2013; 88-89), an “*effective*” union system is a vital issue in terms of reducing the work-related accidents and death of workers due to the numerous benefits of unionization. She concluded her work with the emphasis that unionization can reduce traumatic injuries between 14 and 32% whilst it also can decrease the death of workers between 29 and 83% (p. 89-90). As many studies highlighted (i.e., Çelik, 2008; Morantz, 2013; Şafak, 2006, 2007, 2013), unionization is important in many respects and have significant benefits, but which kind of unionization? There are important issues influencing the efficiency and power of unions. In this respect, Önder and Üsdiken's (2016) study analysed unions of different periods can make an important contribution to the issue because they revealed the three-different union systems which are influenced by various institutional logic: The study, aimed at revealing how a dominant institutional logic changed, focuses on labours in the period of 1947-1980. The period, in terms of socio-political context, has divided into three different periods which are Political Pressure (1947-61), Political Freedom (1962-73) and Political Turmoil (1974-80) and in these periods, the dominant logics in the organizational field were respectively the logic of obedience, independent unionism and political unionism. This study revealed three dominant logics in three periods but only one period with only one dominant logic was able to represent the actual union activities. What is meant by actual union activities is the system of unionism

that priorities the improvement activities or issues for workers, which is/must be the main aim of any labours, rather than both the activities creating systems that prevent the prohibition or practical application of situations in which workers can seek their rights such as collective bargaining and peaceful strikes (Koç, 2010, 2012) and unions that prioritize to please other parties such as bosses or governments. Önder and Üsdiken (2016) suggest that the priority of unions in different union systems varies, for instance, the workers have hardly any tools for seeking their rights in the period when obedience logic was dominant, while under the logic of independent unionism, the number of rights-seeking tools such as peaceful strikes and collective bargaining, and therefore the numbers of unions and members of unions were quite high. To give an example, the number of trade unions that did not even reach 200 at the beginning of the 1960s reached 775 during the 9-year independent labour period. The number of the collective labour contracts signed had risen from 96 to 1443, and the number of official strikes, which was 7 in 1963, had risen to 111 in 1970 (DİE (TurkStat), 1972 as cited in Önder and Üsdiken 2016).

Radical political movements had left the real purpose of labourism in the shadow when political unionism was dominant. In this context, 1977-1980 MESS strikes, which are seen as the most important and instructive experience of the recent history of Turkey in terms of union-political relations, and its significant impacts have disturbed many groups, especially the boss class and the government, and ended with the military coup on September 12, 1980 (Şafak, 2007). There were two important outputs of this period. Firstly, this period also caused the unions to break up with deep gaps between themselves and thus to create different union systems because of intergenerational competitions and conflicts. For example, members of DİSK and the Türk-İş trade unions see each other almost as enemies and sometimes even support legal regulations against each other (Önder and Üsdiken, 2016: 580). The second outcome is the passing of laws and regulations that restrict labour rights under the supervision of the dominant military administrations (Pamuk, 2017, p.266). Following the 1982 Constitution, labour rights were largely restricted by 1983 dated 2821 and 2822 union laws, which was adopted by the National Security Council (MGK) without consultation in the Advisory Council as the "product of a reactionary and elaborative approach" (Şafak, 2007) and it also reduces the income of workers (Pamuk, 2017).

There are many factors behind the failure of unions to protect workers' rights. The most notable of these are institutional issues such as restricted collective bargaining (Koukiadaki et al., 2016; Müller et al., 2019; Trin et al., 2021) and market deregulation

(Doellgast et al., 2018; Müller et al., 2019; Trin et al., 2021), and structural issues such as slow economic growth and declining manufacturing employment (Grimshaw et al., 2018; Trin et al., 2021). On the other hand, in addition to the above universal reasons, the intertwined institutional and structural problems under the aggressive capitalist agenda draw attention in the context of Turkey (Gürcan and Mete, 2017).

Gürcan and Mete (2017) attempt to shed light on the evolution of labour relations and labour movements in Turkey, with a special focus on the neoliberal era, which the AKP pursued and drove to extremes with its aggressive capitalist agenda. In this period, the authors point out that the suppression of organizational working-class capacities facilitated the implementation of the neoliberal privatization agenda, resulting in the disappearance of public sector workers who were the main component of many combative unions and widespread de-unionisation. Moreover, the unions' concessionary attitudes and defensive response to privatization prevented the formation of a united front against neoliberal policies that eventually ranged from the expansion of subcontracting to the flexibility of labour markets.

In sum, as the examples above clarified, the effectiveness and purpose of existence of the labours can be crucial. Therefore, it should be seen as one of the most important tasks of the governments to make all necessary laws and regulations about the autonomous unions to improve work safety and health. For this reason, the last issue I will discuss on work safety and health is laws and regulations.

iv. The Dysfunction of Laws:

Another area where we suffered great distress was the judicial system. Especially in the cases of the Labour Courts, 99.2 per cent of the employers were found unfair. In order to change this, we made it possible to put the mandatory arbitration system into practice. The cases which were taking months, even years, are now resolved in days and weeks now. With this in mind, on behalf of our community, I would like to thank Mr. President, Prime Minister, Ministers and Assembly, bureaucrats, who have always supported us, working together with us. (Rıfat Hisarcıklioğlu, the President of TOBB, 15.05.2018)

The lack of the deterrent laws or lack of implementation of existing (deterrent) laws is an important factor regarding increases in work-related accidents and death of workers. Thus, the comparison of the Turkish laws related work safety and ILO contracts should be applied. Turkey has signed many agreements with the ILO and the EU in terms of worker

health and safety. Table 2 shows some of the important ILO conventions approved and not approved by Turkey. The promised arrangements and practices in these contracts are also observed to be problematic in many respects in practice.

Considering the current situation, as of 1 May 2021, the official website of ILO Turkey Office indicates that Turkey confirmed 59 ILO conventions and 55 of them are in force but four contracts cannot be put into effect because of opposition (ILO-Ankara, 2021; ILO, 2018). The site, which also states that there is no new contract approved in the last 12 months, shares the following information about the contents of approved contracts:

- Fundamental contracts: all of them (8)
- Governance (Priority) Contracts: 3 out of 4
- Technical Contracts: 48 of 177 contracts

Almost all of the fundamental and governance contracts have been approved, but almost 63% of the technical contracts have not yet been approved. Therefore, this shows that the health and safety of workers are also significantly lacking. Çetin and Karatay Gögül (2015) state that unapproved contracts are the cause of workers' deaths especially in construction (C167), mining (C176) and agriculture (C129 and C184) sectors.

Another problem with the law is that it ignores the "malicious acts" behind work accidents. Since work accidents are handled with the qualification of "accident", no action can be taken according to the criminal law. If the emphasis on decisions is taken according to the Turkish Criminal Code, will work accidents decrease? Thebaud-Mony (2017) stated that the law on work accidents, published in France in 1898, considered these accidents as an integral part of the business activity and enabled compensation rights and hence these accidents have usually become a part of insurable work risks. Even though, this law created the first round of social and political acceptance of health effects of working conditions; the social consensus that allowed for the acceptance of the law could not base this fundamental right which emphasizes protecting workers against work accidents. This right, which arises from the inequalities on which the capitalist economic growth lies, and from the founding contradictions of industrial societies, opened the negotiating area for the victims. However, it could not place work health in the area of public health and risk supervision or in a judgment where the Criminal Code principles that punish all forms of killing and injuring others, even if they are unintentional, are taken as a reference. Therefore, it may be easily

claimed that this kind of insights may increase the work accidents and help the impression management techniques to be successful.

Finally, the statement of the president of TOBB, which is cited at the beginning of this part, could be regarded as a summary of all four mechanisms behind the work accidents and death of workers. In a neoliberal economic model, business groups have a big power and with the clientelism as a characteristic of statist polity, business groups can use their power for their benefits opportunistically such as the misuse of laws, force of governmental institutions to make changes as they wish and weakening of unions. Another statement of the TOBB president shows this clearly; *“the legislation on work health and safety was bringing great burdens to our SMEs and it has been removed by us”* (TOBB, 2018). Ergün Atalay, the Chairman of Türk-İş has announced their concerns with the following words *“Apparently there is no social dialogue in the agenda of employers. As Türk-İş, we publicly shared all our concerns about the regulations that were ‘made’ by TOBB. The announcements made once again revealed our right. The employer’s statement explaining that the issues such as removal of work health and safety provisions, reduction of employment costs and the provision of mandatory arbitration regulation have been realized by them with the government is thought-provoking”* (hukukihaber.net, 2018)

In a nutshell, in neoliberal economies, business people and politicians have paid more attention to matters such as working day, productivity decrease, reduction in production rather than the deaths of workers. These deaths would not increase in recent years and would be prevented by taking necessary measures. It is the basic duty of the state to provide reliable working conditions. While production is being held in the foreground, the ignorance of human life shows the existence of an unhealthy social and political system. Because of precariousness, lack of inspection and seeing work health and safety measures as a cost element, workers are dying. The concept of work accidents is now regarded as a job murder in Turkey, and this has become a justifiable definition. Although reducing the labour cost is the basic ration of the capitalist system, economies that value labour safety rather than cheap labour and the countries that value it are more productive (e.g., Büyükbay, 2014; Tekin, 2014; ILO, 2014). The world is becoming more sensitive to job accidents in the direction of preventing human tragedies, economic and social harm. The President of ISSA, Errol Frank Stooze says investments in work safety and health lead to remarkable economic progress. A research of the ISSA has revealed that an enterprise has provided an average of twice the amount of money it spends on job security (ISSA, 2013). According to another research of

ISSA (2011), companies can expect potentially 2.20 units of economic return each year for 1.00 units of investment in terms of workplace preventive measures per employee. Investigations in Canada show that every dollar invested in job security brings between two and eight dollars in profits. This may be an incentive even for the system of economic mind which sees human life on the second plan. The quality of the products is highest where the job safety is the best. The ILO research demonstrates that investments in work safety and health improve production. The comparison of the rates of 31 industrial and developing countries supports this data, as well. The fall of fatal work accidents brings highly competitive power. Tekin (2014) conducted a research based on a survey of 46,738 participants from 53 companies of manufacturing, mining, construction and other industries in eight cities of Turkey. According to its results, per capita annual return of the commitment to or preventive measures of Work Health and Safety is 2.288,93 Turkish Lira. In short, not giving value to worker health and safety also damages the economy of the company and the country.

There are various factors or factors behind work accidents and studies conducted and practices successfully implemented in many countries have indicated that work-related deaths or serious injuries can be avoided. The sensitivity to prevent work accidents in our country is not shown sufficient because of the issues highlighted above. In addition to these, there is the perception that work accidents are connected to the mistakes of the workers, the nature of work or the destiny. For instance, in 2012, a fire broke out at the construction of a shopping mall which is one of the most central locations in Istanbul. The following sentence was written on the exterior of the construction where the fire broke out: *Four main reasons for accidents; I could not see, I could not think, I do not know, I have a hurry!* (Güranlı, 2012). In Adana, Ahmet Yıldız, who was just a seventh-grade student, died as a result of an accident in his workplace. He was just 13 years old child and worked without any insurance. His father's comment on this situation was very interesting: *"The God gave my son, Good took him. This is his fate, it is destiny. there is nothing to do. We are not enemy; we have no hostile feelings. What can I say about God's order? I am not complaining. God bless his (the business owner's) work. He would not want it to be, as well"* (Kaymak, 2013).

As can be easily understood from the examples, there is a perception that the work accidents are related only to the workers or the destiny and this perception is also accepted by the public. For this reason, the issue of work accidents finds itself in the midst of a debate about whether it is fate or fatalism because some people want to use fatalism as a

rationalization or justification tool. These people use such discourse (fatalism) in this direction to cover their fault with the help of statist polity characteristics or prevent their economic losses with the help of neoliberal policies. For example, the construction sector, one of the industries with the highest incidence of fatal work accidents in Turkey, is not subject to any serious sanctions despite carried out inspections and controls. Moreover, sometimes the companies in this industry receive very heavy "monetary" penalties. The reason why the firms in this sector are not subject to serious sanctions is the fact that a) they provide liquid (hot) money movement in the economy, b) they have close relationship to the ruling governments and hence supported by the governments and c) it has deliberately hardened very difficult to detect the guilty person or people by means of the subcontractor system (Çetin and Karatay Gögöl, 2015; Saymaz, 2013).

Çetin and Karatay Gögöl (2015: 4) emphasize this situation as follows; *“Unemployment, on the one hand; unsupervised, unhealthy and unsafe working environments on the other hand, and ultimately the belief that the employer will get rid of their responsibility in some way... It explains the excess of workers’ deaths in Turkey in a detailed manner”*. Therefore, work accidents are not increasing only legal reasons but also for economic reasons. The employer has a simple idea! Investing in business health and safety is a waste of money in any way but if there will not any accidents, there is no need to pay any compensation for workers or their family. Thus, they prefer paying compensation for workers or their families rather than the cost of work health and safety.

This situation, which can be named as fatalism policy, is used by the administrators as a good political and socio-cultural tool that can suppress the emerged or increased emotions such as displeasure, anger, rebellion and so on in the society after the catastrophic events. With these discourses, a perception is created to show work accidents as a natural occurrence, predestination, etc. and the political discourse is rationalized and legitimized. Thus, it has also weakened the efforts on the prevention of work accidents. For this reason, even if there are many regulations and sanctions on the paper, they are often not applied in practice and they behave as if it were made.

In addition to the literature on the factors, some theories or theoretical tools that are effective in the functioning of these factors should also be discussed. First, Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) will be discussed because CDS is more than just an analysis; it is also a theoretical framework whose main goal is to expose any social power abuse, dominance, and inequality practices that workers face. In this context, all kinds of domination that

workers are exposed to will be tried to be disclosed. Like CDS, CMS will be beneficial with its stance against all forms of domination and inequality and its direct naturalization counter-principles. Finally, two important concepts of the New Institutional Theory will be discussed. These are legitimization, which has an active role in the naturalization process, and decoupling, which has an active role in the sustainability of this process.

2.2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The primary theoretical framework benefited by the study is critical management studies. Theoretical research and readings, especially in the context of critical theory, have concluded that CMS is beneficial and suitable for two-way contributions in terms of the study (i.e., Alvesson and Deetz, 1999; Alvesson et al., 2009; Alvesson & Willmott, 1992; Bottomore, 2016; Deetz, 2003; Willmott, 2005; Holz, 2014; Khan et al., 2007; Yıldırım, 2007). Two of the three main principles of CMS, anti-performativity and denaturalization, have been found to have the potential to both benefit greatly from the study and make some important contributions to the field.

In the context of anti-performativity, there are serious discussions, especially starting with the critical performativity (CP) recontextualization of Spicer et al. (2009) and continuing to the present day. The main topic of these debates is whether it should be based on anti-performativity or critical performativity, or directly on performativity as suggested by mainstream management theories. The preliminary data obtained in the study point to the data that performativity may cause much bigger problems than hegemony in the context of Turkey. Therefore, it becomes important both to test this and to discuss which performativity is more appropriate in Turkey context.

On the other hand, in terms of denaturalization, with few exceptions observed in recent years (i.e., Goldman, 2020; Leca and Cruz, 2021), important studies of the field have focused entirely on theoretical issues and have produced studies that only analyse academic studies related to mainstream management theories. Moreover, there is no holistic study on what kind of process the denaturalization is, and each researcher draws a path in line with his/her own background. As a matter of fact, these studies were also very limited, and denaturalization became a discourse that only says what not to do (i.e., Reedy and King, 2019). For this reason, many critics state that CMS researchers do not see the potential of CMS (i.e., Prasad et al., 2015) or do not dare to address these “dangerous” issues (i.e.,

Tourish, 2019). One of the criticisms made to CMS is that it focuses only on academic texts and fails to show any social impact (i.e., Alvesson, 2021; Tourish, 2019). Moreover, Alvesson (2021), one of the key figures of the field, stated that even a short text to be given to national newspapers could be more effective. For all these reasons, this study is concerned to evaluate the arguments put forward by CMS in the context of its potential by combining all these criticisms against CMS. Thus, in the context of both anti-performativity and denaturalization, these two issues will be discussed through national newspapers by going beyond academic studies, and the denaturalization process will be tried to be revealed. Moreover, this will be done in the context of work accidents, which is a very “dangerous” issue.

The concepts of legitimization (i.e., Deephouse and Suchman; 2008; Meyer and Rowan, 1977), due to its critical function in the (de)naturalization process and decoupling (i.e., Austen and Kapias, 2016; Bromley and Powell, 2012; Maclean and Behnam, 2010; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Pache and Santos, 2013). These two concepts have been studied extensively in many different fields. In this study, it was understood that they are significant, especially in the context of naturalization vs denaturalization. For this reason, the relevant readings required the use of new institutional theory in decoupling and legitimacy issues. In the context of legitimacy, the discursive legitimacy literature will also be used (i.e., van Leeuwen, 2007; Vaara et al., 2006)

Another theoretical framework utilized is CDS. CDA emerged as a method of analysis, but later went beyond an analysis method with considerable contributions by researchers such as Fairclough (e.g., Fairclough, 1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1998, 2000, 2001b, 2001a, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2005, 2006, 2013), Wodak (e.g., Wodak, 1991; 2013; Wodak & Meyer, 2013), van Dijk (e.g., van Dijk, 1980, 1988a, 1988b, 1991a, 1991b, 1993a, 1998, 2007, 2015a), and van Leeuwen (e.g., Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; van Leeuwen, 2008). As a result, a new theoretical framework, synthesized from many theories, has emerged in revealing all kinds of abuse and hegemony (e.g., Chun, 2020; Flowerdew & Richardson, 2018; van Dijk, 2016). Therefore, this study focuses on theoretical issues with Critical Discourse Studies (CDS) and methodological issues with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and firstly, the theoretical aspects of the subject are discussed here, and the method dimensions are discussed in methodology.

2.2.1. Critical Theory and Critical Management Studies (CMS)

2.2.1.1. Critical Theory

Guess (2013: 11) discusses two main purposes of critical theory. The first of these, critical theory aims to produce emancipation and enlightenment by making sure that agents are aware of the secret forces and thus bring them to such a place that they will be able to save them from these forces and determine where their right interests are. The other one is that it is to save individuals from a force they have imposed on themselves or in other words, it is to save them from their self-frustration of conscious human action. Alvesson and Deetz (1996: 192) point out the basic aim of critical theory with these words: “*the central goal of critical theory in organizational studies has been to create societies and workplaces which are free from domination, where all members have an equal opportunity to contribute to the production of systems which meet human needs and lead to the progressive development of all*”.

Critical theory, which channels important criticisms to modern western thought in the social and economic context, has found its value in the field of management and organization as Critical Management Studies (CMS) with the 1980s (Erdemir, 2009: 158). The book *Critical Management Studies*, published by Alvesson and Willmott in 1992, is regarded as the official beginning of the CMS (Fournier and Grey, 2000). One of the main objectives of the CMS is to expose the backgrounds of concepts used in organizational life through criticizing traditional and widely accepted management thought. The focus is not on managers’ failures or poor management experience in organizations but to change social injustices in social and economic systems by starting from their findings at the organizational level (Adler, Forbes and Willmott, 2007: 2; Alvesson and Willmott, 1996; Alvesson and Willmott, 2003). Critical theorists argue that with the contribution they want to make, a better situation can be created for everyone, both economically and administratively.

Spicer et al. (2016) make a striking summary of the development of CMS. Expressing that the third wave may begin for CMS, the authors point to Labour Process Theory (LPT) as the first wave of CMS. In this first wave, it is stated that the LPT has been criticized for overlooked issues that are vital for the “new” type of workplace, despite the significant contributions of business school academics with sociology backgrounds to the field (i.e., Clegg, 1989; Knights and Willmott, 1990). The criticisms and deficiencies here have provided the birth of the second wave inspired by critical theory (Frankfurt School) and

poststructuralist theory. The authors believe that the fundamental job of this second wave is to take the concepts of French philosophers and then apply these concepts to a variety of organisational challenges. This provides some important but quickly forgotten information about organisations and the workplace. This, in turn, has led to the start of the third wave, which is at the point of addressing and criticizing organizational issues of greater public importance rather than being driven by the application of ideas from fashionable thinkers (Spicer, 2014). They state that this third wave is more promising with the necessary discussions. In other words, the authors claim that the LPT and its continuation, the French intellectual-based critical theory discussions, are the old waves of the CMS; in other words, the current version of the CMS is the advanced form of these issues.

The ontological and epistemological stance of critical theory is also important for the understanding of CMS. Critical theory is objectivist in the ontological aspect while is epistemologically separate from positivism and exhibits a subjective stance (Johnson and Duberley, 2000). In other words, while critical theory stands close to anti-positivist epistemology, it is also close to realistic ontology. But this realistic stance is a critical realism, unlike other organizational theories. In a nutshell, critical theorists accept the existence of a reality outside us, but they claim that no one can find it exactly. Critical theorists are against to the positivism because they think that positivism denies the intelligibility of the cause phenomenon and it shows protective function to status quo (İçağasıoğlu Çoban and Buz, 2008; 82). As Fournier and Grey (2000) specified, some specific historical events or issues such as ‘the New Right and New Labour, managerialization and the internal crisis of management gave rise to CMS. The field of CMS encompasses a plurality of conflicting traditions but despite this plurality, boundaries of the field are drawn around what CMS is on the basis of anti-performativity, de-naturalization and reflexivity (i.e., Grey and Willmott, 2005; Fournier and Grey, 2000; Spicer, Alvesson and Karreman, 2009). Anti-performativity means that CMS should resist performance-oriented mind in sum, while de-naturalization means that CMS is against the acceptance of administrative assumptions taken for granted. Lastly, authors want to emphasize, by reflexivity, that CMS should challenge the implicit assumption around positivism (Fournier and Grey, 2000: 17-19).

Before moving on, I should point out that although some studies claim that CMS is differentiated from critical theory (for the review of discussions, see Klikauer, 2015), in this study, CMS is considered the sub-field of the critical theory in management field.

2.2.1.2. Critical Management Studies (CMS)

As Fournier and Grey (2000) emphasized, regardless of the existing order, anything should not be accepted as taken for granted or naturalized through ***legitimization by reference to nature and necessity***. In other words, the domination of the man to the woman, the white to the black, the capital to the labour is unacceptable (Alvesson et al., 2009; Grey and Willmott, 2005; Fournier and Grey, 2000). The naturalization of more exploitation or death of workers cannot be legitimized by employment or making more money rationale. In this context, the motto of CMS becomes "There is always an alternative" against the dominant discourse "That's how things are" and "there is no alternative". On the other hand, Adler et al. (2007) pointed out that the main motivation of CMS is neither personal failures of individual managers nor the mismanagement of certain organizations. It is the social injustice and environmental destructiveness of the wider social and economic systems that these managers and organizations serve and multiply. According to Fleming and Banerjee, (2016: 260), CMS questions the underlying normative premise that management efficiency is universally desirable and, that pursuing profit motives can only contribute to positive outcomes for the workforce and society. CMS is also motivated by a desire to change existing power factors in organizations to promote less oppressive practices that are not harmful to social and environmental wellbeing.

CMS are built on three important principles: de-naturalization, reflectivity and non-performativity (i.e., Adler et al., 2007; Fleming and Banerjee, 2016; Fournier and Grey, 2000). *Reflectivity* challenges the dominance of positivism in the methodologies of mainstream management research, revealing how all social scientific investigation is underpinned by political assumptions (Fleming and Banerjee, 2016: 257-258). *Anti-performativity* means that CMS should resist attempts to ‘*develop and celebrate knowledge which contributes to the production of maximum output for minimum input; it involves inscribing knowledge within means-ends calculation*’ (Fournier and Grey, 2000: 17). The principle of non-performativity rejects the means-ends rationality that governs many organizational situations, especially under neoliberal capitalism, which is characterized by a brazen cost-minimization/profit-maximization logic, which is based on Lyotard's (1984 as cited in Fournier and Grey, 2000) notion of instrumental performativity (Fournier and Grey, 2000: 17-18). *De-naturalization* refers to being opposed to the idea that the seemingly immutable ‘realities’ and ‘rationalities’ of managerialism.

When these three important principles are considered, it is understood that the reflexivity principle is generally accepted in all studies and is applied without any questioning. As a matter of fact, questioning the orthodox positivist methodology is inevitable for CMS. Therefore, in this study, reflexivity is also adapted in this way.

In terms of de-naturalization, it is also seen that there is a common consensus around the principle as in reflexivity. The theorists both working in the CMS in general and working in any of these three principals have emphasized, cared and defended the principle of de-naturalization. However, there is no clear explanation for the (de)naturalization process. It seems that this principle is almost accepted as a "taken for granted" assumption. Moreover, since the empirical studies of CMS mostly focus on the organizational level (Reedy and King, 2019; Wickert and Schaefer, 2015), it has not been sufficiently focused on problems at higher levels such as the institutional and societal level for any principles. The following expression used by Reedy and King (2019: 569) for critical performativity, which is the most debated principle of recent years, is also valid in the context of de-naturalization: the details of how it can be implemented are not known much. Furthermore, as Prasad et al. (2015) emphasize, CMS only says what should not be but does not mention what should be and the process for it. Therefore, the principle of questioning the seemingly immutable truths and rationalities of managerialism and exposing them in a way that does not allow any domination need not be questioned. However, it is necessary to explain what is required for the application of this principle. As a result, it is critical to demonstrate how the naturalisation done by administrators on the basis of the organisation with the dominance of "That is how things are" is also done by the government at the national level. The current study will also address this, as Vaara and Tienari (2002) emphasize, at the country level, where it takes place, through national newspapers. In this way, Alvesson's (2021) mass media thesis will be supported to some extent. Finally, CMS has had a minimal impact outside academia, as it generally focuses only on academic studies (Leca and Cruz, 2021: 3; Spicer et al., 2009: 542-543; Spicer et al., 2016: 225). In fact, Spicer et al. (2016; 225 & 228-229), later in their response to criticism, specifically points out that over-focusing on inter-academic debates undermines necessary debate. Furthermore, many studies, especially Spicer et al. (2016), clearly state that it should focus more on issues of public concern, emphasizing that it should go beyond academic studies (i.e., Dallyn et al., 2015; Delbridge, 2014; Fleming and Banerjee, 2016; Spicer, 2014). With the discovery of this constraint, it is observed that although studies on this issue have increased, especially in the context of

critical performativity, the problem persists in the context of de-naturalization. Therefore, making de-naturalization through newspapers promises significant theoretical and empirical contributions in this context.

Alvesson, Bridgman and Willmott (2009: 9) use exactly these words to describe de-naturalization: "*De-naturalization refers to what is crucial to any oppositional politics*" In this context, the assumptions that are crucial for us should be determined first. Then, what happens after it has determined? For example, in the context of job security, let's say we have determined that "performance-oriented working" is a problem and should be questioned and even opposed. Should we develop a different point of view (i.e., Spicer et al., 2009), or should we resort to faster solutions, including removing related sections from the curriculum of business schools (i.e., Spencer, 2020), or should we indicate our opposition by only examining academic studies? After all, all are very important because they bring a counter stance in every way and more importantly, they lead to questioning a given acceptance. For this reason, they also find a response in the literature. So, what is the reason why the same situation is not lead to a general discussion in the context of de-naturalization? Why does the huge literature on CMS refrain from denaturalizing work accidents, which is an important issue like human life, at the societal level?

The task of critical management studies is to uncover the real structures of oppression, question these structures, and remain reflexive about the information claims we make (Fournier and Grey, 2000). Work accidents are naturalized by being legitimized with discourses of fate, employment or the nature of work in society, and it is obvious that this should be questioned, as stated in the basic de-naturalization motivation of CMS. As the first step of this questioning, it should be revealed how this naturalization is done in the eyes of society. Therefore, this study aims to reveal how work accidents are naturalized through newspapers. It is hoped that the findings to be obtained here will contribute to the development of the field by leading new discussions both in the context of occupational accidents and in the context of the naturalization of CMS.

To illustrate the limitations of de-naturalization and CMS in this regard by relating it to discourse, it would not be wrong to claim that the third level of Fairclough's approach, the social practice did not receive the necessary attention, while these studies focused mostly on the text and discursive practice stages in Fairclough's model (Fairclough, 1995). However, this level, which sees power as a tool for hegemony, is very important because, similar to controlling discourse, controlling people's minds is another basic way to reproduce

domination and hegemony (van Dijk, 2001a: 357). Fairclough emphasizes that the ruling classes carry out hegemony with ideology. In that case, these "immutable facts and rationalities" need to be questioned and de-naturalized at the government level, the highest level of the ruling class. Indeed, one of the ways in which CMS tries to initiate a world without domination is through the critique and denaturalization of hierarchy as an inevitable and "normal situation" (Alvesson et al., 2009; Edwards, 2018; Fournier and Grey, 2000; Leca and Cruz, 2021; Reedy and King, 2019; Spicer et al., 2009; Wickert and Schaefer, 2015).

In conclusion, Fournier and Grey (2000: 18) refer to the attempt to uncover and reverse mainstream management theory's work as the basis of CMS (de-naturalization), stating specifically that "CMS is about "denaturalization". CMS, according to the authors, is dedicated to refuting the various "musts" justifications used in mainstream management theories to legitimise a proposed course of action, arguing that there is no alternative (implicitly or explicitly), and uncovering alternatives that have been overlooked by management knowledge and practise. Therefore, this study is also carried out with the aim of refuting this and revealing alternatives. However, as seen in the approximately 20 years since the emergence of Fournier and Grey's thesis, doing this only through a certain mainstream management literature reduces the potential impact of CMS and denaturalization (Alvesson, 2021; Cinque and Nyberg, 2021; Leca and Cruz, 2021; Reedy and King, 2019). Therefore, in this study, the de-naturalization process will be applied for some issues that are put forward as a necessity by the mainstream management theories and are touted as "necessary", "the only way", or "the most reasonable way". Moreover, it will be conducted through national newspapers that reveal the broader social context, thus maximizing the potential of the CMS (i.e., Alvesson, 2021; Vaara and Tienari, 2002; Vaara et al., 2006; Vaara and Monin, 2010).

On the other hand, in the anti-performativity axis, although there was also a consensus on this issue before, the study of Spicer et al. (2009) caused serious discussions (i.e., Butler, Delaney and Spoelstra, 2018; Fleming and Banerjee, 2016; Wickert and Schaefer, 2015). Spicer et al. (2009) have concluded that performativity should actually be one of the main objectives of the CMS contrary to the anti-performativity principle. In other words, these three pillars, which almost all of the field agree on, were questioned by them, and they pointed out that performativity is considered in the wrong way. They define CP as '*active and destructive intervention in managerial discourses and practices*'. The authors claim that

the performativity might actually be a good feature with the following words: “We have argued that instead of fighting against performativity, CMS should seek to become more performative. This would require attempts to question, challenge and radically re-imagine management through practical and direct interventions into particular debates about management. **Performativity is not bad in itself. The problem is to carefully decide what kind of performativity we want.** We have argued for a ‘critical performativity’ that involves an affirmative stance, an ethic of care, a pragmatic orientation, engagement with potentialities, and striving for a normative orientation” (Spicer et al., 2009: 554).

The different perspective of Spicer et al. (2009) has greatly impacted the field and has pioneered many studies on this subject (i.e., Alvesson, 2021; Butler, et al., 2018; Cinque and Nyberg, 2021; Edwards, 2017, 2018; Fleming and Banerjee, 2016; Gond and Cabantous, 2015; Just, De Cock and Schaefer, 2021; King and Land, 2018, Knudsen, 2017; Leca and Cruz, 2021, Reedy and King, 2019; Spencer, 2020; Wickert and Schaefer, 2015). In fact, some special journal issues have been organized (Culture and Organization, 2021, VOL. 27(2); Human Relations, 2016, 69(2); M@n@gement, 2017 Vol. 20 (1)). Edwards (2017) comments on the serious debate on the issue of critical performativity and the publication of special issues related to it as follows: Although the implementation of CP has been contentious, there is agreement on a "destructive" vision of participation based on direct and specific participation with managerial practise and a normative commitment to "create social change." Therefore, it would be appropriate to discuss the CP issue in detail here.

Based on the questions of “What does performativity involve?” and “What does anti-performance mean for CMS?”, Spicer et al., (2009) aimed to complete the "unfinished business of CMS". As a result, by suggesting the abolition of the anti-performativity principle, they emphasized that researchers should try to be more performative by creating tactics such as affirmative stance, ethic of care, pragmatism, potentialities, normative. They called this critical performativity. These were later combined into three overarching tactics by Alvesson and Spicer (2012) as circumspect care, progressive pragmatism and present potentialities. Then Wickert and Schaefer (2015) used the concept of progressive performativity in the same context, which requires critical researchers to encourage the performative effects of language to cause incremental rather than radical changes in managerial behaviour. In this study, the authors also state that anti-performativity should be reconceptualized. However, this study, which focuses more on managers, aims to highlight managers’ positive moral capacity and the ability to decontextualize and recontextualize

their actions with microlevel engagement and reflexive conscientization processes. In conclusion, while both studies emphasize the need to reconceptualize the anti-performativity context, Spicer et al. (2009) plan to do this by focusing on CMS academics while Wickert and Schaefer (2015) on managers.

On the other hand, Fleming and Banerjee (2016) explicitly stated the performativity stance by considering these two approaches (Spicer et al. 2009, and Wickert and Schaefer, 2015) and some other studies that will be the basis for them. The advantages and disadvantages of both approaches are outlined, and a comparison is conducted, showing that they should be considered. Fleming and Banerjee (2016: 270) argue that teaching-education or public awareness can be used in this context to challenge traditional analysis, while they also claim that Spicer et al. (2009) overestimate both the power of language to achieve change and the capacity of critical scholars to do so on their own. They also argue that CMS could be successful if performative CMS researchers can only serve as allies and not threats to management. Finally, they issue warnings about the extent of unsuccessful performances and a public call for a CMS, and Spicer et al. (2016: 227) also acknowledges them.

While Fournier and Grey (2000) focus on Lyotard's conceptualization of performativity, Spicer et al. (2009) goes beyond this and draws on other philosophical traditions emphasizing how language/speech can be counted as social action (Fleming and Banerjee, 2016: 261). Therefore, the study of Spicer et al. (2009) is important in terms of directly associating the issue with discourse. It is also important that this study takes into account the economic pressures that managers are exposed to and therefore pays attention to the impact of the macro-political environment. The study of Wickert and Schaefer (2015) draws attention in terms of explaining how progress can be made with the manager, not despite the manager. According to the authors, utopianism raises 'complex problems that fill people with anxiety and limit their capacity to think and act creatively' (p. 14). Instead, focus should be on small, non-utopian goals. Thus, CMS researchers can actively form alliances with elected managers to raise critical awareness of managers and increase awareness and identify alternative speaking actions. They also take this line when discussing engagement with executives promoting corporate social responsibility (CSR).

Subsequent studies are more focused on discussing and developing the ideas presented in these studies. In addition to many studies in the literature that adopt one of these approaches by highlighting the arguments of recontextualization such as critical or

progressive performativity, there are also important studies that support this transformation in performativity but also recommend some critical deficiencies for its improvement.

First, wanting to embody critical performativity, Edwards (2017) argues that pluralism is an approach consistent with the social-ethical situation, and discuss organizational practice that satisfies ethical needs because efficiency, innovation, and economic development are to some extent in the interest of all parties, argues that it is necessary to work around pluralistic boundaries. He claims that such an engagement does not need starting from scratch, and that soft unitarians and pluralists have been using this method for a long time, underlining that Ghosal's work should be used. The author's claim that if a pluralistic approach is provided, there is no need for even trade unions thanks to better communication is quite remarkable. The author later tested it with small firms and gave it a new name, post-critical performativity. Thus, Edwards (2018) advises that no one should fear critical engagement with entrepreneurial capitalism.

Describing critical performativity as a promising concept for critical scientists who want to have a tangible impact on society, Leca and Cruz (2021) states that the studies in the field cannot go beyond the theoretical and that the studies that have investigated the institutional context that analyses empirical cases should increase. Focusing on this shortcoming in their case study of Popular Cooperative incubators in Brazil, the authors argue that organizational scientists who distinguish between theory and practice are often more involved in theory building than disadvantaged communities, but research has different real-life results. Therefore, they advise not only to build theory but also to question its practical counterpart. Nevertheless, realizing this study is much more difficult than saying because the details of how CP can be implemented are really minimal (Reedy and King, 2019).

Alvesson (2021: 355 & 361-362) deals with the medium where CP can be effective, instead of discussing CP. He draws attention to the fact that instead of academic studies focusing only on issues that will contribute to their own careers, issues that can be more effective in the social base can be discussed in mass media. He argues that studies based on academic studies will be effective to a certain extent and that the real impact can be achieved, for example, with a 1000-word but much more understandable text to be given to mass media. So, according to Alvesson, a CP article should focus on reaching a much wider audience through mass media. Thus, he states that most of what is really important or some partial results of a research project can be expressed in an academic paper, and this is in line

with the concerns of Spicer et al. (2009). Similar to Alvesson, Cinque and Nyberg (2021) also state that the subject can be expressed through theatres and thus find a much wider social base. According to the authors, the target should be conceptualising (radical) critical performativity, not progressive. I think that the thought that a radical recontextualization with theatres would be much more effective stems from a reaction to the fact that the subject is stuck among a certain academic segment.

On the other hand, some studies directly criticize CP by expressing its shortcomings and stating that it is unsuccessful. Butler et al (2018) claims that CP is experiencing a dilemma due to external pressures. He states that, on the one hand, it challenges harmful and dominant discourses, institutions and identities, but on the other hand, it quickly becomes one of these “harmful and dominant discourses” by promoting the image of the critical academic as the heroic saviour of the business world. Therefore, they argue that if CP researchers want to have a future, they need to rid themselves of such rhetoric. According to the authors, the danger to CP is that it serves as a provocation to academics who might use the term ‘critical performativity’ casually and thoughtlessly.

Tourish (2019: 247) assert that the CMS’s failure to make a practical difference and question prevailing dogma is due to scholars’ preference for more comfortable and "not risky" issues rather than truths they believe need to be dramatically modified. Prasad et al., (2015) provide a similar critique: CMS has not realised its own potential and is self-limiting itself because it focuses on what should not be done rather than focusing on what should be done by organizations. Cabantous et al. (2015) argue that CP (including progressive one also) misrepresents basic intellectual resources and does not seriously take the power of objects. They, by expressing their concern about the ‘misunderstanding’ of the concept of performativity, claim that it is flawed because it misreads the main performative writers. In summary, they state that Spicer et al. (2009) misjudged the concepts of performativity and ignored alternative concepts of performativity and materiality. According to Cabantous et al. (2015), the concept of "performativity" ("critical", "progressive", or "anti"), which hampers the notion’s intended political potential, has made a somewhat confusing, deceptive, and limited usage of the term, and so has little influence.

On the other hand, Spicer et al. (2016: 228-230) severely criticized Cabantous’s critiques of critical performativity, claiming that they did not seriously deal with the basic arguments about CP and that there was no connection with the basic principles in their text. Cabantous et al. (2015), according to Spicer et al. (2016), proposes a solution to the problem

that is generating the larger problems that afflict CMS and Organization Studies in general: They blended an esoteric issue, authoritarianism (*a dogmatic faith in the ideas of a selected guru*), with symbolic radicalism to create an "intellectual recipe," but this mix is not particularly beneficial for dealing with real challenges creatively and insightfully.

Spicer et al. (2016) further state that CMS is in a moral and social relevance crisis, and that while the world economy is crumbling, CMS is dealing with footnotes. As a reason for this, they use the following thought-provoking expression: "Religiously reading a few theorists, talking about 'neo-liberal capitalism' at any opportunity possible, and participating in the office recycling scheme has been substituted for radical action and thinking" (p. 243). What was once a thriving environment for intellectual creativity has devolved into a stalemate of so-called radical clichés. The extended conception of CP, which they offer as a solution to this, points out that researchers should choose issues based on public importance and the potential for reflexive inquiry. It also states that favourable environments for the process of dialectical reasoning, participation of disgruntled elites and mobilized resources should be created and that issues should be framed in a way that resonates with the wider public. The authors' results, which they concluded with a personal remark, are crucial for future research: They claim that, since the publication of their article in 2009, a huge number of authors have appeared in the field with their own concerns, and that, because the area requires varied viewpoints, researchers should pursue their own ideas.

Schaefer and Wickert (2016) also focus on the critiques of Cabantous et al. (2015). While the authors share general discomfort with the marginal impact of CMS on redefining organizational realities, they express their disagreement with how critical scholars can support effective, progressive change. Finally, they claim that they have accepted the concerns of Cabantous et al., (2015) through synthesising and made them more pertinent.

As it can be seen, there is still no consensus in the field of CP and CMS, and important counter studies are ongoing. When all these studies are considered, it is concluded that similar discussions on CP should also be made for de-naturalization, albeit in a different way. It is thought that the de-naturalization process should be discussed empirically as the first thing to do. It can be shown that significant contributions can be made in terms of this aspect, which is often disregarded because de-naturalization is treated as a given and is mostly pursued through academic studies and theory-oriented research. In other words, this study, through the creation of the de-naturalization process, is expected novel contributions in this context. While doing this, it would be appropriate to address a more social issue at

the social level. Studies on performativity also support this, and it is understood that CMS provides a very suitable theoretical background for this study.

To summarize the reasons for using CMS as the main theoretical model, it is necessary to start with the effectiveness of these three principles. CMS is experiencing a growing interest and the number of studies on this issue is increasing significantly. However, when these three principles are considered one by one, an interesting picture emerges. In both critical theory and CMS, there is no study showing that there is a problematic issue in terms of reflexivity. However, when it comes to anti-performativity, the situation becomes completely different and debates on performativity versus anti-performativity have become the most studied subject of recent years and divided the theoreticians working in this field into two poles (i.e., i.e., Alvesson, 2021; Butler, et al., 2018; Cinque and Nyberg, 2021; Edwards, 2017, 2018; Fleming and Banerjee, 2016; Just, et al., 2021; King and Land, 2018; Knudsen, 2017; Leca and Cruz, 2021, Reedy and King, 2019; Spencer, 2020). Indeed, some studies have created a synthesis as the critical or progressive performativity from the discussion of performativity (thesis) versus anti-performativity (antithesis). In this context, it can be concluded that theory criticizes itself with its own internal debates and continues its development. For this reason, the empirical studies focusing on the deficiencies in its current situation should increase and this study is a candidate for it.

The Turkish context also draws attention to a different issue: The lack of opposition culture, powerful statist tradition and a set of conservative values and traditions could be accounted as the important factors to state why CMS has not penetrated into the management literature in Turkey (Özcan, 2012). Moreover, it seems that any naturalization attempts seem easier in Turkey than in other cultures and nations due to its cultural-ideological and religious structures and the easiest way to naturalize something into society is the discourses used by "public leaders" in daily life, especially in the major events that create trouble in society. For this reason, in our study, how the naturalization process, which is seen to be negatively effective in terms of work accidents, works will be discussed in the context of CMS. Thus, it will be revealed that de-naturalization should be handled not only at the 'knowledge' level but also in actions through discourse. Furthermore, the preliminary data points to the role of performativity in this naturalization process. The performative power of mainstream economic theories (notably agency theory and transaction cost economics) has been criticized by researchers within management studies (Spencer, 2020: 1).

While there are various studies in different fields on naturalization, it will be questioned why CMS is particularly preferred. In fact, this could have been done with other theoretical backgrounds, but the aim of our study is in parallel to help CMS to reveal and destroy dominations and abuses. Moreover, in terms of two principles of CMS, there is an opportunity to offer developer contributions and solve some criticisms. Also, the compatibility between CDA and CMS is noteworthy (Grant et al., 2009). Precisely for these reasons, this study considers CMS as its main theoretical framework. Apart from the CMS, legitimacy and decoupling concepts have also been benefited.

Finally, it has become necessary to specifically mention the legitimacy and decoupling mechanisms, which directly affect the (de)naturalization process.

i. Legitimacy

Although the concepts of legitimacy and decoupling, which are studied extensively in the context of New institutional theory, are mostly discussed at the organisational level in management, they are discussed in this study in terms of discursive legitimation in the context of government legitimacy. More precisely, the model of Vaara et al. (2006)², one of the important studies in the literature dealing with Discursive Legitimation in an organizational context, is built on the model of van Leeuwen (2007) has been adapted to the context of government. In fact, it was made as a synthesis of different perspectives that are closely related to each other but show conceptual differences. The legitimacy and legitimacy process has attracted great interest for a long time (e.g., Della Fave, 1986; Habermas, 1973, 1975; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Schein & Ott, 1962), and the issue never lost interest in itself until today (e.g., Barker 1990; Berger and Luckmann 1966; Clegg et al., 2007; Chowdhury, et al., 2021; Deephouse ve Suchman, 2008; Desai, 2011, 2018; Jeong and Kim, 2019; Sillince and Brown, 2009; Suchman, 1995, Vaara et al., 2006). However, although it is a frequently used concept in various fields, “Legitimacy” has been defined in very few studies (Deephouse and Suchman, 2008), so it would be useful to start with a few definitions.

Suchman (1995: 574) defines legitimacy as: “the generalized perception or assumption that the actions of an entity are desirable, proper, or appropriate within some socially constructed system of norms, values, beliefs, and definitions”. Meyer and Scott (1983; 201), on the other hand, describes organizational legitimacy as the degree to which institutions

² The dates are correct. The article published by Vaara et al. (2006) builds on the Unpublished manuscript of the article by van Leeuwen to be published in 2007.

explain the existence of an organization. In this context, organizational legitimacy can be expressed as the degree of acceptance of an organization by the society it is in. Such that, the new institutional theory links the survival of an organization with legitimacy (i.e., Meyer and Rowan, 1977: 340). On the other hand, political legitimacy defines by Barker (1990: 11) as: “The belief in the rightness of a state, in its authority to issue commands, so that those commands are obeyed not simply out of fear or self-interest, but because they are believed in some sense to have moral authority”. Vaara et al., (2006: 793) define discursive legitimation as follows: a discursively created sense of acceptance in specific discourses or orders of discourse. Thus, it can be expressed as the degree of correspondence of the discourse on the social base.

As the explanation above suggests, regardless of its context, legitimacy is about being accepted by society. If an action or discourse, or organization is to be legitimate, it must be socially accepted. Otherwise, it will not be legitimate, and if there is a perception that it does not act according to social norms and values, organizational or political failure occurs (Bianchi and Ostale, 2006; Meyer and Rowan, 1977; Tolbert and Zucker, 1999). As the rules and regulations of the state are perceived as legitimate, compliance increases and thus the need for any form of enforcement decreases (Levi and Sacks, 2009).

Most institutionalist studies think that new practices are justified by imitation (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983), and after a while, an isomorphic structure emerges from these imitations. As a result, legitimacy, which is crucial in every context, is maintained by actors relating themselves to other legitimate actors. This often continues same until an outside factor changes it. It should be noted here that being legitimate and being legal are not the same thing. A mafia organization may be legitimate, but an environmental report obtained by fulfilling all of its legal requirements may not be legitimate. Also, a behaviour may not need to be “legitimate” to be institutionalized (Jepperson, 1991). Indeed, there are many studies on the legitimacy of corruption (i.e., Jackson et al, 2014; Seligson, 2002), clientelism (i.e., Berenschot and Aspinall, 2020; Fox-Rogers, 2019; Hagene, 2015; Pellicer et al, 2017) or offshore accounts (i.e., Schröder, 2013). On the other hand, there are also studies showing that an organization that has completely fulfilled the legal requirements may not be found legitimate (i.e., Özen and Özen, 2011).

How legitimacy is achieved also differ. While Suchman (1995) defines three types of organizational legitimacy, which are pragmatic, moral, and cognitive, Levi and Sacks (2009) state two conditions for political legitimacy: trustworthiness of government and procedural

justice. Van Leeuwen (2007), one of the most fundamental studies of Discursive legitimacy, provides a framework for analysing how discourses construct legitimation for social practices in both public communication and everyday interaction. According to van Leeuwen (2007), there are four key categories: authorization, rationalization, moral evaluation and mythopoesis. Vaara et al. (2006: 794-795; Vaara and Tienari, 2008) claim that the model in van Leeuwen (2007) cannot be used directly as a theoretical framework in the context of the media, taking this study as a reference and suggesting five legitimation strategies for analyzes to be made in the context of media: (1) normalization, (2) authorization, (3) rationalization, (4) moralization, and (5) narrativization. The current study adopts these strategies because Vaara, et al. (2006) synthesizes organizational and discursive legitimacy and presents “normalization”, which is critical for our study, as a separate and genuine strategy.

While legitimation based on normal or natural functioning or behaviour is not considered a separate category in van Leeuwen’s model, Vaara et al’s (2006) model classifies it as such -normalization. Vaara et al (2006) frame this classification as follows:

In his model [van Leeuwen], ‘conformity legitimation’, dealing with custom and tradition, is a sub-type of authorization, and ‘fact-of-life rationalization’ or ‘naturalization’ is a sub-type of rationalization. However, in our view, rendering something normal or natural requires special recognition as a specific category of ‘normalization’. This normalization can actually be seen as the primary type of legitimation, as it seeks to render something legitimate by exemplarity. This exemplarity can involve ‘retrospective’ (similar cases/events/practices in the past) or ‘prospective’ (new cases/events/practices to be expected) references, both of which are important in rendering the case at hand as something ‘normal’.

Other strategies are defined as: Authorization is the use of authority -could be tradition, law, custom, person in power- to legitimise something (p.799) while rationalization is the justification of specific activities or practises by reference to their utility or usefulness. It focuses on instrumental rationalization and, in the organizational context, the types of rationalizations such as growth, economies of scale, efficiency, synergy, and shareholder value (p.800). In our study, since this takes place in the context of government, it is rationalized with growth of the country, helping victims and their families, the importance of the private sector, employment, etc. In the context of our study, the government’s actions and discourses to legitimize itself by referring to religious and moral values are related to the moralization strategy. Therefore, the government’s use of the overall interaction strategies of manipulation model can be directly evaluated in the context of moralization. Narrativization (mythopoesis of van Leeuwen) refers to narrative-type reconstructions (p. 802). Dramatic narrativizations in which authors portray companies or individuals as

winners, losers, heroes, adversaries, or culprits are just as applicable in our context. However, there is a (de)legitimation of the government through individuals, companies, and especially dissident elements in our context.

Therefore, in our study, new institutional theory and discursive legitimation strategies will be used to explain how the government and its own media legitimize themselves in the context of work accidents. In addition, new institutional theory will be used for the decoupling concept. Legitimation is a directly effective mechanism in the functioning of the (de)naturalization process, while decoupling, which is another important mechanism, is more effective in the repetition of the process. In this section, we'll look at Maclean and Behnam's (2010) notion that decoupling generates a "legitimacy facade" that institutionalises abuse of power and accelerates the loss of external legitimacy. The current study suggests that decoupling not only paves the way for firms to act illegally but also institutionalizes malfeasance because it is used here by the government as a pressure relief mechanism.

ii. Decoupling

Meyer and Rowan (1977: 343) describe the concept of "decoupling", which refers to the gap or divergence between politics and practice, as follows: *"Structural elements are only loosely linked to each other and to activities, rules are often violated, decisions are often unimplemented, or if implemented have uncertain consequences, technologies are of problematic efficiency, and evaluation and inspection systems are subverted or rendered so vague as to provide little coordination."* Decoupling stems from new institutional theory, which explains why organisations adopt policies that they cannot or do not want to implement, and how policy-implementation decoupling helps organisations shield internal operations from external demands (MaClean & Behnam, 2010). In other words, decoupling is a phenomenon that enables organizations to satisfy external stakeholders without affecting their existing internal processes, and it frequently refers to a state of being that exists only on paper.

In recent years, this concept, which is mostly handled at the organizational level in the management and organization field, has started to be discussed at different levels and in different contexts from countries to organizational subunits (i.e., Hladchenko & Vossensteyn, 2019; Kern, Laguecir & Leca, 2018; Zhelyazkova, Kaya & Schrama, 2016). The reason for the difference between policy and practice at the organizational level, namely

decoupling, differs. Decoupling may result from the complexity of tasks or deliberate actions aimed at encrypting actions taken by organizations (Scott, 2013) as a rational response to corporate compliance demands that are inconsistent or harmful to the organization or legitimacy (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2017). On the other hand, Bromley and Powell (2012: 517) state three reasons: i. placing greater emphasis on implementing policies, ii. policies were chosen in part because they could be implemented and measured, and iii. The pressures in the environment enabling policymaking may be changing practices and outcomes independently of policy implementation. If organisations are under strong coercive pressure to implement a new practise, decoupling may be used (Seidman 1983). Regardless of the purpose, for decoupling to be successful, as Özen (2015) emphasizes, organizations must keep their formal structures away from the control of external actors and conduct their business informally. Because of this, the issue becomes closely related to the Turkish political context and clientelism. Since organizations use their political connections for clientelism to keep their formal structures away from the control of external actors and avoid any problems in conducting their business informally, this can become a problematic issue. As many studies reveal, the political context of Turkey, which still maintains its statist polity characteristics, creates an atmosphere suitable for this. Therefore, everything described above about clientelism can be considered in this context.

It would be appropriate to mention some of the studies outside the organisational level here since studies at the organizational level are dominant in the field and there is rich literature on this subject. Zhelyazkova et al., (2016) investigated whether the policy choices of local political elites (enforcement) affect their incentives to “decouple” legal compliance in practice, in line with current approaches to EU compliance in the four policy areas of 27 EU member states, in their studies adapting decoupling to the (inter)national level. Considering administrative and institutional capacities (‘management’) and societal constraints (‘legitimacy’), the study claims to provide the first empirical evidence on the conditions under which decoupling occurs in a national and intersectoral framework. The findings have significant implications for the efficient application of international laws in domestic settings, demonstrating that political support for implementing "external" policy does not guarantee good implementation in practice. However, acknowledging that their analyses do not directly reflect the preferences or opinions of administrative actors regarding legal outcomes, the authors noted that it is not possible to consider the more specific characteristics of the bureaucratic actors involved due to the quantitative design. Therefore,

this study is critical in showing that the issue can be handled at the country level, and qualitative design is more appropriate for such a study.

The second study, on the other hand, is notable for presenting a more up-to-date and closer example to the Turkey context, as well as being conducted at the country level. Hladchenko and Vossensteyn (2019) built their study on the concept of means-ends decoupling, which distinguishes this thought-provoking decoupling from the classical policy-practice decoupling and developed by Bromley and Powell (2012). The term "policy-practice decoupling" relates to the "classic" conception of decoupling (Meyer & Rowan, 1977), in which organisations adopt a policy symbolically or ceremonially but do not execute it substantively. In contrast, "means-ends decoupling" shows that an organisation follows a policy but fails to fulfil the intended goals of the policy (please see visual Figure 2.4 for detailed comparison).

In sum, while "policy-practice decoupling" refers to a gap between policy and practise, which is the classical object of practise studies, "means-ends decoupling" refers to a gap between practises and outcomes, that is, policies are implemented as planned but the desired consequences are not obtained. The term "means-ends decoupling" refers to the disconnect between the practises implemented and the primary aims of the actor, which might be a state, an organisation, or an individual (Bromley and Powell, 2012).

On the other hand, Hladchenko and Vossensteyn (2019) discussed the model organized by Bromley and Powell for organizations at the level of nation-states. They argue that the assumption that the goals of nation-states refer to the promotion of collective progress, citizen participation and equality (Meyer et al., 1997) can exhibit decoupling, especially when it comes to poor countries. At the state level, means-ends decoupling implies that national policies and practises do not contribute to the creation of public welfare (Hladchenko and Vossensteyn (2019: 135). Using semi-structured interviews with 65 full-time students from business studies, social work and professional education at one Ukrainian university, the article investigates how means-ends decoupling at the state level influences Ukrainian students' choice of university and study programme. According to the study's findings, means-ends decoupling at the state and university levels prevents students from gaining internal and external motivations such as personal development, professional preparation suitable for labour market needs, and employment that provides a sustainable living. Furthermore, they found that higher education results in inefficient use of public and private resources and a waste of human capital, which has negative consequences for society

and the economy in general and individual well-being in particular. Then why a country's authorities do this?

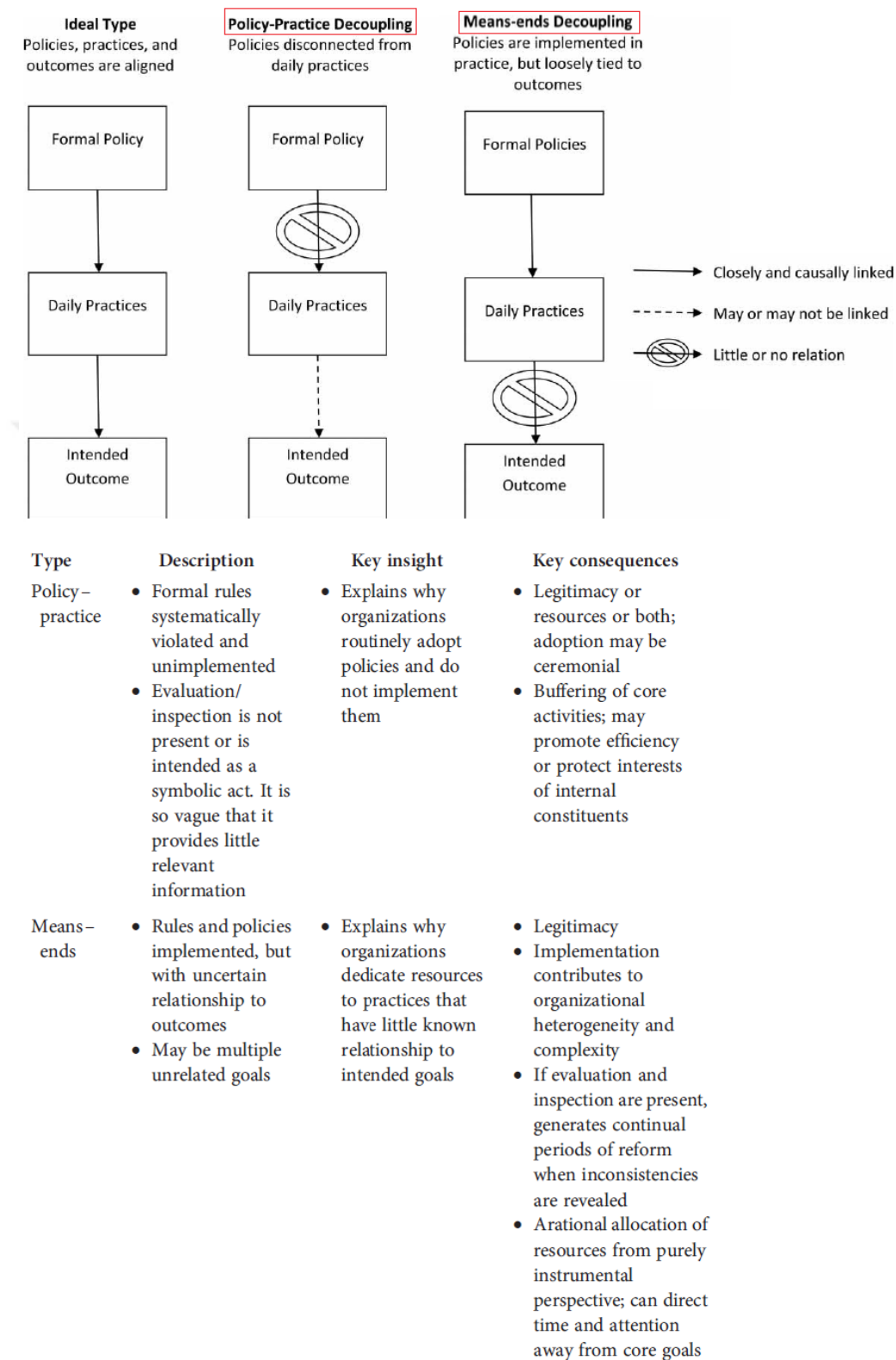


Figure 2. 4: Comparison of Policy-Practice and Means-Ends Decoupling
(Adapted from Bromley and Powell, 2012, 490-491 & 497)

Two statements are particularly noteworthy:

- Means-ends decoupling refers to the disconnect between the practises implemented and the primary aims of the actor, which might be a state, an organisation, or an individual.
- Especially when it comes to poor countries. At the state level, means-ends decoupling implies that national policies and practises do not contribute to the creation of public welfare.

Decoupling has been presented as a response to two contradictory contexts and as a strategy in a positive sense since Meyer and Rowan (1977). However, just as with critical performativity, this is open to abuse, especially in countries with some specific political context. Moreover, regardless of type, there is the fact that decoupling creates a "legitimacy facade" that institutionalizes abuse of power and accelerates the loss of external legitimacy (MacLean & Behnam, 2010). Thus, while the means-ends distinction refers to the disconnect between implemented practices and an actor's primary goals, it may mean that national policies and practices do not contribute to the creation of public welfare if that actor is the government. However, instead of the term poor countries, I prefer to say countries do not developed or countries with immature institutions because we can replace the authors' description of "especially when it comes to poor countries" with many descriptions where clientelism is high, institutions do not have their own unique identities, etc. The result will always be "national policies and practices do not contribute to the creation of public welfare". In such cases, the actors managing the state have an understanding of the welfare of a certain group rather than public welfare, and there is no mechanism to prevent it. This is why, in the framework of our study, naturalization is carried out at the highest level in terms of occupational safety. It seems that the government consciously condones decoupling and does not consider social welfare while doing so. Therefore, the 'desired' in the description "policies are implemented as planned but the desired consequences are not obtained" may not be appropriate.

To sum up, the government issues the regulations to relieve the intense social pressures, but it knows that they will not be implemented, at least to a certain group. If these regulations deliver the "desired result", albeit partially, the government's defence is ready; we have done our part, but greedy bosses are causing this problem. To give a specific example, it was clear that the regulation allowing occupational safety expertise to be privatized and given by companies would not properly operate audit activities. This has been proven in many reports and even led to huge protests of the workers' unions. Because the

way of doing business in Turkey and the attitude that the customer is always right, the fact that the company is the customer of the occupational safety specialist company makes this inevitable. However, the government still enacted it, which has seen a very serious increase in the number of accidents since the law was passed, because its purpose was not social welfare. This is what MacLean and Behnam, (2010) mean by the term institutionalization of malfeasance. Indeed, it has been previously demonstrated in Turkey that illegitimate institutional behaviours can be “institutionalized” as they are constantly reproduced by the actors involved in a polity (Özen and Akkemik, 2011). Therefore, decoupling has become a mechanism that ensures that any legitimized issue, wrong or right, is carried out in the same way. In the context of this study, it is related to the political context of Turkey, especially clientelism.

2.2.2. Critical Discourse Studies

Discursive approaches and analysis, which are becoming more and more popular in social sciences, are also gaining increasing attention in management and organization (i.e., Boje, Oswick and Ford, 2004; Grant et al., 2004; Hahn and Knight, 2021; Hallgren et al., 2018; Küskü et al, 2019; Maguire and Hardy, 2019; Vaara et al., 2006; Vaara and Monin, 2010; Raffnsøe et al, 2019). In this context, this study also aims to contribute to the management and organization literature.

The concept of "discourse", which is often expressed in scientific texts and discussions regardless of descriptive and purposeful differences, is undoubtedly one of the fashionable terms of recent years. The increasing variety of works on discourse points not only interest in the field but also the expansion of the area (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018: 11; Chun, 2020: 199; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 1; Schiffrin et al., 2015: 2). Although the term is in a semantic and descriptive complexity, "discourse" can often mean differentiating patterns of the language that people use when expressing themselves in different areas of social life, such as "political discourse" and “business discourse”. Jorgensen & Phillips, (2002: 1) define discourse as “*a particular way of talking about and understanding the world (or an aspect of the world)*”. Foucault associates discourse with ideology as it provides a systematic way of thinking about a subject, and his contributions seem important because of the combination the concerns related to ideology with language (Hodges, 2015: 53–54). Discourse, which is the field of struggle for linguistic practices, deals with the essential determinants of ideology. In a more precise expression, much of our discourse is used to express our ideological views,

especially when we speak as members of groups. In this context, discourse plays an essential role in the reproduction of ideologies and daily expressions (van Dijk, 2015: 19). On the other hand, discourse is not only shaped by structures that have a direct discursive/ideological nature, but it also contributes to its shaping and reshaping, reproduction and transformation. Discourse contributes to the production and continuous reproduction of relationships, subjects and objects that fill the social world (Fairclough, 2015: 124–125) and discourse analysis is the analysis of all these patterns and/or structures.

Discourse analysis is a perspective on social life that comes from the methodological and conceptual elements. It is characterized as a way of thinking about discourse (theoretical and meta-theoretical items) and converting discourse to data. This analysis method is not only an alternative to traditional methodologies but also an alternative to the insights introduced into these methodologies. Thus, discourse analysis is necessary in the transition from general, theoretical and quantitative approaches to detailed and qualitative methods, which are characterized separately (Wood & Kroger, 2012).

According to van Dijk (1985: 1), discourse analysis is essential because: *“Besides or even instead - of an explication of the abstract structures of texts or conversations, we witness a concerted interest for the cognitive and especially the social processes, strategies, and contextualization of discourse taken as a mode of interaction in highly complex socio-cultural situations”*. Moreover, its importance stems from the dependence of any concept on the perception of the person using and/or perceiving. As Jorgensen & Phillips (2002: 8–9) stated, people create representations of reality that are never mere reflections of a pre-existing reality but contribute to constructing reality, through language. The reality itself exists - like physical objects, but it gains meaning through discourse. Language is structured in patterns or discourses – there is not just one general system of meaning but a series of systems or discourses, whereby meanings change from discourse to discourse. Considering work accidents, the change of meaning from discourse to discourse is also valid for newspapers (or group of newspapers) in terms of both the meanings attributed to the incidents and the words used (e.g., murderer vs accident, protest vs provocation, etc.). For instance, regarding “work accidents”, the death of workers as a result of a work accident constitutes the material fact of the issue. However, the meaning attributed to this material fact may be varied based on the ideologies, from the carelessness of the worker(s) to the greed or mismanagement of the boss, or the lack of government’s inspection to the Act of God. The death of workers can be attributed to many different perspectives or discourses, as

an event that takes place at a certain point in time. Thus, discourse analysis is crucial to clarify and analyse these various attributions. For an exceptional understanding of this situation, I can give an example from the popular book named *1984*: In George Orwell's famous book (Orwell, 2019), there is a semantically and grammatically created purposeful language called "newspeak", and its purpose is to remove words that can be harmful, even in thoughts, against the Party and destroy such concepts even before they occur. Such that, even if someone thinks of the rebellion, they are not able to express it, thanks to "newspeak". They are ignorant of what they used to be because the old newspapers and TV programs are regularly updated according to the most current version of "newspeak". Thus, as long as such an artificial and "universally, at least nationally," valid discourse cannot be created, discourse analysis will always be a requirement, as well.

In the development of discourse analysis, Foucault is considered as one of the important figures. He has played a central role in this development for both theoretical work and empirical research (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002:12) and the source of Foucault's discourse analysis is usually framed around his two works: *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Foucault, 1972) and *The Order of Things* (Foucault, 1973). In addition to Foucault, Chantal Mouffe, Ernesto Laclau, Florentine Maier, Gerlinde Mautner, Norman Fairclough, Martin Reisigl, Ruth Wodak, Siegfried Jäger, Teun Adrian van Dijk, Teo van Leeuwen and many others play critical roles in the development of discourse analysis. There are different views in terms of discourse analysis. In this regard, there are various forms of discourse analysis such as conversation analysis, discursive psychology, critical discursive psychology, Foucauldian discourse analysis, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's discourse theory and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002; Wiggins, 2017; Wood & Kroger, 2012), and three of them are based on social constructionism, which are Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's discourse theory, critical discourse analysis, and discursive psychology (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 1-2). Careful consideration and discussion of all these analyses is not one of the objectives of this thesis and therefore, from now on, I will focus only on Critical Discourse Analysis.

CDA is chosen as the primary analysis because of many significant reasons, such as being the problem- or issue-oriented, being multidisciplinary, the focus on social issues, especially power abuse or domination, linking language and power (Amoussou & Allagbe, 2018; Fairclough et al., 2011; van Dijk, 1995, 2001b; 96; Wodak, 2001: 2; 2014: 302). Moreover, it is considered the most developed theory and method for research in

communication, culture and society (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002: 60). Then, according to Wodak (2001: 2), the principles of CDA (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 271–280) is sufficient to understand the fundamental differences of CDA from other DAs, and why it can be more useful on problem-oriented issues. Last but not least, CDA provides not only an explanation and comment on the context of the discourse but also an explanation of why and how discourses work, and this is one of the main differences of CDA from other discourse analysis (Rogers, 2004: 3).

As Amoussou & Allagbe (2018: 12) stated, it may be useful to first refer to factors that underpin the concept of critical. The term "critical", which can be traced back to the influence of the Frankfurt School or Jurgen Habermas in the work of some critical linguists, makes the interconnectedness of things necessarily visible (Wodak, 2001: 2). In other words, she claims that the term "critical" means being against something, opening up complexity, questioning compelling reductionism, dogmatism and dilemmas, and manifesting their structures of opaque power relations and ideologies in one's research and through these processes. Similarly, according to Rogers, (2004: 3), contrary to making only some negative criticism, "critical" here refers to the researcher's intention to reveal power relations and demonstrate established inequalities in society.

Fairclough et al., (2011) and Wodak, (2014: 302) emphasise that CDA is not only a method but a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research movement covering various approaches. According to Özer (2018: 19), CDA consists of more than one approach, each of which analyses discourse with a philosophical thinking and institutional basis, methods and techniques. CDA, aiming to examine social inequality critically, sees language as social practice and considers the context of language use to be alive. In this regard, (van Dijk, 2015a: 466) defined CDA as *“a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take the explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately to resist social inequality”*.

Since CDA acknowledges discourse as a form of social practice, it points out that there is a dialectical relationship between the situations, institutions and social structures surrounding discourse, and the discursive event: It is socially contingent as well as socially constructive. That is, on the one hand, while forming the situations, the object of knowledge and the relationships between groups and people, and their social identities; on the other

hand, it produces the social status quo, ensures that it is tolerated and also helps its transformation (Özer, 2018: 19). CDA researchers not only observe, define and explain the relationship between social structure and discourse but also aim to reveal and change inequality relations within the social structure by taking a political stance (van Dijk, 1993b: 252–253).

CDA aims to investigate social inequalities created, expressed and legitimated by language or discourse and in this direction, focuses not only on written and verbal texts as an object of the investigation but also on the social structures and processes in which they are formed. In other words, CDA is an approach to establish the connection between the social processes, structures and texts produced by individuals or groups as social-historical subjects that make sense during their interactions with texts. Therefore, there are three indispensable concepts in all CDA approaches: Power, history and ideology (Wodak, 2001: 2–3, 2002: 11–12). From the standpoint of CDA, ideology represents and builds the society in a way in which unequal power relations, exploitation and power are reproduced. To determine whether any discursive event performs an ideological work, analyse only the text is not enough; it is also necessary to investigate how these texts are interpreted, received and what social effects they have. Because discursive practices have significant ideological effects and these ideological effects help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between ethnic-cultural communities, genders, and social classes. CDA aims to make this hidden aspect of discourse more visible; meanwhile, it also needs the historical background information in which discourses are created since discourse cannot be produced independently of the historical process and understood without its historical context. Discourse is always connected with other discourses produced in previous times (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258–259) and each discourse is historically (at a specific place and time) produced and interpreted in order to ensure the dominance structures legitimized by the ideologies of the powerful groups (Dursun, 2007: 341). As a historical approach, CDA places great emphasis on the historical formation of discourse and all historical background information in the analysis text, in the context of the subject it deals with. From this point of view, it should be noted that the background and context analysis in many of van Dijk's studies are emphasized as one of the most critical dimensions of CDA (e.g., van Dijk, 1988b, 1988a, 1991, 1995b; 2009). CDA avoids a simple relationship of determination between text and society, and it begins analysis considering the understanding that discourse is structured by power, again discourse is historically produced, and that the power structures are

legitimized by dominant groups. In this regard, its purpose is not only to observe how these relationships work but to make an effort to change and transform these relationships.

In the light of these explanations, it should be noted that the basic principles of CDA are explained by Fairclough & Wodak (1997: 271–280) as follows: i) CDA addresses social problems, ii) Power relations are discursive, iii) Discourse constitutes society and culture, iv) Discourse does ideological work, v) Discourse is historical, vi) The link between text and society is mediated, vii) Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory and viii) Discourse is a form of social action.

In addition to considering these principles, to conduct an effective CDA research, Wodak (2011: 623) states that CDA requires a ‘trichotomy’ consisting of explanation, interpretation and critique, while van Dijk, (2001: 353) emphasizes that it must meet the following requirements: Critical research should a) be conducted better than other research approaches, b) focus primarily on social and political issues instead of existing paradigms and fashions, c) be multidisciplinary to be an adequate critical analysis of social problems, d) try to explain the issue considering its properties of social interaction and especially social structure instead of defining only discourse structures and e) concentrate on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society. Moreover, (van Dijk, 2015a: 475) suggested three interrelated questions to conduct a CDA research:

1. How do powerful groups control the text and context of public discourse?
2. How does such power discourse control the minds and actions of less powerful groups, and what are the social consequences of such control, such as social inequality?
3. What are the properties of the discourse of powerful groups, institutions, and organizations and how are such properties forms of power abuse?

On the other hand, as Wodak (2013: xxxiv–xxxv) stated, it seems that many different approaches have emerged about CDA. The most common and accepted approaches include:

- **Discourse-Historical Approach** - Ruth Wodak and Martin Reisigl (e.g. Wodak, 1991; Wodak & Meyer, 2013),
- **Corpus-Linguistics Approach** - Gerlinde Mautner,
- **Social Actors Approach** - Theo van Leeuwen (e.g. Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006 (1996); van Leeuwen, 2008) ,
- **Dispositive Analysis** - Siegfried Jäger and Florentine Maier,

- ***Sociocognitive Approach*** -Teun van Dijk (e.g. van Dijk, 1980, 1988a, 1988b, 1991a, 1991b, 1993a, 1998, 2015a)
- ***Dialectical Relational Approach*** - Norman Fairclough (e.g. Fairclough, 1989, 1992a, 1995b, 1995a, 2012).

Studies conducted in this context (i.e., Özer, 2015, 2018; Wodak, 2013; Wodak and Meyer, 2009) were examined to determine which one of these approaches is the most suited analysis for the current study. The following three major approaches that stand out from this review were also empirically tested using data from the Esenyurt incident: Norman Fairclough's Dialectical Relational Approach (*Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1989, 1992a, 1992b, 1993, 1995a, 1995b, 1998, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2003a, 2003b, 2003c, 2005, 2006, 2010, 2013; Fairclough & Wodak, 1997*), Teun van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Approach (van Dijk, 1980, 1988a, 1988b, 1991a, 1991b, 1993a, 1998, 2015a), and Theo van Leeuwen's Social Actors Approach (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996, 2001, 2006; Ledin and Machin, 2018; van Leeuwen, 2008; Machin, 2013; Machin and Mayr, 2012). The characteristics, such as being developed by pioneers in the field and the most widely accepted and applied approaches in newspaper analysis and literature, are the common features of these three approaches. Although it was seen that all three approaches yielded beneficial findings as a result of the application, van Dijk's was determined as the primary method, which allows a more systematic comparison of incidents occurring in different periods.

Socio-Cognitive Model (Teun Adrian van Dijk)

van Dijk began applying discourse analysis to media texts in 1980, focusing on the representation of ethnic groups and minorities in Europe. van Dijk, who accepted the news as a form of discourse, introduced the new theoretical framework and model that he proposed to be used in the analysis of the news in the print media with two books published in 1988 (*News as Discourse and News Analysis*). In the following years, he further developed this analysis and aimed at revealing the structure of social power and power in the analysis of written news. For this purpose, it has demonstrated the importance of a study ranging from the headlines to the microstructures and word selections of the news, with its model that it systematizes from macro to micro in a hierarchical way (Keskin, 2004: 391–392).

One of the main characteristics distinguishing van Dijk's approach from other critical approaches is the importance he gives to the cognitive analysis. According to van Dijk

(1995a: 18), socio-cognition mediates between society and discourse. Ideologies are mental systems which organize socially shared attitudes, and they are social representations functioning as models which control how people behave, speak or write, and how they understand others' social practices (van Dijk, 1995a) and these mental representations are usually based on Us (refers favourable terms) and Them (refers negative terms) comparison.

van Dijk, one of the most frequently mentioned researchers in CDA studies, evaluates media discourse in an analytical framework in which the traditional approaches in the form of interpretive and contextual social tradition are blended, and he distinguishes from other researchers by handling news analysis in this way. In other words, he does not only examine the news in terms of textual and structural aspects but also analyse and explain the news at the level of understanding and production (Ülkü, 2004: 374). In this context, van Dijk (1988a: 9), who argues that media texts are reproduced during the creation phase and focuses on the news, analyses the media texts systematically and accepts the news as a form of public discourse. In a more precise expression, by considering the news as a discourse, he emphasizes that the social and discursive formation in which the news is reproduced should also be examined. According to van Dijk, structural analysis is not sufficient for discourse because discourse is a complex communicative event involving social context, participants, and also production and reception processes (van Dijk, 1988b: 2). In media analysis (e.g. van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 1993b), news texts aim to show the relationship between production levels and how they relate to the broader social context.

Analysing the news as a discourse means analysing the news from the processes in which it is prepared and within the context of power/power relations within the existing social structure. The news is far beyond the narrative that conveys the actions and sayings of political actors to us in a format, and it appears directly as a text formed by political actors (İnal, 2009: 11). In this case, if the truth is the event itself, the news is a narrative of this truth, and it is the reconstruction of the truth through language, namely its construction (İnal, 2009: 14). van Dijk states that, in the process of reproduction of (news) discourse, it is constructed by deciding which actors to be highlighted, which sources to use, the choice of news headlines, what to say and how to say (van Dijk, 1988b: 11–13). According to him, the main elements of the discourse that constitutes the meaning and ideology in the news are followings; “links with sources, the style of the news and how it is presented, what quotations are made, what are the dominant titles, what connotations are produced in the text” etc. (van Dijk, 1999 as cited in Şeker, & Şeker, 2011: 520).

In terms of the importance of news analysis, van Dijk also addresses the effects of dominant power on ideology and mind (van Dijk, 2001a). He states that access to or control over public discourse and communication is a significant “symbolic” resource. In many situations, ordinary people are passive targets of communication, for instance, by their superiors or managers or anyone who may simply tell them what (not) to believe or what to do. However, members of more powerful social groups or institutions, and especially their leaders (the elites), have exclusive access to, and control over public discourse, for instance, professors control academic discourse while journalists control media discourse. Therefore, individuals and institutions that have more control over this type of discourse are more powerful or/an influential. Such discourse controls are common (van Dijk, 2001a: 355–356) and there are many studies showings that media users have severe problems in accessing alternative sources that are incompatible with the dominant ideology (van Dijk, 1998: 181). Hence, uncovering such controls on discourse is one of the main objectives of CDA research.

Similar to controlling discourse, controlling people’s minds is another fundamental way to reproduce dominance and hegemony. In this regard, suggested ways of power and dominance to take place in mind control may be listed as followings (van Dijk, 2001a: 357):

1. Through discourse, people tend to accept the beliefs, knowledge and ideas of individuals or institutions who are seen as authoritative or trusted sources, such as academics, experts, professionals, or reliable media, unless they are inconsistent with their personal beliefs and experiences (Nesler et al. 1993 as cited in van Dijk, 2001a).
2. People have to accept discourse in some individual cases, such as training and workplace requirements (Giroux 1981, as cited in van Dijk, 2001a).
3. In many situations, a counter-discourse or media that may provide information from alternative beliefs may not exist (Downing 1984 as cited in van Dijk, 2001a).
4. People may not have the knowledge and beliefs -or ability- necessary to challenge the discourses or information they are exposed to. This may also be relevant and valid for the above three items (Wodak 1987 as cited in van Dijk, 2001a).

In addition to domination over mind and ideology, social inequalities are also significant in terms of van Dijk’s approach, and hence, scholars who conduct CDA should have public concerns and goals to change social inequalities. They should take a social stance in terms of the subject they are dealing with and be with people who are suffering from these inequality and dominance structures. Moreover, CDA researchers should target elite power and elites who ignore social inequality and injustice; and/or maintain, legitimize, display

these social inequalities and injustices. In this respect, the qualification criteria of CDA should be scaled not only by observing, defining and explaining the power and power relations within the social structure but also by revealing the effectiveness of these structures and their contribution to the change process (van Dijk, 1993b: 252–253). In this context, one of the main goals of CDA is to examine in detail how discourse participates in domination (power abuse) and the production and reproduction of social inequality. In a similar vein, when the unequal distribution of cultural capital is added to the economic capital, which is distributed unevenly in the society, it becomes inevitable that the way the elites, who are in power, define events, are reproduced and legitimized by the media (İnal, 2009: 17). In this context, Foucault, (2016)³, by drawing attention to the politicization of the intellectual, states that the intellectuals charged with telling the truth are also part of the system of power. According to Foucault, intellectuals become a part of this system when they are the perpetrators of consciousness and discourse and hence, in this Situation, the masses do not need the intellectuals to know the truth. The problem in this regard is not the problem of not knowing the truth, but the system of power that prevents, prohibits and overrides such discourse and information. In such an environment, according to Foucault, the role of the intellectual is not to "stand out a little ahead" to tell the truth, but it is to fight against the forms of power in the "order" formed by "knowledge, truth, consciousness and discourse", where these forms are both objects and mediators (Foucault, 2016: 31). Otherwise, intellectuals and hence cultural capital will be added to the media, which is the most powerful tool in the establishment of the hegemony of those in power (İnal, 2009). As such, there will be no platforms for those who are powerless to grasp their interests, identify their problems, come together and discuss solutions. Moreover, in terms of unevenly distributed cultural capital, even if they have an opinion, they will lack the means of expressing and discussing it correctly (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu, 1994 as cited in İnal, 2009: 17).

While explaining how the existing power/power relations are established, van Dijk takes a critical view of these relations (İnal, 1996: 96) and places particular emphasis on the news in this regard. As an area where social inequality and power relations are produced, maintained and reproduced, it is crucial for the media and therefore, the news. Because the news presents the existing power relations to the audience/readers by reproducing them

³ For detailed discussions, please see Foucault's following studies; *Entelektüelin Siyasi İşlevi [Political Function of the Intellectual]* (Foucault, 2016) and *Power / Knowledge* (Foucault, 1980). See also *Doğruyu Söylemek [Fearless Speech]* (Foucault, 2017), where truth is discussed and problematized interestingly.

every day. In other words, ideologies, which are primarily spread through discourse, are controlled by those in the dominant section employing ideological control tools. An essential ideological control tool is the media, and the dominant ideology is reproduced in the media/news. In summary, by commemorating Foucault (1972) who emphasizes the ability to access communication channels and discourse to establish hegemony, van Dijk (1993b: 280) highlights the role of relevant news sources, such as news and elites, on dominant discourse, since CDA can contribute to the extent that it can demonstrate a breakdown of discourse or communicative events in the reproduction of inequality and sovereignty.

Lastly, by emphasizing that his news analysis is mainly concerned with the complex relationships between news text and context, van Dijk (1988b: 2) starts with the following question: How do cognitive and social constraints determine the structures of news and how are the understanding and the uses of news influenced by its textual structures? Then, from a cognitive angle, considering the memory processes involved in the understanding, representation, and retrieval of news events, he deals with the journalists' newsgathering and writing processes and, on the other hand, the readers' reconstruction process of news events in knowledge and belief updating. In this way, the author clarifies the well-known role of news values and ideologies in the production and understanding of news and emphasizes that such values and ideologies are naturally social. Thus, by establishing a bridge between the psychological and sociological studies of the news, in terms of psychological dimension, this analysis is not only cognitive but on the contrary, socio-cognitive (van Dijk, 1988b: 28).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1. Research Problem

The current study tries to answer the following question: How are work accidents (de) naturalized in Turkey? It has been noticed that the dominant power's naturalization of work accidents is the central mechanism underlying the lack of an adequate reaction in society at work accidents. As a result, exposing this naturalization process is critical not only for posing the problem but also for effective denaturalization. Thus, the main research question of the study focused on this issue.

The literature review has also presented some critical findings on the primary factors behind work accidents and how these factors increase deaths. However, these factors have been chiefly handled individually and could not reveal the holistic context in the related literature. Furthermore, no comprehensive study has focused on the connections between these factors and decoupling or naturalisation. For this reason, this study tries to understand why work accidents could not be prevented, why these factors, which are more or less effective in almost every country, have become much more deadly in the context of Turkey, and whether there is a different factor than the one stated in the literature. Therefore, it is important to understand how and why naturalization is done at the macro level to find meaningful answers to all these, as explained in detail below.

In addition to the research question, answers to the following interrelated operational questions were also sought and answered.

- *Is there a relationship between the high number of work accidents in Turkey and the naturalisation of work accidents by the media?*
- In terms of work accidents, how does the naturalization process work in Turkey?
- How do the core principles of CMS work in the context of work accidents?
- Which of the anti-performativity vs critical-performativity contextualization can be more effective in preventing work accidents?

- How do the government and the business world legitimize themselves when there are so many work accidents?
- Even though work accidents are described as murder or massacres, why is there no effective social response?
- What kinds of discourses come to the fore in the naturalization of work accidents?

3.2. Approach

The thesis aims to understand how work accidents are naturalized, and why they cannot be prevented or even reduced in Turkey. The rich literature on the issue has shown that some particular factors and the justification, legitimisation and naturalisation processes have a crucial effect on work accidents in Turkey. These factors have almost always been dealt with individually in the literature and have been the subject of many studies (i.e., Ercan and Oğuz, 2015; Fisman and Wang, 2015; Morantz, 2013; Simaku, 2021; Yıldırım, 2020), but the number of studies that combine various important factors with a holistic approach is very few (i.e., Daubas-Letourneux, 2005 as cited in Thebaud-Mony, 2017; Daubas-Letourneux, 2009; Gürcan and Mete, 2017). Furthermore, no study has been found that associates any of the factors identified for our study with work accidents and naturalization. For this reason, this thesis has tried to reveal the roles and importance of these factors in terms of work accidents by taking a holistic examination of them based on discourse vs counter-discourse in the naturalisation process. Therefore, the primary purpose here is to understand a process, and since CDA is an explanatory research method by its nature (van Dijk, 2001: 353), this study was designed as explanatory.

This study also examines how the work accidents were portrayed in national and most-read newspapers with various ideological origins during the naturalisation process due to its critical role in increasing work accidents. To analyse this, a qualitative design was deemed necessary, and since the study aims to explain a problem, CDA was determined as the most appropriate analysis for the study. Moreover, it was decided that all news related to incidents in the first 14-days, which is the most intensive period, should be analysed. Since the examination of one newspaper from each group would cause some problems of bias and some significant thematic problems according to the preliminary data, it was decided to select three newspapers from each group. Three newspapers are also the highest number of newspapers that can be selected in most cases.

In this 14-day period, CDA, one of the most used methods in news analysis, was preferred, while van Dijk's model, which is frequently used to analyse newspaper news, was chosen from among the several CDA models. Corpus, which is used to strengthen discourse analysis in general, was also added to the CDA, and corpus-assisted CDA aimed at a more detailed analysis. In addition, van Dijk's manipulation model, which is thought to contribute to the understanding of the naturalization process in the context of Turkey and is believed to provide a methodological contribution, has also been added to the primary analysis. The factors outlined here and their rationale are discussed in full detail below.

3.3. Universe and Sample

The study has focused on the major fatal work accidents between 1 January 2000 and 31 December 2019. According to the SSI statistics, at least 155561 work accidents happened each year throughout this period, and an average of 1215 employees died due to these work accidents, as discussed in detail in Chapter 2. Having such a large number of cases made the selection of samples much more critical. Since the research is being performed through national media, the requirement for these accidents to be newsworthy has been considered. It is understood that the incidents with a small number of deaths are not newsworthy in the newspapers. When the data in "work-related murders' yearbooks" (Adalet Arayana Destek Grubu, 2013-2020) were examined, national newspapers rarely reported this kind of work accidents, especially before the Soma incident. Also, the Elbistan case, one of our study cases, supports this data. Two collapses occurred in Elbistan at intervals of four days, and one worker died in the first and ten workers in the second collapse. When the first 3-day news review of the first collapse in which a worker died, only 3 out of 9 newspapers reported it in tiny pieces of news in 4 pages and just one day. When the first three days of the second collapse with ten deaths are examined, it is seen that all the same nine newspapers were reported in 39 pages in total for three days. Therefore, it has been compelled to focus on fatal accidents with ten or more deaths, which are relatively more reported by national newspapers.

In selecting incidents, only the number of workers who died were focused (10 or above), and no other restriction units have been used. Thus, the study's universe was defined as all work accidents that occurred between 2000 and 2019, in which at least ten workers died. To determine these accidents, the 'work-related murders' yearbook', which has been published regularly and continuously since 2013 and which reports all work-related

accidents that have occurred since 1 January 2012, has been used as the main source for the determination of the accidents in this period (Adalet Arayana Destek Grubu, 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; 2017; 2018; 2019; 2020). For the pre-2012 period, in addition to SSI, TÜİK and ILO records, DİSK-AR, TMMOB, TEPAV and Ministry of Labour reports, literature and internet resources were examined comparatively. As a consequence of these investigations, it was discovered that between 2000 and 2019, there were a total of 15 incidents with ten or more fatalities. All of these 15 incidents occurred between 2003 and 2014. Since the total number of cases is 15 and the subject is very sensitive, it was decided to focus on all 15 cases without any selection. As a result, a complete count sampling was made. These accidents are:

Table 3. 1: Incidents of the study

No	Incident Code	Incident Info	Date	Deaths (Injured)
1	Ermenek-I	Firedamp explosion in Ermenek Colliery	22.11.2003	10 (1)
2	Küre	Fire in Küre Copper Mine	08.09.2004	19 (19)
3	Gediz	Firedamp explosion in Gediz Colliery	21.04.2005	18 (2)
4	Dursunbey-I	Explosion in the Dursunbey Colliery	01.06.2006	17 (9)
5	Davutpaşa	Explosion at the Illegal Fireworks Facility	31.01.2008	21 (116)
6	Mustafakemalpaşa	Explosion in the Mustafakemalpaşa Colliery	10.12.2009	19 (1)
7	Dursunbey-II	Firedamp explosion in Dursunbey Colliery	23.02.2010	15 (18)
8	Karadon	Explosion in the Karadon Colliery	17.05.2010	30 (11)
9	Ostim	Explosions in Ostim and İvedik industrial areas	03.02.2011	20 (53)
10	Elbistan	Two separate collapses in the coal mining site	10.02.2011	11
11	Gökdere	Dam cover explosion in Gökdere, Kozan	24.02.2012	10
12	Esenyurt AVM	Fire in the workers' shelter of shopping centre construction site	11.03.2012	11
13	Soma	Fire in Soma Colliery (<i>the biggest massacre</i>)	13.05.2014	301 (80)
14	Torunlar	Elevator drops at Torun Centre construction site	06.09.2014	10
15	Ermenek-II	Floods at Has Şekerler Colliery	28.10.2014	18

3.4. Data Collection and Processing

This study was conducted with primary data compiled from the news published in national printed newspapers. However, it is necessary to explain firstly why the focus is on the period between 1 January 2000 and 31 December 2019, as it affects newspaper elections. Thus, the main reasons for focusing on this period only are:

First of all, since this period is the most recent, the data are also recent. In addition, considering that the government has come to the fore as an obvious and effective actor in the study context, it is understood that this period is much more critical. Indeed, cause-effect relations can be more clearly revealed because a significant part of this period (post-2002 period) was under a one-party government. Moreover, all of the sample incidents have realized in the post-2002 period.

Another important factor is the widespread consensus in the literature that this period was dominated by Turkey's neoliberal economic policies, one of the study's factors (e.g., Bali, 2018; Coşar and Bildirici, 2010; Kolsuz and Yeldan, 2014; Pamuk, 2017; Saymaz, 2016; Yıldırım and Umman, 2017). So much so that neoliberalism took its extreme form, as the ruling party had an aggressive capitalist agenda in this period (Gürcan and Mete, 2017: 2). Furthermore, in addition to common (neo)liberal economic-political actions (privatization, subcontracting system, performance-oriented work, etc.) during this period, the prevalence of clientelism activities and debates (Ark-Yıldırım, 2017; Çeviker-Gürakar, 2016; Gürcan and Mete, 2017; Berenschot and Aspinall, 2020, Sayarı, 2014, Simaku, 2021, Yıldırım, 2020) and the severe weakness of union activities (DİSK-AR, 2014, 2017, 2019; Gürcan and Mete, 2017; Koç, 2012: 93-95; TMMOB Chamber of Mechanical Engineers, 2018) are also critical aspects to consider for the study.

Finally, Turkey has been emphasized as one of the worst countries in terms of work accidents in several reports published in recent years. It has taken place in top positions in the ranking of countries, particularly in the period after 2007 (e.g., ILO, 2016; TMMOB Chamber of Mechanical Engineers, 2018). For instance, Yıldırım and Umman (2017:10) stated that more than 3000 mineworkers lost their lives in the "work murders" between 1941-2015 in Turkey, and 2264 of these losses occurred between 2002-2015. They also highlighted that the mass killings in Turkey have often experienced during this period.

After stating the reasons for the period, the reasons for conducting a study through newspapers should be clarified. Although newspapers are popular and common sources in discourse studies, Vaara and Tienari (2002) emphasized that empirical studies on how organizational and managerial phenomena are reconstructed in media texts are pretty few. Hence, it is essential to overcome the imagined limits of organizations while trying to understand how organizational phenomena are legitimized and naturalized in broader socio-cultural contexts. In such an analysis, the authors who are highlighting the importance of studying the role and power of management discourse, have demonstrated how some important mergers and acquisitions in Finland were legitimized and naturalized in the major national business magazines, with critical discourse analyses. The authors claim that discourse analysis is a method of textual analysis of the social structures of organizational phenomena, and according to them, critical evaluation of (re)production of legitimacy and hegemony will be ensured by this analysis. From this point of view, such an analysis helps

us examine (re)production of legitimacy and hegemony in the context of work accidents, and it is one of the reasons for this analysis to be made through newspapers.

Similarly, different research findings suggest that participants in the media process have implemented different types of strategies to legitimize their actions (e.g., Kuronen et al., 2005; Risberg et al., 2003; Tienari et al., 2003; Vaara, 2002; Vaara et al., 2006; Vaara and Monin, 2010); Vaara and Tienari, 2008). Zhu and McKenna (2012) also state that media texts, which are discursive artefacts, are used to legitimize and naturalize various ideas and ideologies of organizational restructuring. The common point of these studies is that the strategies used to legitimize any actions of companies through the media can only be revealed through the analysis of the media. Therefore, the discourse analysis of news in newspapers is also essential in terms of management literature.

On the other hand, as Chomsky and Herman (1988) point out in the Propaganda Model, it is common for the media, which is in the hands of certain capital groups, to serve news in such a way as to legitimize their areas of domination by taking into consideration the mutual interests with the powerful groups. In this respect, the news media, with the discourse that serves this interest group every day, makes the society more willing to be governed by this influential group. In this context, according to the Propaganda Model, which revolves around the concept of consent production (Burawoy, 1979), media owners manipulate the news in the interest of the elite class by ignoring the rational, critical, alternative ideas or the real needs of citizens and thus ensure the maintenance of cultural sovereignty which cannot harm themselves (Aydın, 2015). Hence, it is essential to reveal how the mainstream Turkish media, which is under the control of the ruling class, reports the work accidents in the interests of the powerful groups to understand how the work accidents are legitimized and naturalized. In other words, it is essential to reveal how are these incidents reported in the news: Is it in a framework where structural foundations of incidents and possible political responsibility are questioned or is it in a framework represented by a kind of “Politics of Pity”? (Sümbül, 2016).

Such work can also be important in understanding the function of the media in such circumstances. According to Liberal Pluralism Media Theory, media is the 4th power after Legislative, Executive and Judgment (İrvan 1995; Kaya, 2016; Özer, 2011). According to this approach, the media fulfils its function of being the fourth power by bringing the public's voice to the agenda and controlling political power. Therefore, the media are the guarantors of the continuation of the democratic system and the participation of the citizens in the

process (İrvan 1995; 76). In this context, it is necessary to objectively present the events determined according to the news valuation criteria and obey the ethical rules (Özer, 2011). However, significant disruptions are observed in Turkey, and the news seems to hide the truth instead of revealing them. Indeed, in his review of news focusing on Turkey's most widely read newspapers, Özer (2011) has indicated that fulfilling the function of the fourth power does not seem possible for Turkish media under these circumstances. Similarly, Kaya (2016; 115) argues that due to the factors of development specific to capitalism, the media still has problems in its function as the fourth power and cannot fulfil its fourth power function.

In another respect, Sönmez (2013: 23-24) emphasizes that the tendency to use the media as a weapon has increased rapidly in Turkey with the political polarization of Turkish media after 2005. As a result, the bourgeoisie close to some religious sects and congregations has been given essential roles in the media with the direct encouragement of the AKP government and then a media industry was established under the leadership of the pro-media. Together with the increasing power of the AKP thoroughly after the 2007 election, government supporter ownership in Turkey media has increased (Sönmez, 2013: 34). As a result, after the acquisitions of Doğan Media by Demirören Group in 2018 and newspapers closed with the Decree Laws in recent years, only three of the 20 most widely read newspapers in 2019 were representative of the Dissident media while 17 of them were from the pro-government media. In other words, AKP, which followed a relatively soft stance in its efforts to create its own media between 2002 and 2011, increased the newspaper circulation of loyal business people by 30%, especially by handing over the media organs it seized through the SDIF to its loyal businessmen (Çarkoğlu, Baruh & Yıldırım, 2014: 300-301). Following a rather aggressive strategy during their third ruling period, the ruling party increased its pro-government media rate to 95% after the sale of Doğan Media in 2018 (Dağtaş, 2019: 277).

It is evident that the media has a serious gap between the idealized function defined by ethical values and its existing position in real terms by considering the relations of power and capital. Especially in the news media, the acceptance of the content as a product produced by considering the social effects of hierarchical order, rather than a text reflecting the truth, has been explained by many social theories (Nisbet, 2008 as cited in Aydın, 2015). In this context, the media in Turkey provides a rich field to be examined with its structure sitting right in the middle of this problem and with its controversial titles. Therefore, it is

crucial to demonstrate the role that media representations play in the discursive establishment of the incident and its effect on legitimising and naturalising the incident in society.

These arguments have pointed out that this study, based on newspaper data, should consider different newspaper groups. Therefore, it seems necessary to compare the newspapers composed of various ideological backgrounds to reveal their roles in naturalization. However, because a review through newspapers is only meaningful by focusing on the right newspapers, newspaper selection criteria are also essential. For these reasons, the following careful steps were followed in determining the newspapers to be examined:

Firstly, newspapers were ranked from most read to the least read by reaching the 4-week circulation reports at the time of each incident. Later on, the newspapers closed by decree-law on any grounds (such as being close to the FETÖ terror organization) were eliminated (e.g., Zaman, Taraf, Bugün).

Then, the ownership-power relations and attitudes towards the government of each of the remaining newspapers were examined with assumptions of preceding studies (Kurban and Sözeri, 2012, Sınır Tanımayan Gazeteciler, 2016, Sönmez, 2013 and Sözeri, 2015), and newspapers were categorized under three groups: dissident, pro-government and relatively neutral. Also, some pre- and post-tests were conducted to validate this classification.

At this stage, newspapers that were not clearly classified were re-eliminated, and three of the remaining newspapers were selected for each group. In cases that there are more than three newspapers of any group, it was given priority to newspapers with the highest circulation and/or newspapers that have been keeping their views for longer; while the newspapers which work in the membership style selling (Zaman and Türkiye) were eliminated to avoid any comparison problems. The newspapers operating in the membership style have made a large portion of their sales to their members compared to the other newspapers working under the bench style. For example, according to the circulation reports of 19-25 April 2010, the most widely read Zaman was seen to have sold 900,000, and only 20,000 (2,2%) were sold on the benches as other newspapers, while the remaining 880,000 were sold directly to its members. Similarly, although the total sales of Türkiye were 144,000, only 10,000 (approximately 7%) of them is bench sales. This situation is frequently criticized since they do not reflect the actual circulation figures for various reasons. One of the most

voiced criticism is that these newspapers, which are financially supported by different congregations and distributed for free, are not read at all (see Sönmez, 2013: 37-62, for detailed information). For this reason, to avoid such a discussion in this study, I focused on only the newspapers sold on benches.

Finally, with increasing internet use, newspapers are primarily followed in digital media, particularly in the 2010s, and it becomes necessary to consider their effects on social media. Therefore, after the creation of the classification based on the above steps, Klout Scores⁴ were also examined to ensure that our classification is generated from the most appropriate and influential newspapers (DigitalAge, 2014). Table 3.2, which was prepared based on Klout scores, circulation reports and referred studies, contains detailed information about related newspapers.

Table 3. 2: The information of related newspapers

Newspaper	Chosen Newspapers	Circulation Ranking	Klout Score	Explanation	Selling Style
Zaman		1	1	Eliminated due to connection to a terrorist organization (27.07.2016 - Decree-Law) and membership style selling	Membership
Posta	RNM-2	2	18	Doğan Media	Bench
Hürriyet	RNM-1	3	2	Doğan Media	Bench
Sözcü	DM-3	4	10	Dissident Media (Kemalism, Nationalism, Secularism)	Bench
Sabah	PGM-3	5	8	Pro-Government since 2007 (Centre Right)	Bench
HaberTürk	RNM-3 (2)	6	6	Ciner Media	Bench
Türkiye		7	12	Eliminated due to the membership style selling	Membership
Milliyet	RNM-3 (1)	8	5	Doğan Media before 20 April 2011 and Pro-Government since 20 April 2011	Bench
Bugün		9	7	Eliminated due to connection to a terrorist organization (27.07.2016 - Decree-Law)	Bench
Star	PGM-2	10	13	Pro-Government since 2004 (Conservative)	Bench
Yeni Şafak	PGM-1	11	17	Pro-Government since 2002 (Social Conservative, Islamist)	Bench
Takvim		12	20	Pro-government	Bench
Vatan		13	16	Pro-government	Bench
Akşam		14	19	Pro-government	Bench
Cumhuriyet	DM-1	15	4	Dissident media (Kemalism, Social democracy, Secularism, Center left)	Bench
Yurt		16	15	Pro-government	Bench
Milat		17	21	Pro-government	Bench
BirGün	DM-2	18	11	Dissident media (Socialism, Left)	Bench
Radikal		19	3	Doğan media	Bench
Sol		20	9	Dissident media	Bench

DM: Dissident media, **PGM:** Pro-Government Media and **RNM:** Relatively Neutral Media

⁴ Klout score is a measure of a user's activity and utilization of social media. The score is a number between 1 and 100, that is an aggregation of a user's social media activity, including the size of the user's network and their activity on those networks. (Computer Dictionary, 2019)

Under these criteria, the newspapers which are not refraining from taking an explicit political position were specified. Hence, Cumhuriyet, BirGün and Sözcü were identified as dissident media representatives while Yeni Şafak, Star and Sabah were chosen as pro-government media representatives. However, on the one hand, BirGün was established in 2004 and Sözcü was established in 2007; on the other hand, the Star has established a partisan relation with the AKP since 2004, and the Sabah has established this relationship since 2007. Thus, these newspapers are only able to be subject to comparison after those dates. In other words, there are not enough dissident and pro-government newspapers in the first four cases. Therefore, I have to use only one newspaper from each group for the first and second incidents before 2004; and two newspapers from each group for the third and fourth incidents realized between 2004-2007.

When the relatively neutral newspapers considered, which are our third group, the necessity of considering different factors has come to the fore. For newspapers in the relatively neutral group, the focus was on high-circulation mainstream newspapers, which avoided taking an open political position. In the process of reviewing the newspapers, however, it was understood that a priority should be given to the newspapers of Doğan Media Group due to the fact that it has been Turkey's largest media group for a long time and has been frequently targeted by both pro-government and dissident media and therefore it has created a third party alone. In this context, Hürriyet was able to be included in the classification of all these 15 incidents, and Posta for 13 incidents while other newspapers of Doğan Media such as Milliyet and Radikal were able to find a place in different periods according to the above criteria. However, Radikal stopped its printed version in 2014 and it closed on 25 March 2016, and it could not be evaluated in this study. Thus, due to the insufficient number of newspapers of Doğan Media in this period, HaberTürk, which is the newspaper of Ciner Group, has been included in the analysis for the last five incidents in the sample instead of Milliyet. Thus, the final form of the newspapers to be used in the study took the form in the table 3.3.

The newspaper classification of the study is also supported by many studies which are conducted both in the field of work accidents and in different fields (e.g., Gezi Park news (Sine, 2016); Ermenek Mine Incident (Sümbül, 2016); 2011 General Elections (Candikmen, 2014); Justification in Newspaper Discourse, (Passerat, 2013); Printed Media (Sönmez, 2013)). In comparison with these studies, the most striking difference in my classification is

the elimination of Zaman due to its apparent and strong connection to FETÖ terrorist organization.

Table 3. 3: Newspaper groups and related newspapers

Incidents	Dissident Media (DM)	Pro-Government Media (PGM)	Relatively Neutral Media (RNM)
Between 11-15	CUMHURİYET (DM-1)	YENİ ŞAFAK (PGM-1)	HÜRRİYET (RNM-1)
	BİRGÜN (DM-2)	STAR (PGM-2)	POSTA (RNM-2)
	SÖZCÜ (DM-3)	SABAH (PGM-3)	<i>HABERTÜRK (RNM-3)</i>
Between 5-10	CUMHURİYET (DM-1)	YENİ ŞAFAK (PGM-1)	HÜRRİYET (RNM-1)
	BİRGÜN (DM-2)	STAR (PGM-2)	POSTA (RNM-2)
	SÖZCÜ (DM-3)	SABAH (PGM-3)	<i>MİLLİYET (RNM-3)</i>
3 & 4	CUMHURİYET (DM-1)	YENİ ŞAFAK (PGM-1)	HÜRRİYET (RNM-1)
	BİRGÜN (DM-2)	STAR (PGM-2)	POSTA (RNM-2)
1 & 2	CUMHURİYET (DM-1)	YENİ ŞAFAK (PGM-1)	HÜRRİYET (RNM-1)

The newspaper classification was also subjected to an applied two-stage inter-coder reliability test. Four reviewers were identified, two of which were media specialist and two from outside the field. These reviewers were first given the names of the 17 newspapers in Table 3.2 and asked to classify them as pro-government, dissident and relatively neutral. All four reviewers correctly classified all pro-government and dissident newspapers. Newspapers belonging to Doğan and Ciner Groups were classified as RNM by media expert referees while PGM by one of the other two referees and DM by the other. In the second stage, three reviewers, one of whom is a media expert and two from outside the field, were given all the main headlines about two randomly selected incidents, and they were asked to classify these headlines according to these three groups of newspapers. The results are given in the tables below:

Table 3. 4: Test result of newspaper classification

Case no	Newspaper Groups	%	Correct classifications	Total News
Case 1	Dissident Media	0,75	14,33	19
	Pro-Government Media	0,82	15,67	19
	Relatively Neutral Media	0,47	7,00	15
	All	0,70	37,00	53
Case 2	Dissident Media	0,82	47,67	58
	Pro-Government Media	0,84	25,33	30
	Relatively Neutral Media	0,39	12,33	32
	All	0,71	85,33	120
Case no	Newspaper Groups	%	Correct classifications	Total News
Case 1	Pro-Government Media	0,82	15,67	19
	Dissident Media	0,75	14,33	19
	All	0,79	30	38
Case 2	Pro-Government Media	0,84	25,33	30
	Dissident Media	0,82	47,67	58
	All	0,83	73	88

As seen in the table, the percentage of headlines placed under the suitable newspaper class is greater than 70% in both cases. However, when the newspaper groups are examined individually, it is seen that the correct classification of the DM and PGM groups is above 80% in both cases, while this rate is approximately 41% in the RNM group. Although an average of 70% is considered successful for any statistical study, the reason why one of the groups had a lower rate was discussed with the reviewers. When the reasons were examined, it was observed that RNM newspapers could make headlines and news similar to both opposing groups because they did not take an open position, unlike other newspapers. In other words, while some titles are in PGM style, some titles are in parallel with DM. After all, being an RNM would also have required this. As a result, it might be claimed that the comparatively low matching rate in this group also implies that the study classifies correctly.

After understanding that the newspaper classification was done correctly, the focus was on the data collection process. Considering data collection, various ways were used to reach these newspapers. Firstly, since the Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of Communications (CIM) has been digitally archiving the local and national press from 1 January 2010 to the present day, it has been applied here and requested to access its systems. Although the external connection is not allowed, I was allowed to do an archive scan under the supervision of the authorities and experts there. In this way, access to the newspapers of the last nine incidents have been provided, but BirGün and Star could not be reached in this way as these newspapers had not archived in their systems.

As soon as the newspapers that could not be reached during the data collection process in CIM were identified, direct access was requested to the management of the relevant newspapers for the first six cases before 2010 and for all cases in BirGün and Star. As a result, BirGün and Yeni Şafak newspapers allowed voluntary and free archive access, while Cumhuriyet and Star newspapers gave all their archives access by a fee. Of these newspapers, Cumhuriyet has been digitally archiving since 1 January 1930, and BirGün and Star are since 1 January 2010, and the relevant dates have been digitally accessed. The pre-2010 data of Yeni Şafak, which were accessed digitally in CIM for 2010 and later, were obtained by going to the printed archives in Istanbul and photographing the relevant days and news.

The pre-2010 data in other newspapers were collected through a manual examination of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Atatürk Library (IBB-AL). Despite all this process, the days and pages that were still incomplete were purchased from AjansPress (AP).

However, as a result of the detection of deficiencies in the data from AjansPress, the missing days and pages were re-scanned on the internet with the help of search engines and only a lost page was found in this way. Thus, the data sources and keywords become as at table 3.5.

Table 3. 5: The summary of all information of data collection

Case No	Case Code	Case Info	Case Date	Number of Deaths (Injured)	Keywords	Source of Data (Archives)
1	Ermenek I	Firedamp explosion in Ermenek Colliery	22.11.2003	10 (1)	Karaman, Ermenek, Grizu, Patlama, Maden, İşçi, Göçük,	DM1: Cumhuriyet Digital PGM1: Yeni Şafak printed archive (İstanbul), İBB-AL printed archive and Ajans Press digital archive RNM1: İBB-AL printed archive and Ajans Press digital
2	Küre	Fire in Küre Copper Mine	8.09.2004	19 (19)	Kastamonu, Küre, Yangın, Maden, Yangın, İşçi, Göçük, Facia	
3	Gediz	Firedamp explosion in Gediz Colliery	21.04.2005	18 (2)	Kütahya, Gediz, Grizu, Patlama, Maden, İşçi, Göçük, Facia	DM1: Cumhuriyet Digital; DM2: BirGün+AP; PGM1: YŞ Print+İBB-AL&AP; PGM2: AP RNM1& 2: İBB-AL and AP
4	Dursunbey I	Explosion in the Dursunbey Colliery	1.06.2006	17 (9)	Bahkesir, Dursunbey, Grizu, Patlama, Maden, İşçi, Göçük,	
5	Davutpaşa	Explosion at the Illegal Fireworks Facility in Davutpaşa	31.01.2008	23 (116)	İstanbul, Davutpaşa, Zeytinburnu, İzinsiz, Ruhsatsız, Havai fişek, Tesis, Patlama, İşçi	DM1: Cumhuriyet Digital; DM2: BirGün+AP; DM3: AP; PGM1: YŞ Print+İBB-AL&AP; PGM2&3: İBB-AL+AP RNM1, 2 & 3: İBB-AL and AP
6	Mustafakemalpaşa	Explosion in the Mustafakemalpaşa Colliery	10.12.2009	19 (1)	Bursa, Mustafakemalpaşa, Maden, Patlama, İşçi, Göçük, Deveci Konağı, Facia, Cinayet, Katliam	
7	Dursunbey II	Firedamp explosion in Dursunbey Colliery	23.02.2010	15 (18)	Bahkesir, Dursunbey, Grizu, Patlama, Maden, Şentaş Madencilik, İşçi, Göçük, Facia,	
8	Karadon	Explosion in the Karadon Colliery	17.05.2010	30 (11)	Zonguldak, Karadon, Maden, Patlama, İşçi, Göçük, Facia, Cinayet, Katliam	DM1: CIM + Cumhuriyet Digital DM2: BirGün Digital DM3: CIM PGM1: CIM PGM2: Star Digital + AP PGM3: CIM RNM1: CIM RNM2: CIM+AP RNM3: CIM+AP
9	Ostim	Explosions in Ostim and İvedik industrial areas	3.02.2011	20 (53)	OSTİM, İvedik, Ankara, Sanayi tesis, Patlama, Facia	
10	Elbistan	Two separate collapses in the coal mining site of Elbistan	10.02.2011	11	Kahramanmaraş, Elbistan, Kömür, Maden, Göçük, İşçi, Afşin, Elbistan, Facia	
11	Gökdere	Dam cover explosion in Gökdere, Kozan	24.02.2012	10	Gökdere, Kozan, İnşaat, Patlama, İşçi	
12	Esenyurt AVM	Fire in the workers' shelter of shopping center construction site	11.03.2012	11	AVM, İnşaat, Barınak, Yangın, Esenyurt	
13	Soma	Fire in Soma Colliery (the biggest accident in Turkey)	13.05.2014	301	SOMA, Maden, Yangın, Yerkel	The days and pages missing in all data were determined as well and completed from AJANS PRESS. The days that cannot be achieved despite all efforts are listed in the annexes.
14	Torunlar	Elevator drops at Torun Center construction site	6.09.2014	10	Torun, Torunlar, Asansör, İşçi, Mecidiyeköy, Ali Sami Yen, Rezidans	
15	Ermenek II	Floods at Has Şekerler Colliery	28.10.2014	18	Karaman, Ermenek, Has Şekerler, Maden, Su baskını	

While data scanning in digital sources was carried out with the specified keywords, printed data, all before 2010, were obtained as a result of 90-day scanning of all newspaper pages. In order to be able to check, again and again, all the newspapers in the 90-day period were archived as whole pages; then examined one by one, and the entire page and clippings of the relevant news were added to the work file. To minimise the number of possible errors in data collection and processing, I created two "newspaper scanning charts", one printed and one MS Excel file. Thus, I could follow every newspaper for 90 days for each incident (see appendices to see sample formats). The printed chart was used to determine whether there was news for each incident and on which pages they were, and all the pages of the related news were added to my own digital archive. After the data collection process, the following data were processed to the excel chart for the relevant news in the relevant newspaper for 90 days: a) whether there is news (yes = 1, no = 0), b) whether there is news

on the first page (yes = 1, no = 0) and c) if there was news on the first page, the size of the news area (%).

With the processing of the data into MS Excel, all necessary numerical analysis has become possible. Firstly, the validity of the 90-day screening period, which was determined according to the literature, was analysed, and it was understood that both the 90-day screening period and 14-day qualitative data would be sufficient for the study. To briefly describe this process, considering reviewing process of the newspaper, a four-step process was followed in the analysis of the newspapers representing these three different groups.

Each incident was followed for 90 days from the date of the incident. In the decision of 90 days of the follow-up period, the literature and incidents that occurred in 2014 were decisive. In most of the incidents, it has been not easy to find news after 30 days. However, the last workers in Ermenek were reached on the 38th day, and as a result, a significant breaking point occurred in the number of news, and it was observed that there was various news until the 45th day. Similarly, although the size and the amount of news of the Soma incident have decreased a lot since the 12th day, various news was found period up to the 78th day. As a result, it was concluded that a 90-day follow-up period would be adequate and appropriate. The effects of the most significant event in the history of Turkey, which took place on 13 May 2014, continued for a long time.

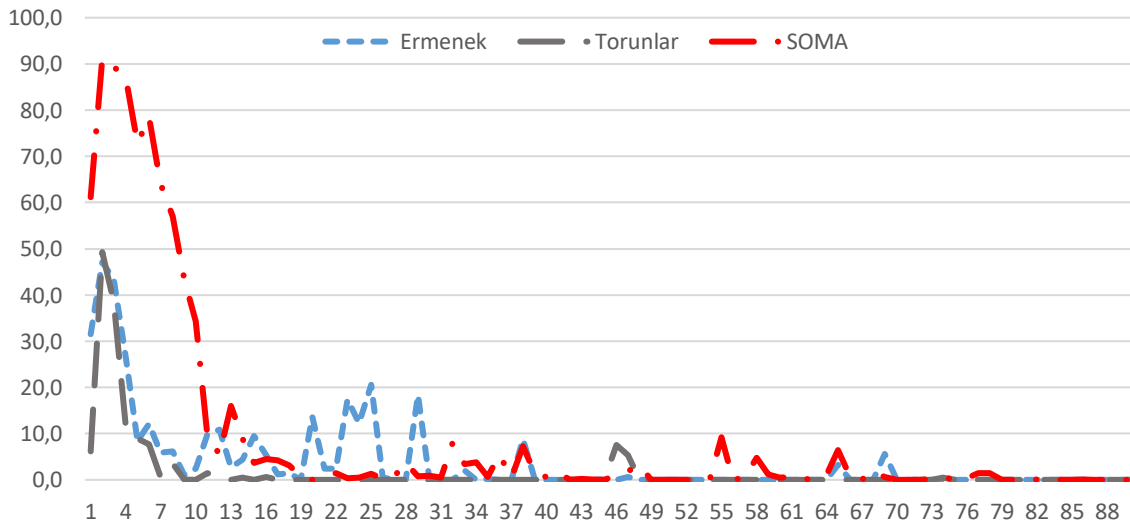


Figure 3. 1: The per centages of news related to 2014-incidents in the first page

Later in the same year, the Torunlar incident in September and the Ermenek-II incident occurred in October. Therefore, the period between 14 May 2014 and 13 May 2015 was scanned entirely for the final decision of the screening period. In this period, from the 78th

day, the Soma incident was covered as secondary news under slightly different topics, but after the first 90 days, Torunlar was covered only once, and Ermenek-II was reported twice on completely random dates and as secondary news. If even the most significant Soma incident is not seeing mainstream news from day 78, that is not possible for other news either. Therefore, the 90 days was found to be sufficient.

In 90 days of data processing, not only news pages, since it is the most widely read and the most critical news page, it was also analysed whether the news appeared on the first page. The coverage of the news on the first page was taken into account in this framework. In these coverage calculations, the scale was calculated as the ratio of the news to the news page in a standard way due to the difference in printed and digital news. Thus, the comparison of different groups for each incident and the same newspaper/newspaper groups for different incidents can be made in this respect. Figure 3.1, which is used as a draft and shows the news rates of the news of three events on the first page of the newspapers in a 90-day period, also indicates that the 90-day period is sufficient.

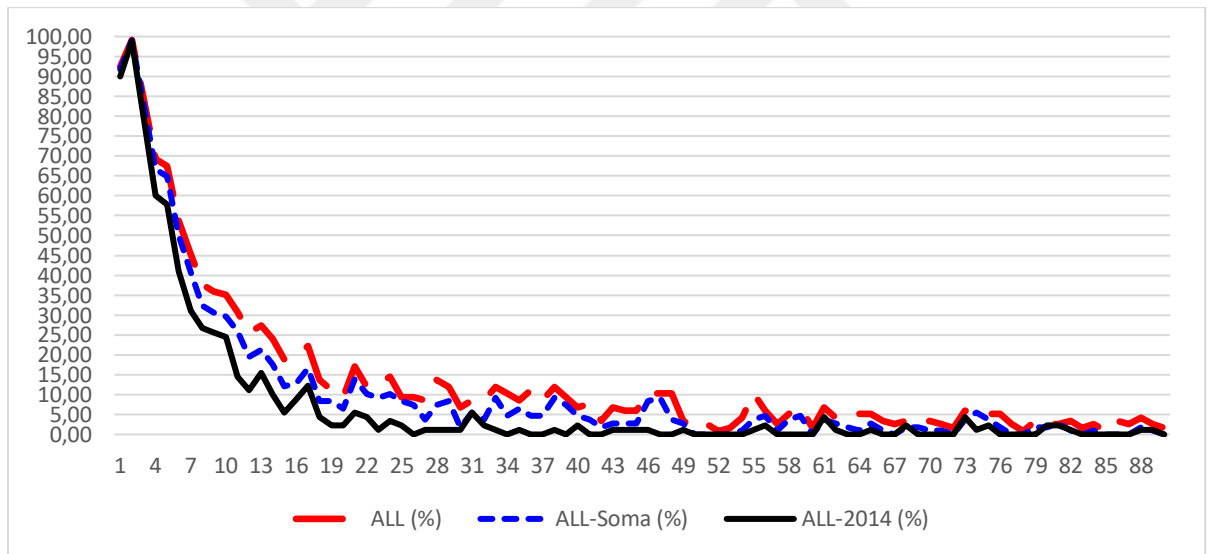


Figure 3. 2: Per centage of newspapers reporting the relevant event in the 90-day period

With the 90-day screening period becoming clear, it has been questioned as to what extent this data should be used in the context of the CDA because focusing on all the news is as pointless as it is unnecessary. When similar studies were examined, it was seen that none of the studies focused on a period longer than a week. Also, all the primary data obtained showed that the busiest news period was the first 10-11 days. If only CDA were planned to conduct, it was found that the first week or 10-day period would be quite enough. However, in this study, it is used different models and CDA, and most importantly, it was

decided to focus on the longest possible period to understand how the naturalisation process works. As a result of the investigations made in this direction, it was understood that a period of 14 days would be sufficient. The reason why CDA is conducted on only 14-days of news is that the most important news in all incidents was found in this period and the critical breakpoints were observed between 10 and 14 days (e.g., Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2). Figure 3.2 shows the per centages of news coverage for all incidents (ALL), all incidents except Soma (ALL-Soma), and all incidents of the pre-2014 period (ALL-2014).

As shown in Figure 2, all incidents are newsworthy in the first 10-11 days. Even when the Soma event is included, the news value drops to 20% from the 17th day. While this period is 14-days when 14 incidents other than Soma are considered, it is 10-days when 12 incidents before 2014 are taken into account. Moreover, for 12 pre-Soma incidents, it is consistently below 10% after day-17 and always below 5% after day-30.

Table 3. 6: News ratio based on 14-days

Newspapers	First 7 days (All incidents)	First 14 days (All incidents)	First 14 days before SOMA (12 incidents)
PGM-1	0,75	0,87	0,93
PGM-2	0,69	0,82	0,88
PGM-3	0,74	0,88	0,97
DM-1	0,74	0,87	0,92
DM-2	0,70	0,84	0,85
DM-3	0,57	0,78	1,00
RNM-1	0,85	0,93	1,00
RNM-2	0,67	0,78	0,85
RNM-3	0,73	0,87	0,95
<i>Average</i>	<i>0,72</i>	<i>0,85</i>	<i>0,93</i>
PGM	0,73	0,86	0,93
DM	0,67	0,83	0,93
RNM	0,75	0,86	0,93

The number of news pages was examined as a post-test for inter-coder reliability. The table below gives the ratio of the total number of news pages in the first seven and 14 days to the total number of news pages in the 90 days. According to these findings, the news in the first 14 days corresponds to 85% of the news in the 90-day period in all incidents. Moreover, this rate was 93% in the period before Soma. The magnitude of the Soma incident caused the news to spread over a more extensive period. Thus, it was understood that the 14-day period was sufficient for the study.

Finally, which news is included in the analysis should be explained. The following criteria are determined for the selection and measurement of the news:

- Only and directly related news has been selected. Cartoons and secondary news that imply the event (e.g., Yerkele's kicking news) have also included in the analysis while the news of a general issue covering the subject has not included. For example, a piece of news explaining the novelties/changes coming to mines with new labour law has not taken into consideration even if the incident is mentioned in that news.
- The names and logos/symbols of newspapers have also included in the measurement because their size is different in each newspaper and in some cases, they can emerge in different sizes and colours.
- When calculating the area of relevant news, if the news is in a frame, the area of the frame is calculated but if it is not within the frame, the start and end points of the news and/or images are calculated.
- While newspaper supplements (such as weekend, Sunday or book supplements, etc.) are not included in the analysis, special newspaper supplements specific to incident are included.

The news determined were coded and archived chronologically, and all of them were converted into MS Word format. At this stage, the digitally obtained data was edited after copying and pasting into word. The data archived by taking their photos were converted into word with the help of the web programs <https://img2txt.com/> and <https://www.onlineocr.net/>. Thus, a massive file consisting of 1028726 words was obtained. The first stage of theme analysis, the researcher's familiarity with the data, was performed since the news in all incidents was read at least once in this process. After all the news were converted into word format, a draft was created for thematic analysis by uploading them to Nvivo, and data such as headlines, titles, sub-titles, leads and photo-texts were arranged in the word (*see the sample file in the attachments*). It will be helpful to examine Picture 3.1 for an easier and more precise understanding of what is considered in the editing of the news on a page. As shown in Picture 3.1, the section containing the news on each news page of each relevant newspaper becomes the following after converting to MS Word. The area occupied by the news on the first page, the news and word counts are recorded in the relevant files. Themes and numbers were determined with the Nvivo program on this file, which was arranged in this way, and then CDA was applied. In summary, in this section, all criteria and justifications for the data collection process are explained and standardized before analysis.

4. 17_May_14_BirGün_p.1
News Coverage: 91%
News Count: 6
Word Count: 513
Photo Count: 3

BİR GÜN

HALKIN GAZETESİ

17 MAYIS 2014
CUMARTESİ
11. YIL 300. SAYI
15 TL
418 000000
www.birgun.net

Ahmet Sık, Elçin Yıldırım, Gülşen Candemir, Zeynep Kuray, Onur Kılıç, Doğu Eroğlu izliyor

SUPER-HEADLINE

HEADLINE

3 GÜN ÖNCE TEKME, ÖNCEKİ GÜN YUMRUK VARDI

Devlet, acılı aileleri dün de cop, gaz ve su ile ziyaret etti



Başbakan'ın yumruğu, Müşavir'in tekmesi yetmedi. Devlet dün de acılı Soma halkına cop, biber gazı ve tazyikli su ile saldırdı. Yurttaşlar tepki gösterdi

KİTLEYE SALDIRILAR
Soma'da yarın da biber gazı ve plastik mermi ile saldırılar devam ediyor. Halkın tepkisi artıyor. Yurttaşlar polise karşı çıkıyor. Halkın tepkisi artıyor. Yurttaşlar polise karşı çıkıyor.

TEKMECİ YERKEL İLE TOKATÇI ERDOĞAN
Tamer Kurucan ve Yusuf Yerkeri'nin saldırıları. Halkın tepkisi artıyor. Yurttaşlar polise karşı çıkıyor. Halkın tepkisi artıyor. Yurttaşlar polise karşı çıkıyor.

Hüseyin Çelik: Bizim de arabamız pert oldu

AKP Genel Başkan Yardımcısı Çelik, halka saldıran Başbakanlık Müşaviri Yusuf Yerkeri'ni savundu. Erdoğan'ın yumruklama görüntülerini de yok saydı

AKP Genel Başkan Yardımcısı ve Parti Sözcüsü Hüseyin Çelik, Soma'da gündeme ilişkin açıklamalarda bulundu. Çelik açıklama yaptığı toplantıda, 'Bizim de arabamız pert oldu' dedi. Çelik, 'Bizim de arabamız pert oldu' dedi. Çelik, 'Bizim de arabamız pert oldu' dedi.

YERKEL Erdoğan'ın emriyle atıldığı Soma'da halka saldıran Yusuf Yerkeri'nin saldırılarını destekledi. Yerkeri'nin saldırılarını destekledi. Yerkeri'nin saldırılarını destekledi.

Patron konuştu: Mevzu da, aklım da bulanık!

Soma faciasının yaşandığı madenin yetkililer basın karşısına çıktı ama sorulara net yanıtlar veremedi. Toplantıya "yaşam odaları" hakkındaki çelişkili açıklamalar damga vurdu

SOMA da yarın da biber gazı ve plastik mermi ile saldırılar devam ediyor. Halkın tepkisi artıyor. Yurttaşlar polise karşı çıkıyor. Halkın tepkisi artıyor. Yurttaşlar polise karşı çıkıyor.



Başka katliamlar yaşanabilir

142 madenden sadece 18'inin güvenliği açısından endişe olundu. Madenlerin ortaya koyan Çiğdem Bakan'ın tefiş raporları, başka katliamların yaşanabileceğini gösteriyor

SOMALI İŞÇİLER: GÖZ GÖRE GÖRE ÖLÜME GÖNDERİLDİ
Soma'da yarın da biber gazı ve plastik mermi ile saldırılar devam ediyor. Halkın tepkisi artıyor. Yurttaşlar polise karşı çıkıyor. Halkın tepkisi artıyor. Yurttaşlar polise karşı çıkıyor.



SOMALI İŞÇİLER: GÖZ GÖRE GÖRE ÖLÜME GÖNDERİLDİ
Soma'da yarın da biber gazı ve plastik mermi ile saldırılar devam ediyor. Halkın tepkisi artıyor. Yurttaşlar polise karşı çıkıyor. Halkın tepkisi artıyor. Yurttaşlar polise karşı çıkıyor.

17 MAYIS 2014 CUMARTESİ 11. YIL 300. SAYI 15 TL 418 000000 www.birgun.net

Original Page

TITLE

LEAD

LEAD

SUB-TITLE

TITLE

LEAD

TITLE

LEAD

TITLE

SUB-TITLE

SUPER-TITLE

TITLE

[SUPER-HEADLINE] 3 GÜN ÖNCE TEKME, ÖNCEKİ GÜN YUMRUK VARDI

[HEADLINE]

Devlet, acılı aileleri dün de cop, gaz ve su ile ziyaret etti

[LEAD]

Başkan'ın yumruğu, müşavirin tekmesi yetmedi. Devlet dün de acılı Soma halkına cop, biber gazı ve tazyikli su ile saldırdı. Yurttaşlar tepki gösterdi

[SUB-TITLE]

KİTLEYE SALDIRILAR

1. Soma'da yurttaşlar maden katliamını protesto etti.
2. Yüzlerce kişinin katıldığı eylemde Somalılar yetkili ve sorumluların hesap vermesini istedi.
3. Polis eyleme izin vermedi, kitleye TOMA, biber gazı ve plastik mermi ile saldırdı.
4. Yurttaşlar polise "Bizler canımızı kaybettik ne yapıyorsunuz?" diye tepki gösterdi.
5. Eylemde sık sık katliamı lanetleyen ve sorumluları istifaya davet eden sloganlar atıldı.

[SUB-TITLE]

TEKMECİ YERKEL İLE TOKATÇI ERDOĞAN

6. Başkan Erdoğan, cuma namazını Eyüp Sultan Camii'nde kıldı.
7. Erdoğan cuma namazının ardından Eski Refah Parti yöneticisi Altan Günay'ın cenaze namazına katıldı.
8. Erdoğan'ın yanında namaza katılan bir diğer isim ise Çelik'in rapor aldı diyerek savunduğu Yusuf Yerkeri'di.
9. Yerkeri, Eyüp Sultan Camii'nde cuma namazı kılan Başbakan Erdoğan'ın yanındaydı.
10. Yerkeri daha sonra aracıyla uzaklaştı. 2'de

[TITLE]

Hüseyin Çelik: Bizim de arabamız pert oldu

[LEAD]

AKP Genel Başkan Yardımcısı Çelik, halka saldıran Başbakanlık Müşaviri Yusuf Yerkeri'ni savundu. Erdoğan'ın yumruklama görüntülerini de yok saydı

11. AKP Genel Başkan Yardımcısı ve Parti sözcüsü Hüseyin Çelik, Soma'da gündeme ilişkin açıklamalarda bulundu.
12. Soma'da halkı tekmeleyen Başbakanlık müşaviri Yusuf Yerkeri i savundu ve 'onun da arabasına zarar verdiler' diye konuştu.
13. Çelik, "Korumalarımızın araçları hep pert oldu. Böyle bir şey olmaz" dedi.
14. ÇELİK, Erdoğan'ın yumruk attığı Tamer Kurucan ve Yerkeri'le ilgili, "Tamer Kurucan diye birisi iddia ediyor. Görüntü yok. Görüntü dediklerinizi ben de seyrettim. Soma'ya gitmiş başbakana ve ekibine saldırmak, araçları, millervekili araçları pert edildi. Yusuf Terkel'in yaptığı bir açıklama var" dedi. 4'te

Converted to Word



Picture 3. 1: Example template of news processing

3.5. Data Analysis

This study is designed as a qualitative work and CDA is employed to analyse the data. Also, some essential quantitative data is used to support the primary method, but most of them are as frequencies. Moreover, although the primary analysis is van Dijk's CDA method (van Dijk, 1988a, 1988b), all events in a 20-year period (1 January 2000- 31 December 2019) have been determined and 90-day numerical and 14-day qualitative and detailed numerical analyses of 15 different incidents between 2003-2014 have been conducted. In this context, it is possible to call the method as longitudinal CDA (e.g., Ayers and Palmadessa, 2015: 866; Qian et al., 2019; Mulderrig, 2011: 563).

In addition, three different tool/models were added to the CDA to enable comparisons between years and identify possible manipulation strategies. The first of these is the comparison of the same themes determined by theme analysis with NVivo. Thus, it was possible to observe both the events in which the related themes emerged and how they progress in the process. This forms the core of the CDA method.

The second is corpus analysis. In Hunston's (2002:2) terms, corpus refers to '*collections of texts stored and accessed electronically*'. Here, 132 CDA-supported keywords created from the text collections of the relevant newspapers and directly related to the subject of the study were determined, and it was examined whether it was possible to compare 121 of these keywords in all incidents. As a result, with the help of the Diction 7 software, these 132 keywords were grouped, 11 of which were specific to the Soma incident, and ten keyword groups were created, with nine groups in all incidents and one group only in Soma. In these ten keyword groups, 132 keywords were represented by 52 words or phrases. Thus, the corpus-assisted method, which is used in many discourse studies and seen to be quite valuable, has also become a tool that is articulated to the primary method of our study (e.g., Dayrell, 2019; Efe, 2019). A corpus-assisted CDA analysis provides evidence of the considerable scale and considerable depth to examine the most dominant linguistic patterns in discourse (Dayrel, 2019). Furthermore, lexical style analysis in the context of the CDA has been taken to the upper level.

Finally, the manipulation model developed by van Dijk (2006a) has been added to the primary analysis in order to reveal how the manipulation takes place in the incidents. Using this model under the primary method aims to analyse which strategies are more prominent, especially by government officials, in the naturalisation process. Thus, both a theme group and a corpus that can be used for all incidents were created, and the possibility of comparing

manipulation strategies emerged. In addition, all data were converted into numerical data by using Nvivo software to analyse both words and themes. In this way, it has become possible to make standard comparisons for all incidents. The purpose of this is to introduce a more advanced analysis method that will allow all data to be compared in a standard way.

3.5.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

As mentioned before, van Dijk's model is employed in this study. In particular, the works of Özer (2011: 85; 2015: 247–248, 2018: 166–167), which provides a holistic and excellent example of the van Dijk approach, were used to facilitate a more understandable and systematic comparison, and the format in Figure 3.4 was taken into consideration.

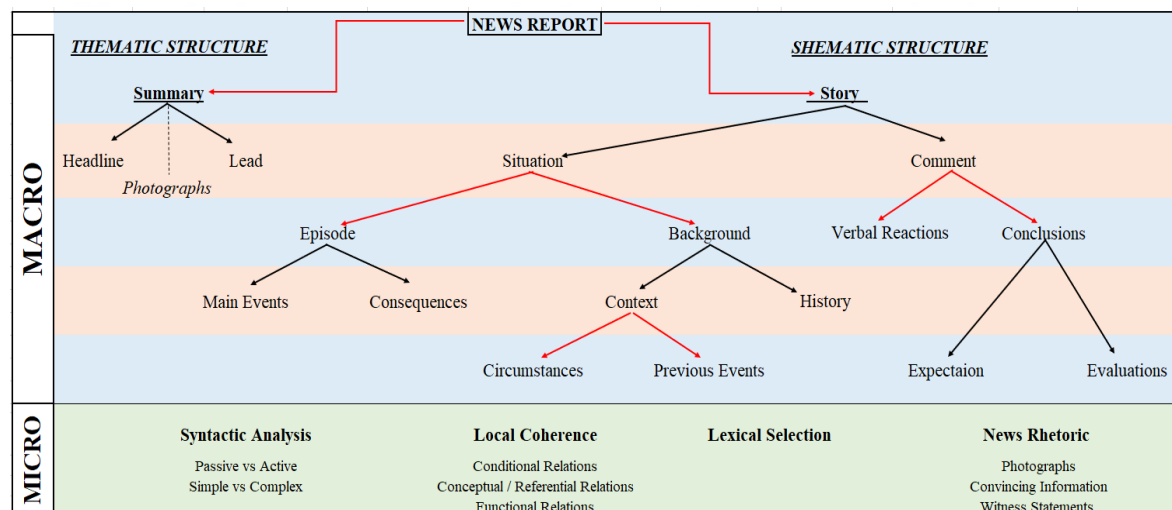


Figure 3. 3: van Dijk's CDA model, with the Özer's presentation

Macrostructures

1. Macrostructures (van Dijk, 1980, 1988a:248, 1988b:167, 1991, 2006:169)

1.1. Thematic Structures (SUMMARY)

1.1.1. Headlines – including super-, main- and sub-headlines

1.1.2. Lead: Introduction – summaries- abstracts

a. Lead

b. When there is no lead, the first paragraph of the news text and the first sentence can be taken as the Lead if the news consists of a single paragraph.

1.1.3. Photographs -particularly the main photo of the news

1.2. Schematic Structures (STORY)

1.2.1. Situation:

a. **Episode:** Main Events in Context and their Backgrounds

- (Presentation of) The main event (s)

- Consequences

b. **Background**

- **Context (Circumstances and previous events):** contains the ideological meaning in these stories
- **History** - Including the previous event (s)
- 1.2.2. **Comment**
 - a. Verbal Reactions
 - b. Conclusions
- Expectation
- Evaluation

The CDA of van Dijk consists of two dimensions, macro and microstructure. Themes and topics are carried out in the Headlines and Lead paragraphs, which express the most critical knowledge of journalists' cognitive model and the Headlines define "*consistency and semantic unity of discourse*" (van Dijk, 1988a). Therefore, general information is included in the Headline and Lead, which is a summary. According to van Dijk, what the readers can memorize and remember is located in this section, namely the thematic structure, which can also be called the summary of the macrostructure. Therefore, macrostructure and especially summary should be given priority.

According to van Dijk, globally valid topics (themes) are defined as "semantic macrostructures" derived from local (micro) structures of meaning and represent what a discourse means. Topics (themes) do contain the essential information of discourse and explain the consistency of the general text and speech (van Dijk, 1980; 1988a; 1988b, 2001b). He recommends beginning with macrostructure analysis to the CDA because it has such an important role and allows topical (macrostructure) analysis to be applied to larger institutions.

van Dijk (2001b: 102) highlights that the topics, defined as global meanings, cannot be directly observed but can be extracted from discourses by language users. In this context, he states that the topics are often expressed in discourses such as headings, subheadings, leads and news entries, summaries, thematic sentences or conclusions and that the main topics can be found by acting from here. As the speaker or author intended, language users can use these macrostructures as strategic tools for the extraction or determination of topics (van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983 as cited in van Dijk, 2001b: 102). According to van Dijk, who emphasizes that this also provides influence and manipulation, speakers and writers can, therefore, emphasize the meaning, control the meaning, and affect the formation of the "mental models" of the event in which discourse occurs.

Thematic Structures (*Summary*)

While macrostructure is examined in two groups as thematic (summary) and schematic (story), Headline, Lead and related Photos are discussed within the scope of thematic analysis (van Dijk, 1988a: 15). The actual Headline (with capital H) refers to the most prominent and boldest Headline of the news and may consist of several parts (decks or banks), such as a main headline, a superheadline, and a subheadline. Similarly, Leads are usually placed between the Headline and the news story with a noticeable difference (i.e., boldly printed) and may present the first thematic sentence and/or general summary of the text. When there is no Lead the first paragraph of the news text and if the news consists of a single paragraph, the first sentence can be taken as the Lead. Based on the data collected, I can say that the absence of Leads is a rare situation, and in terms of my subject, this is usually seen in the sedimentation and latency phases, where the importance of the news decreases. Contrary to other phases, the news takes up less space at these phases, and they are primarily presented in the form of a report in the inner pages. Nevertheless, in cases of significant work accidents, the news of the case is often considered as a high-value newsworthy and presented as a significant news event, which receives nationally great attention, front-page treatment, and detailed description in extensive main and background articles.

Moreover, the themes in the news are also identified in the macrostructure, and thematic hierarchy is revealed, which includes the relationship of these themes (Keskin, 2004: 392). In this regard, in terms of news discourse, the main theme(s) (or topics) are firstly and most intensely presented in the Headlines and then at the Lead. Subsequently, details of content and the less prominent schematic categories (e.g., History or Comments) are used to explain and support the main theme (van Dijk, 1988a:15, 2007: 169). On the other hand, of course, the topics are not just organized in a thematic structure that defines the hierarchical order or other semantic relations; they may also play roles in the news story such as giving information about Main Event, Context, and History (van Dijk, 1986, 1987e as cited in van Dijk, 1988a: 91).

The systematic analysis of the textual structures of the news begins with a description of concepts such as the topic or theme that marks the topic of the discourse, and therefore the thematic organization of the news discourse plays a critical role, perhaps even more than other discourse types. The theoretical concept used to describe topics or themes of discourse, which belong to the global, macro-level discourse description, is related to semantic macrostructures (van Dijk, 1972, 1977b, 1977a, 1988b: 30–31; 1980). A topic of a text is a

strategically derived subjective macro-proposition, lined up in propositions through macro-processes (rules, strategies), based on general world knowledge, personal beliefs and interests. Such a topic is part of a hierarchical, topical or thematic structure (semantic macrostructure) that can be expressed in a summary and describe the subjectively the most crucial information, essence, and upshot of the text. Topics that can be illustrated by speakers in various ways are essential for a general understanding of a text. Topics in a text play a central role, and without them, it would only be possible to understand some local parts of the text without comprehending the local relationships, hierarchy and organization instead of grasping what the text is about globally (van Dijk, 1988b: 34–35).

Emphasizing that the titles express the theme and therefore contain the most critical information of the text, van Dijk states that newspapers avoid headlines emphasizing the negative features of the dominant power (van Dijk, 1991, 2001a, 2001b, 2006). In this context, they manipulate the news with various macrorules as they wanted (van Dijk, 2006a): News narratives consist of macro propositions called themes which are also structured in the discourse, and multiple themes can be found in the same discourse. Structures, derived from discourse through macrorules, are a summary which is substantially reduced the information in three different ways. These three different macrorules, which are deletion, generalization and construction, are often used at the thematic structure, especially at headlines (van Dijk, 1988b: 35–36; 1980: 46–47).

Deletion can be defined as the deletion of "*all information that is no longer relevant in the rest of the text, such as local details*". In other words, it is expressed as the absence of information such as location, period and time in the Headline, and it can only be applied if the relative relevance of properties and events in the description of situations and episodes are known. This relates to the global coherence of the macrostructure and in this sense explains the relationship between macrostructures and knowledge. If we do not know these necessities, we cannot reduce any information. It indicates what data is lost in the process; not what information originated from the extraction process. Generalization, which requires knowledge about hierarchical relationships between concepts, refers to the generalization of various issues or concepts under the same concept. In a more precise expression, we can replace a sequence of propositions by one generalization. For instance, instead of saying I had a home accident, traffic accident and work accident and so on, it was like saying I had accidents, or succinctly using pets for a cat, a dog and a canary. Similar to generalization, construction summarizes a series of actions under an umbrella term. However, it differs from

generalization in that it is more action-oriented than the name orientation, and in particular, requires information about the “normal” conditions. With words of van Dijk, “*we can replace a sequence of propositions that denote the usual conditions, components, or consequences of an act or event by one macroproposition that denotes the act or event as a whole. Going to the airport, checking in, walking to the gate, etc. can be aptly summarized by the macroproposition. I took a plane to...* (van Dijk, 1988b: 32)” It is the construction of an overall event by its constituent details.

In sum, deletion, generalization, and construction are three major macrorules that reduce the information of a text to its topics. A whole novel can be summarized in only one page by a few macropropositions. Thus, the overall macrostructure defines the thematic organization of the text and its global coherence. Considering the newspaper discourse, the first important feature of it is that topics can be expressed and displayed with headlines apparently acting as abstracts of news text. The Headline, which refers to a macroproposition, has an implicit predicate (to be) and a set of arguments such as an agent, a position and a target.

At a glance, the following can be said about the topics of news (van Dijk, 1988b: 35–36):

- 1.** Topics of news discourse have a summary function, which usually expressed in headlines.
- 2.** Topics can be obtained by deleting information that is not directly related to understanding the rest of the text, which can be considered as details.
- 3.** If information refers to standard conditions or components of the macroevent, it may be subsumed by macroproposition.
- 4.** Information that may not be included in the main topic, but which is an independent sub-topic, can be found in the news event.
- 5.** Some of the implied or assumed information that can be deleted or constructed relate to previous news events, and they might be topic in previous news reports.

Schematic Structures (Story)

Following the summary section consisting of Headlines and Lead, the Main Events constitute the dominant category of the news episode. The central theme, which was first presented in the Lead section, is then thoroughly examined in Context and Background, Consequences, Verbal Reactions, and Comments (van Dijk, 1988b: 134). *The way how the*

main event is handled, results, background and context information are determined in situation and comment sections (van Dijk, 1988a: 16). The Situation includes information about the news event and evaluates how the main event is handled (van Dijk, 1988a: 54). If background and context information is included here, it makes easier to understand the event by expressing the previous events, while their absence provides typification of the event. In the comment section, the actual sources of the event and the reactions, explanations and evaluations of the parties to the event are examined.

The Situation is divided into two as episode and background subdivisions. In the episode, the presentation of the main event and consequences are presented within the framework of the (ideological) views of the newspapers. It is a very remarkable section in terms of understanding, for example, how the main event and consequences are framed, who is emphasized and de-emphasized. In the background, on the other hand, context and history of the event are discussed, and background can play an essential role in understanding the ideological elements more clearly. For example, we can see in the background whether the event has been reduced to an individual event. Context is defined as “the mentally represented structure of those properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or comprehension of discourse” (Duranti and Goodwin 1992; van Dijk 1998b as cited van Dijk, 2001a: 356; 2008: 90) while history refers the previous events.

In another news discourse, there is a category that includes comments, opinions and evaluations of the journalist or the newspaper itself. Although many journalists share their ideological view that truth and personal thinking should not be confused, this does not seem applicable, and the Comments category is observed in news discourse, even though it is placed indirectly. While the evaluation includes opinions about current news events; Prospects formulate possible political or other consequences of actual events and Situation (for example, the prediction of future events) (van Dijk, 1988b: 56). In other words, Comments section, usually consisting of news sources and comments made by the parties to the event, may be composed of Evaluation and Expectations in which the reporter or editor may evaluate the news events. Journalists also routinely look for information that may fit into these categories, though implicitly, for example, when searching for the background of real events (van Dijk, 1988a: 15).

Microstructures

2. Microstructures - microstructures are the actually and directly ‘expressed’ structures of the discourse (van Dijk, 1988a; 1988b).

2.1. Syntactic analysis

2.1.1. *Are sentence structures active or passive? whether highlighting/hiding is done with active/passive sentence structure*

2.1.2. *Simple or complex sentence structures*

2.2. Local Coherence

2.2.1. *Conditional relations: Are there causal links within the sentence / between sentences?*

2.2.2. *Functional relations: Sentences describing the previous sentence*

2.2.3. *Conceptual/Referential relations: Examining whether "lost links" are established between the concept in a sentence and the next sentence.*

2.3. Lexical Style, Syntactic Style, Lexicalization (van Dijk 1988a: 28)

2.4. News Rhetoric - Credibility and The Rhetoric of Numbers

2.4.1. *Photographs*

2.4.2. *Persuasive Information*

2.4.3. *Statements of (eye)witnesses*

In the microstructure analysis, through focusing on the traces of discourse reflected in the units of the language, the causality relationships established between word selections, sentence structures and sentences are examined by associating them with rhetoric (van Dijk, 1988a). The microstructural features of the news have an important place in establishing discourse. Syntactic cohesion, lexical selections and the rhetoric of the news are examined in micro-analysis. The journalists’ syntactic and lexical choices help to identify different ideological discourses involved in the news (İnal, 1996: 142). For example, active or passive use of the syntax of the news may cause the different meanings of a sentence or to be interpreted differently as well as to assist the concealing and/or highlighting of the actor. The elements of the microstructure of the news begin with the analysis of the sentences used in the news, which serves to reveal the ideological nature of the news (Keskin, 2004: 393): Are they short or long, simple or compound and active or passive sentence (van Dijk, 1988b: 77–81) Afterwards, the local coherence examining the relationship between successive sentences and phrases are examined while then, the word choices where the chosen words reflect the ideology of the journalist in particular and the newspaper, in general, are discussed (van Dijk, 1988b: 81). Finally, microanalysis is completed by examining the news rhetoric, which increases the persuasive feature of the news, and this stage usually consists of a) quotations containing the comments and verbal reactions of the parties and witnesses of the event, b) photographs indicating that the event is real and c) graphic and numerical data that increase the credibility of the news (van Dijk, 1988b: 82).

Regarding the syntactic analysis of microstructure, one crucial point to note is the ***Us and Them*** distinction. According to (van Dijk, 2001b:103), CDA research is often related to the search for ideologically biased discourses and their polarization of the representation of ***Us (within the group)*** and ***Them (outside of the group)***. In this case, the strategy of presenting "us" positively and "them" negatively is generally used. To put it more precisely, good things about "Us" are highlighted or handled between the lines while bad things/aspects are brought to the fore in matters related to "them". It can also be observed in the form of a strategy of distracting and / or hiding attention over bad features about us and good features about them. Van Dijk states that the use of passive sentences is a tactic used to emphasize positive aspects by trying to distract attention from negative actions, and emphasizes that dominant discourse uses it to influence, manipulate or control the mind (van Dijk, 2001b: 107–108). As he emphasizes, the use of this type of passive sentence or nominalization is one of the tactics used to emphasize positive aspects by trying to distract attention from negative actions. These formal and semantic changes of the dominant discourse are directed not only to express and extract power but also to the construction of desired mental models and social representations, that is, to influence, manipulate or control the mind. There are dozens of possible structural forms to emphasize or de-emphasize the meaning in the sentence syntax. Considering van Dijk's theory, such structures can be interpreted as a mental model of the author's emotions and actions at that time (van Dijk, 2012: 595). Similar tactics and strategies are also included in the manipulation model of van Dijk, which is also used in the polarization phase of the model resulting from my study. I believe that using this model also adds richness to my work.

The review of local coherence explains how propositions expressed in clauses and sentences relate to news discourse (van Dijk, 1988a: 104). The propositions in a text refer to facts that are related, for instance, by relations of time, condition, cause, and consequence reveal one of the major conditions of local coherence (van Dijk, 1991b: 112). In this context, conditional, functional and conceptual/referential relations are examined (van Dijk, 1991b: 111–112). Causal links in the sentence are sought for conditional relations. In functional relations, it is checked whether the explanation of a sentence with a general expression is included in the next sentence and whether appropriate explanation, summarization, contrast and sampling (e.g., specification, generalization, contrast, explanation, or content of previously mentioned statements, etc.) are made here. In the conceptual/referential relations, whether the "missing links" established between a concept in a sentence and the next

sentence is checked, notably functional and conceptual/referential relations should be analysed carefully in terms of ideological findings.

Lexical choices, which is one of the most critical issues in terms of ideological structuring, is one of the most remarkable elements of critical discourse analysis, but also one of the most prominent indicators of discourse (Özer, 2018:165; van Dijk, 1983: 31, 2001b: 107–108). In the lexical analysis, it is emphasized what the plain and side meanings of the words are and why it is especially preferred. In this regard, (van Dijk, 1984, 1988b: 177) points out that using "terrorists" instead of "guerrillas" or "freedom fighters" or "demonstrator" instead of "rioter" and vice versa, reveals the choice of the reporter or editor.

The implications of structures such as intonation and emphasis of words and sentences, page layout, width and typeface can make the meanings striking. Syntactic structures relate to the hierarchy and order of words, phrases and sentences. Therefore, they can highlight some meanings, such as agency and responsibility for specific actions. These structures can be constructed in such a way that it does emphasize or deemphasize the ideological meanings they construct (van Dijk, 2015b: 99–100).

At the same time, discourse analysis, which aims to reveal the semantic links in question, produces descriptions of the units of language use. One of the most powerful concepts of semantic analysis is innuendo. Words, sentences, and other textual expressions can reveal content or claims that can be deduced based on background information through innuendo. With this feature, discourse and communication have critical ideological dimensions (van Dijk, 1991b: 118). In order to reveal the ideological codes embedded in news texts, it is necessary to examine syntactic cohesion, lexical selections and the rhetoric of the news, as well as semantic analysis (Şeker, 2003: 105).

In the examination of the rhetoric, which is the last leg of the microstructure, the focus is on stylistic figures such as exaggerations/patterns to determine some ideological views. In order to find out what ideological references these style figures have, the meanings constructed should be examined (van Dijk, 2015b: 68). In the rhetoric of the news, it is checked whether there are persuasive and convincing data such as quotations from eyewitnesses, using photographs, giving expert opinions (van Dijk, 1988a: 81–82, 1988b: 28, 1991b: 116). In other words, rhetoric is concerned with the persuasive dimension of language use and, more specifically, the features of discourse that can make communication more convincing. In addition, the standard strategies to encourage the persuasive process for

claims in terms of news discourse can be listed as follows with the van Dijk's (1988b: 84–85) words: a) Emphasize the factual nature of events, b) Build a robust relational structure for facts and c) Provide information that also has an attitudinal and emotional dimension.

Before moving on to the next topic, it would be useful to briefly touch upon how CDA is handled in terms of my topic. In van Dijk's CDA model, discourse analysis is discussed in macro and micro terms. From the macrostructure, the social dimension of ideologies explains what groups and relationships take place between groups and institutions in the reproduction and development of ideologies. In this regard, the discourses of nine national newspapers that are divided into three different groups according to their attitude towards the government, in terms of each work accident, are examined within the framework of van Dijk approaches. How these newspapers report the incident is discussed both historically and in comparison, with other groups in terms of seeing how they evolved in the process. The discourse dimension of ideologies explains how ideologies influence our daily issues and our speeches, how we understand the ideological discourse, and how discourse is involved in the reproduction of ideology in society.

For this reason, discourse plays an indispensable role in the reproduction of ideologies and in daily expressions. It is essential how ideologies influence discourse structures in many aspects of meaning, such as images, syntax, intonation, subject, consistency, (preliminary) assumptions, metaphors and reasoning in discourse structures (van Dijk, 2015b: 15–16). In this context, it is also discussed how the ruling powers shape the daily discourse of the newspapers and how this (re)production responds to the discourse. The choice of the word and the syntactic structure which emphasizes the conflict in the discourse, the context of its historical, political and social history, analysis of power relations and groups identification of positive and negative opinions about "Us and Them" making the pre-defaulted and predicted (implied) information clear and the views of the polarized groups should be examined according to van Dijk (Ülkü, 2004: 376).

From the micro perspective, the word selection and sentence structures (syntax) that make up the microstructure are the most obvious indicators of how the discourse is handled. Also, convincing ways of the news, i.e., the rhetoric, the relations between the consecutive sentences, are among the microstructural features. The microstructural features of the news have an essential function in establishing the discourse. The discourse of the news is a whole consisting of macro and microstructural features and can be understood only when

considered together with the process of production and the process of reception. The choice of words within the microstructure of news discourse is the most remarkable place in which the existing power/power discourses in society turn into conformity (Karaduman, 2017: 41).

Language use, discourse, oral interaction and communication are related to the micro-level of social order. Power, domination and inequality among social groups are typical concepts of macro-level of analysis. This means that; critical discourse analysis is the bridge between known micro and macro approaches (van Dijk, 2015a: 468).

From macro to micro, what kind of ideological productions are realized in the news and explanations about work accidents, and if any, how these ideological reproductions are framed, legitimized and naturalized through news will be tried to be revealed. While doing this, it is aimed not only to reveal ideological productions in discourses but also to show how this makes it challenging to prevent work accidents by revealing how it affects the conversations and interpretation processes in daily life. As van Dijk emphasizes, all kinds of details, from word selection to the classification of Us and Them, should be examined by considering historical and contextual processes. Considering the topic of this thesis, the discourses between 2003 and 2014, when the first and last occasions took place, will be analysed individually first and then it will be compared to each other to show how they have changed in this process. Moreover, by benefiting from the advantage of being a single-party government throughout this period, it will be revealed how the power evolved not only in the naturalization processes but also in terms of changing power relations. It will also be examined how multiple fatal accidents, which increased rapidly after 2007, stopped after 2014 and the mechanisms behind them will be discussed as well as how they relate to the processes of naturalization and legitimization. In summary, all the processes from the smallest lexical selection to the determination of the topic will be carefully and comparatively compared to each other, in terms of the mechanisms revealed by the literature, and the legitimation and naturalization processes to be revealed by primary data.

3.5.2. Manipulation Model

The manipulative effect will be handled together with CDA results under our third phase, polarization, and all manipulative discourses and strategies will be analysed and compared collectively. In addition to van Dijk's CDA approach, a manipulation model developed by van Dijk (2006a) will be used in the examination of discourses framed in terms of "Us and Them". Manipulation is one of the notions involving the abuse of discursive

power/power, and in this respect, it is a kind of domination and enables an illegitimate form to function with an intermediary such as discourse (van Dijk, 2006a: 360–361). In this context, the critical discourse analyst should clarify this, as the boundary between illegitimate manipulation and legitimate persuasion is blurred. Since headlines are mostly used to express the theme and point out the most critical information of the text, it is one of the most critical data in revealing any manipulative discourse. Although newspapers also avoid emphasizing the negative aspects of the dominant groups and institutions in the main text, this is usually the case for headlines.

According to van Dijk (2006a: 372–373), another point to consider in this context is overall interaction strategies (positive self-presentation vs negative other-presentation), and therefore, this issue constitutes one of the most important stages of the clarification process. At this stage, it is crucial to reveal the issues that are tried to be hidden with the passive sentence structure, but it will be more appropriate to examine all the stages in the manipulation model one by one:

1. **Overall interaction strategies** (Positive self-presentation vs Negative other-presentation)
2. **Macro speech act** implying Our ‘good’ acts and Their ‘bad’ acts, e.g. accusation, defence
3. **Semantic macrostructures: topic selection** ((De-)emphasize negative/positive topics about Us/Them)
4. **Local speech acts** implementing and sustaining the global ones, e.g., statements that prove accusations.
5. **Local meanings** Our/Their positive/negative actions (Give many/few details, Be general/specific, Be vague/precise, Be explicit/implicit, Etc.
6. **Lexicon:** Select positive words for Us, negative words for Them
7. **Local syntax** (Active vs passive sentences, nominalizations: (de)emphasize Our/Their positive/negative agency, responsibility
8. **Rhetorical figures** (Hyperboles vs euphemisms for positive/negative meanings, Metonymies and metaphors emphasizing Our/Their positive/negative properties
9. **Expressions:** sounds and visuals (Emphasize (loud, etc.; large, bold, etc.) positive/negative meanings, order (first, last: top, bottom, etc.) positive/negative meanings

3.5.3. Thematic Analysis

In addition to the information about CDA and the manipulation model above, a themes comparison has been made both in macrostructure analysis in the context of CDA and in comparison, of all incidents. The themes here are the themes in the macrostructure analysis

in the context of CDA; it is only aimed to provide comparison by classification. In determining the themes, the steps developed by Braun and Clarke (2006; 2013) were followed under the CDA guidelines. In other words, ‘What counts as a theme?’ was determined according to van Dijk, but the six-step model of Braun and Clarke was followed for the stages (Table 3.7). In the theme analysis, an inductive approach, not a theoretical one, was adopted because the structure of the study is more suitable for data-driven thematic analysis.

Table 3. 7: Phases of thematic analysis

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarizing yourself with your data:	Transcribing data (if necessary), reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes:	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes:	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes:	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic ‘map’ of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes:	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report:	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

Source: Braun and Clarke (2006: 87)

Since all the data is read in the process of editing the data into MS Word, familiarising yourself with data and generating initial codes stages are also carried out simultaneously. All data were read from beginning to end at least twice during this process, and a first draft was created for the prospective coding. In addition to the coding, some keywords that point directly to the theme (for example, murder, massacre, yellow union, naturalisation, normalisation, resignation, partisan, provocation) or phrases (not accident but massacre, not fate but murder, again subcontractor, an isolated incident) were determined. Then, searching for themes was carried out both individually and with the Nvivo program. Some differences between the Nvivo program and individual thematic analyses were resolved with the help of an expert reviewer in reviewing themes phase. After that, each theme was given a final name. It should be noted here that although some themes have the same name and definition, there are differences between newspaper groups in their functioning. Although different names and definitions were considered here, it was decided that instead of giving different names to the same situation, different functioning of them should be specified on suitable occasions. Because the number of themes (152) is quite high already due to the abundance of data.

Table 3. 8: The results of themes testing

	DM	PGM	RNM
T/F (1)	46/46	47/47	37/37
T/F (2)	46/46	46/47	37/37
Matching (1)	45/46	46/47	33/37
Matching (2)	44/46	42/47	35/37
T/F (1) (%)	1,00	1,00	1,00
T/F (2) (%)	1,00	0,98	1,00
Matching (1) (%)	0,98	0,98	0,89
Matching (2) (%)	0,96	0,89	0,95

T/F: True or False. T/F (1) and Matching (1) represent the results of the first reviewer, while T/F (2) and Matching (2) represent the results of the second reviewer.

In addition, before proceeding to the producing the report phase, the identified and defined themes were also subjected to two inter-coder reliability tests. Thus, since this is an essential criterion for reliability, the consistency of the results of different observers was tested (Bryman, 2004: 71): A randomly selected theme from 130 news stories in 50 and multiples (50, 100, 150, 200...) determined in each newspaper group was given to two reviewers, and it was asked to decide whether the coded themes were true. In this test, only one theme was determined to be false by reviewer number two, and it was decided to remain as it was in the triple review. It has been understood that this difference is due to the different handling of the theme with the same name matter mentioned above: The related reviewer thought that the *despair/no alternative chance* theme in the PGM group was false. The related theme is referred to by the same name in all groups, but in the DM and RNM groups, this theme is typically used to criticise the system and the government responsible for it, according to its definition. This is correct usage. However, PGM newspapers also deal with this desperation but present the claim that the only solution is government. Therefore, the whole team came together and discussed whether it should be given another name. As a result, it was decided that since the PGM group did this for manipulative purposes, any name change would hide it, and it would be inconvenient to use different names for the same issue between groups. For this reason, the name remained the same, but the differences in processing were also noted.

Secondly, 130 news (1, 51, 101, 151...) in every 50th place after 1 were determined, and the theme list in this news was given to the reviewers, and they were asked to be matched with the relevant news. Since almost all of the news has multiple themes, only the first themes are given. In other words, for 130 news, 130 themes consisting of 78 different themes used in this news were given in a list, and they were asked to match them with the relevant news. As can be seen from the table, three themes were mismatched in the DM group and

six themes each in the PGM and RNM groups. The two mismatches in the DM and RNM groups resulted from mixing the two very close themes; clientelism and link between government and business world. Contrary to the other theme, clientelism includes direct accusation, so the problem is gone when the differences are explained. Eight mismatches were due to the same reason: the use of will/should is included in the same theme. By separating them, the problem was solved. For example:

Before: Government/authorities/institutions [will] should fulfil/have fulfilled their responsibilities

After: Government/authorities/institutions should fulfil/ should have fulfilled their responsibilities) – ***used for criticism***

Government/authorities/institutions [will] fulfil their responsibilities) – *used for defensive purposes*

Since two of the other three mismatches were due to carelessness and one was due to confusion between the theme and the actor, no change was required. Thus, the themes and theme classifications in Table 3.10. have taken as their final form.

As stated before, a data-driven approach has been adopted. In other words, all individual themes were obtained from the data without any classification, and it was determined that 152 different themes were used in total 29526 times in 15 incidents. These 29526 themes are grouped with the help of software. At this stage, when it was understood that the sub-groups differed in the axes of government legitimation/de-legitimation and emphasize/de-emphasize the government, the main theme names were determined by making use of the theoretical background and the study model. Thus, 152 individual themes have been classified under 28 subgroups and six main groups (table 3.9). The colour differences in individual themes (table 3.10) indicate the newspaper group that uses the theme the most: Red for DM, blue for PGM and black for RNM.

Table 3. 9. The main group, sub-group and individual themes counts

Number of themes & themes groups of (De)naturalization		
Main Groups	Sub-Group Count	Individual Themes Count
Incident	4	14
Actors	7	14
Factors	6	47
Attribution	6	20
Polarization	5	53
De-Naturalization	0	4
TOTAL	28	152

As can be seen, there are six main theme groups. The first of these, the incident, points to themes that focus on the incident itself in each incident. The first subgroup, common themes, are indispensable themes in such an incident. Even though their treatment is the same in all themes, the purposes of use differ between newspapers, as will be frequently mentioned in the findings. Background themes, on the other hand, refer to the themes related to the past of the incident or the company, and manipulative news either avoid these themes or present them in a different way. While *search & rescue* explains if there are such efforts in the incident, other themes that are not in these three sub-theme groups but focus on the incident in some ways are classified under other themes.

The second main theme group, the actors, is the thematization of the actors of the incidents. Apart from the six main actors, eight different themes of actors or actors' actions are classified as all other actors. Actor themes should not be confused with the actors of the incident. For example, when we consider the news that workers' relatives protest the prime minister, the actors thematized here are workers' relatives, the prime minister is a passive actor, and the actor was not considered a theme unless he took action.

The third theme group was created by bringing together individual themes in a data-driven way and points to the factors that are claimed to be the factors behind the work accident in our study. In this group, which includes many themes that can be classified under other groups, it was decided that those who directly point to the factors should be considered as a separate group, as it was thought to be more meaningful for the study. Two subgroups, including systemic/structural issues and related analyses, point to news that handles at least two factors together. There are also themes in the context of anti-performativity and decoupling in all six groups, for example, *performance-oriented working*. These themes are specifically addressed in the discussion of related issues.

The attribution theme group is also a theory-supported data-driven group. In all examinations, no one other than the company and the government is considered responsible in the incident's framing process. The PGM de-emphasizes the government by focusing entirely and solely on the company and presents the issues mostly with the notions of naturalisation and fatalism. In contrast, the DM frames the government as one of the main stakeholders in the incident's realisation, at least as much as the company, in almost every incident, particularly since Davutpaşa. RNM, on the other hand, often processes the role of the government, although it mostly blames the firm.

The axis of polarization themes is completely government vs others. In all of these themes, the government is either legitimized or de-legitimized. In some themes, even highlighting dissidents is a tactic against or for the government. Such a theme group in work accidents is controversial, but our study shows that the government is the main actor in this issue.

The last group of themes includes four naturalization themes that are essential for this study. It should be clearly stated that the main function of these themes is to address themes in the context of direct (de)naturalization. However, it should not be assumed that naturalisation is limited to these themes. Legitimizing or de-legitimizing the government or [de]naturalization of the issue are handled in all themes, including incident themes. These are only the direct and most obvious ones.

Table 3. 10: Individual themes and theme groups of the (de)naturalization

MAIN GROUPS	SUB-GROUPS	INDIVIDUAL THEMES
THE INCIDENT	Common Themes	(Mutual Mourning)
		(Submission of the Incident Info)
		(Investigation)
	Background	(Background/Company Info)
		([One Of] The Biggest Disasters Ever)
		([Comparison With] Other Past Disasters)
	Search & Rescue	(Challenges In Search & Rescue Efforts)
		([Success Of] Search and Rescue Operations)
		(Correct/Early Intervention by The Authorities Prevented A Greater Disaster)
		(Wrong/Late Intervention by The Authorities Caused A Greater Disaster)
	Other	(Claims Drawing Attention to Different Dimensions of Incident)
		(Concert, Celebration, Etc. Events Cancelled)
		(Invitation To Charity Campaign)
		(The Gravity/Severity/Seriousness of The Incident)
ACTORS	Attitudes / Explanations	(Attitudes / Explanations of Dissident Parties)
		(Attitudes / Explanations of Government Authorities)
		(Attitudes / Explanations of The Company [Owner])
		(Attitudes / Explanations of The Victims & Victims' Relatives)
		(Attitudes / Explanations of Unions/Worker Groups)
		(Expert Opinions/Statements/Reports)
		(Attitudes / Explanations of Third Parties: Army/Soldiers; Worlds Of Sports, Art, Business, NGOs, Students, Etc.)
		(Attitudes / Explanations of Other Countries / World Press)
		(Boss Appeared/Found)
		(Denial Of Accusations/Claims)
		(Heroes)
		(Touching/Selfless Attitudes Of Victims/Victims' Relatives)
		(Witnesses' Statements)
		(Workers Who Survived the Disaster by Chance/Miracle)
FACTORS	Political Context	(Clientelism)
		(Link Between Government & Judge/Prosecutor/Investigation)
		(Link Between Government & The Company/Business Worlds)
		(Link Between Politicians & The Company/ Business Worlds [Dissident Parties/Others])- Since only one indirect use, it is eliminated.
		(Partisan Group/People)
		(Partisan Media/Newspaper)
		(Not Punishing but Protecting Those Responsible)
		(Rent-Oriented Mentality)
		(Poor Policy Making Capacity of The Government)
		([Anti] Subcontracting/Royalty & Temporary Employment)

FACTORS	Neoliberalism And Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	([Anti]-(Neo)Liberalism/Liberalist/Capitalist Policies)
		([Anti]-Privatization)
		(Changing Characteristics of Working Class [i.e., Loss of Class Consciousness, Preference of Unqualified Workers Instead of Qualified Ones])
		(Importance Of Industry/Private Sectors)
		(More Money/Profit-Oriented)
		(Performance Oriented Working)
		(Priority Of Money and Capitalist Order)
		(Profit/Money Ambition: Greed, Labour Exploitation, Etc.)
		(Protection Of the Company/Private Sector)
		(Wild Capitalist System, Capital That Sees Nothing but Profit)
	Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions	(Direct Criticism & Accusation of The Unions)
		(Importance of [Effective] Unionization)
		(Lack of Unionization Rights)
		(Union Deficiencies/Weaknesses)
		(Yellow (Company) Unions)
	Legal Matters	(Absence of Deterrent Laws [In Practice])
		("Actions, Rules & Discourses" Which Remain Only on Paper/in Speech)
		(Arbitrary/Malicious Interpretation of The Law or Legal Gap)
		(Legal Deficiencies/Problems /Unlawfulness)
		(Accidents Become Inevitable Due to Basic Structural Problems)
ATTRIBUTION	Systemic/ Structural Issues (Refer To At Least Two of The Factors)	(Counter-Discourses of Unemployment, Insecurity, Deunionization, Etc.)
		(Criticism Of System/Order/Mentality)
		(Crony Capitalism)
		(Despair/No Alternative Chance)
		(Fear Of Unemployment)
		(Not An Isolated Incident but A Common Problem)
		(Slavery [Order])
		(Systemic/ Structural Deficiencies)
		(Unrecorded Economy and Employment)
		([Victims Of] Exploitation [Order])
	System-Based Background & Analysis (Refer To At Least Two of The Factors)	(Analysis / Report)
		(Comparison With Other Countries)
		(Different Perspective/Suggestion/Solution)
		(Government Must Stop Deaths [Via Increasing Measures, Changing Its Politics, Taking into Account Experts and Trade Unions, etc...])
		(How Should It Be/How Should It Have Been)
		(Economic Cost of Work Accidents)
		(The Safest Workplace Is the Most Efficient Workplace)
	Emphasizing The Negative Sides/Issues of Company	(Bad Reputation of The Company: Referring the Company Name with Tax Corruption/Irregularity/Fraud, Etc.)
		(Conflicting Statements/Attitudes by The Authorities of The Company)
		(Exploitative & Malevolent Behaviour of The Employer)
		(The Company's Negligence/Fault)
		(Unacceptable Working Conditions)
	Emphasizing The Negative Sides/Issues of Government	(Authorities' Failure to Fulfil the Necessary/Sufficient Responsibilities)
		(Authorities <u>Should Take /Have Taken</u> Urgent Measures/Make Necessary Regulations)
		(Government/Authorities/Institutions <u>Should</u> Fulfil/ Should Have Fulfilled Their Responsibilities)
		(Negligence/Lack of Inspection)
		(Responsibility Of Government)
	Emphasizing The Negative Sides/Issues of Company & Government	(Tough (Brutal) Competition Conditions)
		(The Incident Is Absolutely No Surprise, The Symptoms/Warnings Were Ignored!)
	Emphasizing The Positive Sides/Issues of Company	(Criminal Complaint/Censure Motions About Firm or Local Government or Ministers)
		(Employer's Innocence)
	De-Emphasizing The Negative Sides/Issues of Government	(Good Reputation of The Company: Referring the Company Name With Awards Such As "Investor Of The Year" Etc.)
		(No Negligence/Fault of The Company: Accident Caused by An Unpredictable Cause Despite All Measures Taken)
	De-Emphasizing The Negative Sides/Issues of Company & Government	(Not Only the Responsibility Of The State/Government: Everyone, Especially The Employer, Must Fulfil Their Responsibilities)
		(Self-Criticism: The Fault/Responsibility of All of Us)
		(Possibility Of Sabotage [Claim])
		(Workers' Negligence/Mistakes)

POLARIZATION (DE]-LEGITIMIZATION / MANIPULATION)	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	(Solidarity Time; Not the Time to Do Politics/Discussion In Such Difficult Times)
		(Direct Criticism & Accusation of The Dissident Parties)
		(The Incident Should Not Be Abused!)
		(Trying To Portray an Isolated Incident as A Common Problem)
		(Yilmaz Özdiğil And Others: Unacceptable, Malicious Statements of Dissident Authors)
		(Incident Is Manipulated with Information Pollution / Malicious Statements, Be Careful!)
		(Inviting Claimants to Prove Their Claims)
	De-Legitimize Government	(Conflicting Statements/Attitudes By [Government] Authorities)
		(Counter Discourse to Legitimization of Nuclear Energy)
		(Direct Criticism & Accusation of The Government [Policies])
		(Intimidation Efforts by Threat/Oppress Against Those Who Make Unwanted/Counter Statements/Actions)
		(Inviting Government Official to Resign)
		(Judge/Punish Those Responsible)
		(Moving The Issue to The Parliament)
		(People Are Silenced: Fear / Threat Etc. Mechanism)
		(Police State / Violence: Disproportionate Use of Force by The Police)
		(Rebellion Discourses And/or Protest Acts)
		(Sarcasm/Satire Through the Comics, Etc)
		(Statements/Situations That Lead to Questioning)
		(Unacceptable Attitudes/Behaviours and Statements by Senior Government /State Officials (Slapping/Kicking/Swearing))
		(Use of Religion & Religious Groups/Communities by The Government to Reduce Indignation/ Rebellion)
	Legitimize Dissident Parties	([Dissidents] Follow the Issue to Prevent Similar Disasters/ Problems)
		([Relatives Of] The Victims Will Be Protected by The Dissident Parties)
		(Senior Dissident Parties Officials' Sensitivity)
	Legitimize Government	([Relatives Of] The Victims Will Be Protected by The Government)
		(Advocacy/Explanations of The Issues Criticized by The Dissidents /Media /Public E.G. Privatization, Private Sector, Subcontracting, Liberalism Policies and So on)
		(Authorities [Will] Take Urgent Measures/Make Necessary Regulations)
		(Government/Authorities/Institutions [Will] Fulfil Their Responsibilities)
		(Lack Of Individual Inspection; Inspector's Deficiency/ Error)
		(Legitimization Of Nuclear Energy: Colliery/Coal Is Dangerous, Nuclear Energy Should Be Focused)
		(Mine Closed /Operations Stopped & Boss/Company Punished)
		(Minister's Dedication / Success / Intelligence)
		(No Inspection Weaknesses/No Negligence: Necessary Inspections Have Been Made)
		(Psychological Support for Deceased Workers' Relatives/Children)
		(Punishment Of Those Responsible Regardless of Who Is Responsible)
		(Salary/Relief to Victims Including Aid, Scholarship and So on)
		(Senior Government Officials Follow the Case Personally)
		(Senior Government Officials' Sensitivity [President, Pm, Ministers])
		(State/Government Will Prevent Similar Disasters/Problems)
		(Statements Refuting Allegations and Confirming Government Officials)
		(The State Is Behind Us: They Gave More Than We Wanted)
	Legitimize Us While Delegitimize Them	(Criticism /Reaction to Comments Made by Experts/Academics, Etc)
		(De-Emphasizing The Responsibilities)
		(De-Legitimization of Rival Media Group/Claims)
		(Direct Criticism & Accusation of Rival Media Groups)
		(Falsified Information/ Lying to The Public)
		(Link Between "Fetö" & Judge/Prosecutor/Investigation)
		(Link Between the Company [Owner] & Big Business Groups, Freemasonry, Judaism, Secret Agendas Etc.)
		(Made Peace with Yerkeş; I Apologize to My Prime Minister!)
		(Manipulation/Propaganda [Claim])
		(Other Companies, Scared of The Disaster, Are Increasing Their Measures!)
		(Provocation Deciphered: No Slap, I Apologize to My Prime Minister!)
		(Ugly Protest / Provocation / Provocateur)
De]- Naturalization	For PGM: Naturalization While For DM & RNM: de-naturalization	("Fatalism" Vs Not Fate!)
		(Martyr/Martyrdom)
		(Normalization Of Work Accidents)
		(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)

3.4.1. Corpus

Finally, a corpus was created using 6495 news texts consisting of 1028716 words whose data were obtained for the study. The keywords determined here were examined and grouped according to the patterns around which the discourses were revealed. Although corpus-assisted analysis has recently been used together with CDA in articles in important journals of the field (i.e., Abdel-Raheem, 2021, Wing-Chun Ng, 2020; Resende, 2020), usage patterns vary widely (Kutter, 2018: 170-171).

There are also studies such as determining the text characters based on the negativity and positivity of certain concepts (i.e., Brookes and McEnery, 2020) or revealing the meanings that keywords around a certain topic contain or cannot contain (Efe, 2019). However, all focus on how an issue is framed with or around specific keywords. In this context, to support the CDA analysis, I focused on certain keywords in this study and discussed their role in framing each incident.

When the Table 3.10 is examined, 52 keywords or keywords groups in ten groups, one of which is specific only to Soma, will be seen. The 52 keywords group here was actually created from the analysis of 131 different words. These are words that attract attention in data analysis and may be meaningful in terms of theory and literature. Thus, not only the dichotomies seen between groups in the lexicon context of the CDA analysis but also important words that are somehow related to the subject were also examined.

The first three groups are directly related to the actors and are very important in showing the direct use of the actors. Except for the government-related group, which contains 10 keywords such as government, power, prime minister, minister, they are usually specific keywords. The AKP vs Ak Party dichotomy was explored in this initial group, and it was also feasible to identify which actor was effective and how much.

Accident vs Murder, Inspection vs Lack of Inspection, and Protest vs provocation dichotomies also allow for intergroup comparison by focusing on how a particular issue is described. On the other hand, Law-related, Neoliberalist, and Systemic/Structural Issues groups focus on the representation of important concepts that can be expressed very clearly and in words. The last group, Soma specific, focused on some words that came to the fore in the Soma incident and were understood to be important for the study.

Table 3. 11: Keywords selected for analysis

KEYWORD GROUP	KEYWORDS	ENGLISH TRANSLATION
Government-related	AKP	AKP
	AK Parti	AK Party
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP
	MHP	MHP
	Muhalefet	The opposition
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)
	Sendikasız	Non-union/ nonunionised
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre
	Katil	Murderer/killer
Inspection vs Lack of Inspection	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection
	İhmal	Negligence
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility
Law-related	İş güvenliği- işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law
	ILO	ILO
Neoliberalist	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödövans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty
	Özelleştirme	Privatization
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)
	İstihdam	Employment
Systemic/Structural Issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /profit ambition
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality
	Yandaş (Hükümete/AKP'ye yakın/AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government/AKP or AKP Rich)
	Yandaş Medya, AKP/İktidar/Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media
Protest vs Provocation dichotomy	Medya	Media
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest
	Gösteri	Demonstration
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation
	Polis	Police
SOMA Specific	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence
	Nükleer (Enerji)	Nuclear (Energy)
	Tekme (ci)	Kick (er)
	Tokat (cı)	Slap (per)
	Yerke / Yusuf Yerke	Yerke / Yusuf Yerke
	Müstahak	Comeuppance
	Özdi / Yılmaz Özdi	Özdi / Yılmaz Özdi
	Özel / Özgür Özel	Özel / Özgür Özel

4. FINDINGS

*Actually, I was going to shout out to the Prime Minister!
But I was scared. I was afraid he wouldn't give my husband's body!*
A miner's wife in Soma ...

This section individually presents the 15 incidents included in the research sample through the CDA. These individual analyses are designed to prioritize the common findings from CDA analyses on 15 cases and avoid repetition. Moreover, the individual case analyses will only introduce the differences of a case from the joint analysis of 15 cases.

All of the events will be analysed coherently through CDA for themes, factors, and numerical data so that they can be compared for a discussion, and our research model will be supported with these data.

The following three stages will be pursued for each individual analyses. First, a summary including case-specific history will be provided, and a tag will be created through this information and numerical data. Second, newspaper text will be analysed by CDA developed by van Dijk (1988a and 1988b). Finally, supplementary data highlighting the different dimensions of each case and/or revealing more concrete data for the CDA will be analysed separately. The first of these analyses is the combined review of the themes generated after the CDA. The data on the corpus used in each case and the statements made by the responsible government officials on the subject will be included in the analysis. The context of naturalization, namely, fatalism, normalization and manipulation will be included in the analysis of government officials' statements. van Dijk's (2006) manipulation model will be utilized as the main argument in the context of manipulation. First of all, the general framework applicable to all 15 cases will be elaborated.

4.1. General Framework for Critical Discourse Analysis

van Dijk (1980, 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 2001b, 2007) argued that the macrostructural analysis is an essential dimension of the CDA model, and the thematic structure part,

including the headlines, titles and subtitles, lead, and photographs of these parts, summarizes the news with a critical role in determining the themes. There is a hierarchical flow among the headlines, titles, and the Lead. Moreover, particular information such as where, when, why, and how that is deleted in the headline is detailed in Leads and then in the news text.

The following points stood out regarding the thematic structure after a general review of the 15 cases. All newspapers use Headlines (including super- & sub-) and titles (including super- & sub-) in the direction specified by the model and other thematic structure elements to summarize an event and increase its salience in line with newspaper agendas. The deletion, generalization, and construction macrorules are also used in parallel with the model, and there is no significant difference in operation between newspapers or newspaper groups. The most commonly used macrorule is deletion, while construction is the least used.

The analysis on leads revealed that direct leads, a summary of the main news text, are quite common, and there is a significant difference for only in DM-1. It was observed that the use of photographs and photo-text are in parallel with the general themes. Considering the thematic use of headlines/titles, leads, and photographs, there are significant differences among the newspapers in usage patterns, although it is not contradictory to the model's assertions. Headlines or leads are used in all newspapers through similar methods to increase the salience and summarize, but the frequency and the operation specifications differ. The difference here is functional rather than qualitative, and the most striking difference is found for the DM-1. The use of direct lead in this newspaper is very sparse compared to other newspapers, and it was found that the newspaper has designed/constructed the direct leads in the form of super-headlines or a super-title. For instance, this newspaper used only 44 (9%) direct leads in the Soma incident, where it generated 472 separate news and used 205 super-headlines/titles (43%).

These rates are approximately 26% for direct lead and 11.5% for super-headline/title in other newspapers. Moreover, usage rates are inverse between DM-1 and 8 other newspapers. DM-1 used super-headlines/titles with long structures to summarize the main news text in the lead feature. Here, a strategy that increases and guides the reader's appeal of the case is adopted with different techniques.

Table 4. 1: Some of the thematic elements of the Soma incident

13. SOMA (First 14-days)	DM-1	DM2	DM3	PGM-1	PGM2	PGM3	RNM-1	RNM2	RNM3	Average %	Average Except DM-1
Super-Headline	<u>68</u>	30	29	29	36	12	7	18	13	27	22
Super-Title	<u>137</u>	31	11	11	23	5	25	28	10	31	18
Lead	44	131	109	<u>146</u>	95	107	104	49	33	91	97
Photo Text	19	37	<u>217</u>	84	58	73	77	<u>161</u>	35	85	93
TOTAL NEWS	472	422	339	<u>525</u>	338	409	400	284	191	376	364
Super-Title/ Headline (%)	<u>43</u>	14	12	8	17	4	8	16	12	15	11
Lead (%)	<u>9</u>	31	32	28	28	26	26	17	17	24	26
Photo Text (%)	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>64</u>	16	17	18	19	<u>57</u>	18	25	27

Another substantial difference is the use of photography and photo-text. While DM-1 and DM-2 focused on text-based news with less photo-text usage than other newspapers, DM-3 and RNM-2 almost created a photo-news series using vast photo-texts. Other newspapers tried to balance the text and photo texts. For example, DM-1's use of photo-text was only around 4%, compared to 57% for RNM-2 and 64% for DM-3 in the Soma case. Photographs are almost always selected according to the main themes and often used rhetorically. Besides their widespread use in periods with higher political polarization, a frequently observed feature is satiric presentation.

The most prominent themes in the thematic structure will be discussed in detail through the individual analyses. However, it should be indicated that each newspaper always emphasized the headline and title themes as these were determined in line with the newspapers' agenda. The themes are highlighted, parallel to the widespread techniques, by the newspapers putting forward the theme compatible with their ideological stand (Table 4.2). It was observed that newspapers highlight different strategies for the themes that are divergent with their ideology. The DM group prioritized protecting the incident from a reductionist approach and providing systematic analyses to prevent naturalization. However, in the case with dissident views, the opinions of different agents and usually experts, related reports, and sometimes different statements by government officials are utilized to refute the opposing view. Moreover, DM-3 also tried to discredit the opposing view with methods of ridicule, etc.

PGM newspapers reported the event as an isolated incident with a reductionist approach. This group ignored any opposing views and did not report most of them, especially in the first period, and they started to use different strategies to manipulate, deny, counter-attack, and rebut opposing views as the polarization intensified. Moreover, PGM frequently uses common themes which are mutual mourning, submission of the incident info, and

investigation, especially mutual mourning, to naturalize the incident. As the usage rates of the mutual mourning theme, 1664 times in total, indicates that 46% (763) of total are used in PGM newspapers. This rate is 32% (529) in RNM and 22% in DM (322) group. All three common themes are included in the PGM's top ten, or even top four. It should be emphasized that the use of common themes in any incident under all circumstances stems from the nature of the news. Moreover, it is impossible to cover different aspects without presenting the incident itself, as DM and especially RNM are the clearest examples. However, PGM newspapers aimed to hide the factors behind the incident or what kind of systemic failures it is caused by implementing the common themes more. The DM group accommodated a smaller share of common themes in the plot to discuss systemic problems and factors.

Table 4. 2: Top 10 most used themes

NO	DM	PGM	RNM
1	Direct Criticism & Accusation of The Government [Policies]	<i>Mutual Mourning</i>	<i>Mutual Mourning</i>
2	Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre	<i>Submission of The Incident Info</i>	<i>Submission of The Incident Info</i>
3	Rebellion Discourses and/or Protest Acts	Attitudes / Explanations of Government Authorities	Attitudes / Explanations of Government Authorities
4	Negligence/Lack of Inspection	<i>Investigation</i>	Attitudes / Explanations of The Victims & Victims' Relatives
5	<i>Mutual Mourning</i>	Government/Authorities /Institutions [Will] Fulfil Their Responsibilities	<i>Investigation</i>
6	Systemic/ Structural Deficiencies	Attitudes / Explanations of The Victims & Victims' Relatives	Expert Opinions /Statements /Reports
7	<i>Submission of The Incident Info</i>	The Company's Negligence /Fault	Systemic/ Structural Deficiencies
8	Criticism of System/ Order/ Mentality	Exploitative & Malevolent Behaviour of The Employer	Rebellion Discourses and/or Protest Acts
9	Not an Isolated Incident but A Common Problem	Salary/Relief to Victims Including Aid, Scholarship and so on.	The Company's Negligence/Fault
10	Attitudes / Explanations of Government Authorities	Punishment of Those Responsible Regardless of Who Is Responsible	Not an Isolated Incident but A Common Problem

The schematic structure consists of two sub-dimensions, situation, and comment. Considering the situation consisting of an Episode and Background, it is observed that the episode, the main event, and its consequences, was formed according to the themes highlighted in the headlines of all newspapers and summarized in the thematic structure with sparse exceptions.

Therefore, the main themes determining the main events and consequences reveal that the most used themes in DM newspapers are criticism of the government, murder not accident/destiny (anti-fatalism/de-naturalization), protest/rebellion, neglect & lack of

inspection, systemic/structural deficiencies and submission of the incident info. The episode is shaped by the following themes, which are primarily used in PGM newspapers such as mutual mourning, submission of the incident info, positive attitude and explanations of the government, investigation, the government/authorities' fulfilment/promise of their responsibilities, explanations of the victim and victim's relatives, and the company's negligence and misdemeanors. The themes that shaped the main event and consequences in RNM newspapers are mostly: mutual mourning, submission of the incident info, government's attitude and statements, victims' statements, investigation, expert opinions/statements/reports, and systemic/structural deficiencies.

Only the submission of the incident info is common in the most used themes for all three newspaper groups regarding the episode section. Besides, the theme of systemic/structural deficiencies is also common between DM and RNM. As the mutual mourning, submission of the incident info, investigation, explanations of the victim and relatives, and the attitude and explanations of the government themes are common between RNM and PGM. However, the RNM group does not regard the government's attitude and statements as positively as PGM, and there are often critical notions.

It was found that the background, the other elements of the situation, consists of two subsections; context and history. Context develops directly in parallel with the episode. The general context of the DM newspapers criticizes and reveals the mistakes; indeed, the most used themes also point to this. Besides, the general context of PGM newspapers focuses on the company, reduces the incident to a particular context, and avoids association with the government. RNM tried to create a more balanced context with a distance to the government that emphasizes a systemic problem. However, this newspaper group poses a different outlook after the Soma incident. RNM-2 moved towards a strictly oppositional context, while RNM-3 became more pro-government. Moreover, RNM-1 continued to be the only RNM group newspaper that still tried to maintain a balanced agenda. However, it included much more severe and frequent critical analyses and news compared to its early periods.

Background and context information serve the ideological goal of a newspaper through adjusting the level of presented detail (van Dijk, 1991). Hence, the DM newspapers, especially DM-1 and DM-2, are the only group that explicitly or implicitly provided background information on all events. These newspapers consciously make an effort to prevent the consideration of this incident as an isolated incident with a reductionist approach, even more prominently since the Davutpaşa incident. Therefore, the background and the not

an isolated issue but a common problem theme are frequently processed with as much detail as possible. The context mainly includes ideological statements and critiques of the system.

Contrary to DM, the PGM group specifically avoided providing background information. When the background info is provided, the incident is treated as an isolated incident with a reductionist approach and generally presented company-specific background information. This group provided limited but generalizable background information in the first four incidents, while work accidents were not directly associated with the government. However, the systemic problems stemming from some “greedy companies” rather than a firm-based background were highlighted, albeit to a limited extent, with the increase in work accidents and the Minister of Labour Faruk Çelik’s criticism of the system. This is one of the basic notions of naturalization because until the Soma incident, one of the main naturalization arguments of the PGM and the government as the discourse and attitude of *"this event is an isolated incident and cannot be generalized"* was suddenly interrupted by the labour minister’s statements.

The Minister of Labour Faruk Çelik criticized the current labour law during the Esenyurt period and stated that issuing a new labour law as soon as possible was necessary, disturbing some sections of the government, and he was targeted by a group of government officials and PGM notion. Some systemic problems started to be mentioned in some PGM newspapers and diversified the PGM newspapers’ outlooks. Minister Çelik could not go to Soma from the first day due to his illness, and he was criticized more by the government. Çelik voiced his criticisms on the legal and systemic problems in 2012 once again with more details. This inflicted a conflict within the government which divided the government media through different reactions. Therefore, an "isolated incident" argument has collapsed, as systemic problems have now been voiced also by the government. Thus, a different strategy was observed for systemic problems in the government and PGM groups. For instance, the legal issues under the factors theme until the Esenyurt incident in PGM were mentioned only 5 times in three incidents (Davutpaşa-1, Dursunbey-II-1, and OSTİM-3), but they were expressed 119 times in the last four incidents. It was highlighted that the legal sanctions on illegal production should be increased in the Davutpaşa incident, the criticism of the slogan "humans first" at the entrance of the facility of the relevant company with the claim that the occupational safety rules remained on paper in Dursunbey-II case. Moreover, there were several legal problems in terms of the powers of the metropolitan municipality and OIZ directorates in OSTİM incident, as it was emphasized in almost every case that there were

no law-wise or systemic problems. However, it was clear that there was a legal problem after the Esenyurt incident, which needed to be covered in these newspapers, as well.

Finally, the RNM group also frequently supports this with analyses and experts through sharing background info. However, with the RNM-1 and RNM-2 inclination towards a more dissident line and RNM-3's increased pro-government policy after the Soma case, the context of RNM-1 and 2 was in the anti-reductionist spectrum highlighting the systemic problems while RNM-3 was focused on system problems with a reductionist approach. It is thought that the intense relations between the government and the Doğan Media group, the owner of these outlets, and the PGM-3 newspaper's direct targeting conducted to the inclination of RNM 1 and 2 to more critical stands. The PGM-3 newspaper directly targeted RNM-1 and Doğan Media group, its main rivals in the mainstream, with 30 mentions in the Soma case. Furthermore, the fact that the mining company bought the mine from the Ciner Group, owner of the RNM-3 newspaper, and that some previous accidents were related to the Ciner group may have directed this group towards the government as the "forced partisanship" (Çölaşan, 2018) has become a necessity. These arguments will be elaborated on during the discussion

The comment, the final sub-dimension of the schematic structure, is related to which actors are addressed in the pages as a news source. The first and most used news source in all newspapers is the reporter and related news editors of the newspapers, considering that the columnists are excluded from this study. Moreover, it was observed that the six main groups presented in Table 4.3 are the most mentioned actors in newspaper groups.

Table 4. 3: News source actors in all incidents

ACTORS	DM	PGM	RNM
COMPANY	85	81	81
DISSIDENT PARTIES	257	52	150
EXPERTS	271	133	191
GOVERNMENT AUTHORITIES	282	381	328
UNIONS/WORKER GROUPS	277	46	71
VICTIMS & VICTIMS' RELATIVES	275	371	288
THIRD PARTIES (NGOs, Students, Business World, Celebrities, Other countries, World Press, etc.)	206	221	170
Total	1653	1285	1279

The most diverse group in terms of news sources and actors is the DM newspaper, and it is determined that they have brought opinions from almost all strata to the pages since the first events. The main actors and news sources for all newspapers are government and opposition party officials, the company, experts, victims, relatives, and unions. Government

officials are the most frequently consulted source and actor in all three newspaper groups. The fact that the union representatives, the second most frequently consulted source in the DM group, are the last resorted information source in the other two groups stands out as the most remarkable issue. The DM is also the group that promoted the expert opinions most and spared the least share to company descriptions and has the most balanced distribution in terms of actor distribution (Figure 4.1).

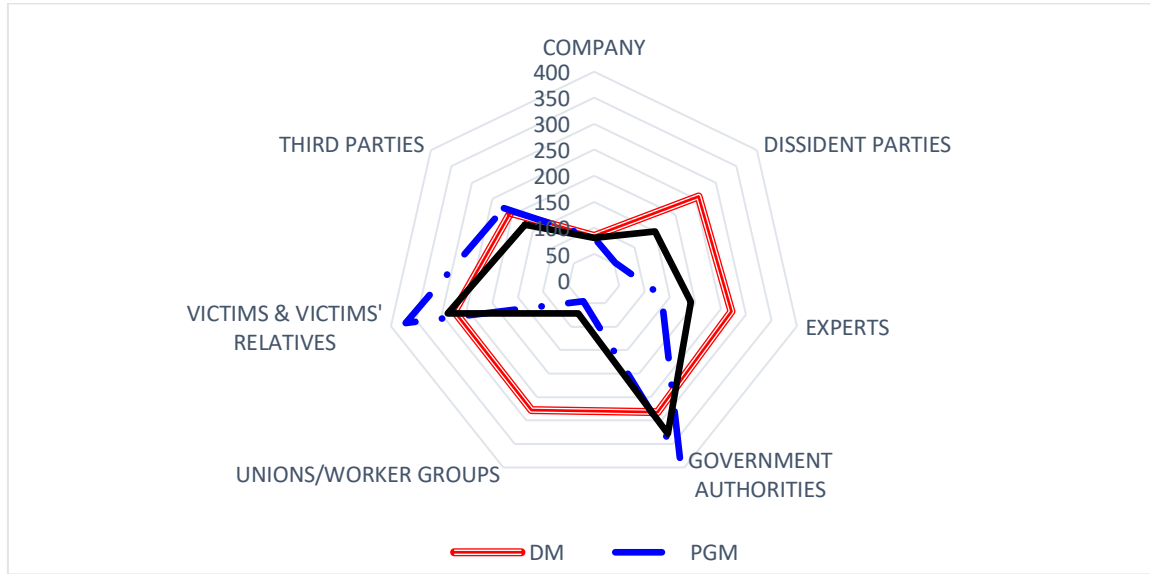


Figure 4. 1: Distribution of mentioned/consulted actors by newspaper groups

Government officials and victims stand out as the most prominent sources and actors in PGM newspapers. It should be noted that opposing parties and trade unions are the least referenced source.

Government officials, victims, or relatives, and actors are prominently featured as the most important source, while very little attention to the unions. However, this outlet also has a more balanced distribution in terms of opposition party officials and experts. Considering that the issue is a work accident, unions are given little voice in PGM and RNM groups seems quite interesting. However, it can be argued that the fact that the trade unions are generally on oppositional lines was the root of this outcome. The number of incidents that each union reacted against revealed that the Hak-İş union, close to the government, is mentioned in all newspapers only in 7 incidents and 18 times in total, while Türk-İş is mentioned 182 times in 13 incidents and DİSK is mentioned 258 times in 12 incidents. It was found that the DM group mentioned the names of the 3 confederations at the highest level (DM-311, PGM-70, and RNM-77). Before the Davutpaşa incident, it seems that neither

of the three confederations did show much interest in work accidents, but DİSK and Türk-İş are active in all incidents, while Hak-İş always displays an inconsistent line since the Davutpaşa incident. A detailed and critical analysis of this issue will be provided during the discussion on unions under factors.

Macrostructural analysis indicates that the three newspaper groups have very different function and purposes. The DM group used opposition to the government as one of its main arguments, consistent with its background, and justified this with the claim that the government was primarily responsible for the systemic problems that occurred. The PGM group made great efforts to prevent the government from being associated with these incidents in any way. Moreover, it primarily targeted the companies and "some greedy bosses who cannot digest the regulations made by the government in favor of the workers" with a reductionist approach just as the government did and stated that these were isolated incidents. However, RNM always presented a more balanced content than the other two groups, never neglecting the systemic/structural aspect of the event, but thematizing it implicitly rather than directly relating it to the government. There are certain exceptional situations after Soma and the two events, but it can be comfortably claimed that there is still a level of balance. These will be elaborated further on in discussion with detailed processing of other data.

The microstructure analysis showed no significant difference by the first sub-dimension, syntactic analysis, but interesting outcomes stand out when examined together as a whole in a retrospective manner. The syntactic analysis showed that the active structure is preferred more in the news article sentences. The fact that active sentence structure is used more in Turkish (Özer, 2011; 2015; 2018) may have caused such a result, and it might be suggested that this was to emphasize the determination and power of the subjects, especially in the news on work accidents. Thus, the actors are mostly composed of opinion leaders such as government and opposition party officials, union leaders, and experts. Events and actors are under the influence of different power balances in different periods, and this causes the periodically varying rates and processes in the use of active-passive sentences.

Work accidents were considered isolated incidents rather than a social issue in the first period up to Davutpaşa, and although all the newspapers used the term "murder" from time to time, they treated the incident like an accident or a disaster. Passive sentences were used, with few exceptions, in this period also within sentences that were supposed to be passive by nature (i.e., an investigation was launched) and in some sentences through which PGM

newspapers were trying to put the government forward implicitly. However, with the political polarization process that has constantly been intensifying since the Davutpaşa incident, the discourses of the newspapers have also become more severe. As a result, the emphasis and accusations have started to be more direct, and the use of passive structure has resulted in the newspapers using the parties they see as their side to de-emphasize. The same reasoning is valid for simple vs. complex sentences. Most of the news in seven newspapers, except for DM-1, DM-2, and RNM-3 (Milliyet) newspapers, consisted of relatively short and simple sentences. The words "us" and "them" became prominent with the increase in polarization, while few exceptions regarding sentences aimed at highlighting this in the first period. Straightforward sentences were used in putting forward "us" or blaming "them," while more complex and long sentences are more observable on the contrary situations. DM-1, DM-2, and RNM-3 (Milliyet) usually used longer and more complex sentences than other newspapers in every period, and RNM-1 occasionally used more complex sentences, especially in expert opinion and analysis news. However, since there is no significant difference apart from the exceptions mentioned, this finding will only be covered in individual reviews to explain very exceptional cases.

The second sub-dimension, local coherence, showed that the local coherence relationship, a casual, functional, and referential relationship, is established in the majority of the news. The sentences are semantically and pragmatically meaningful sentences that are not chosen randomly. Thus, due to the nature of the news in work accidents, the abundance of sentences containing causality is predicted, and the newspapers do not show a significant difference in terms of causal relationship sentences. This situation is not much different for the functional relationship, and such sentences are used very often to summarize, appropriate expression, contrast, and exemplify topics in coherence with the sentence flow for the news articles. Referential relation, explaining a concept with semantically different connotations in the subsequent sentences, is very suitable for news on work accidents. For instance, using the "cheap death" concept in the title forms the semantic iceberg expressed by Özer and interpreted in the lead or subsequent sentences. Although this relationship does not differ among the newspapers by usage forms, it reveals remarkable differences in purpose. van Dijk (2012; 595) hinted that such structures could be interpreted as a mental model of the author's feelings and actions at that time. Back to our example, expressions such as "cheap death" are frequently used in many newspapers, the "lost link" of cheap death is clearly and consistently related to the relevant company for the PGM, while the DM this link includes

the government the company with equal responsibilities. Interesting examples on this subject are occasionally included in the individual reviews section. Another critical finding on local coherence is about local coherence mismatch. It was determined that the dissonance is usually presented with certain conjunctions such as "on the other hand," "meanwhile," and "besides" for most cases where local coherence incompatibility is observed in all newspapers. It is necessary to pay special attention to these conjunctions in these cases.

The third sub-dimension, Lexical Style (Selection), is one of the most critical dimensions of this study. As the word choices, one of the essential issues in terms of ideological structuring, are the most striking elements of critical discourse analysis, as well as one of the most prominent indicators of discourse (Özer, 2018; 165; van Dijk, 1983:31; van Dijk, 2001; 107-108). Since Lexicon is so important, it was analysed both in CDA as a dichotomy and in the corpus as keywords.

The way the event and/or the parties are defined in the sentences is closely related to the speaker's ideology or the author. As there are two contradictory sides to our study, significant differences are found in the word choices. For example, the DM newspapers assert that the government is a palpable party among those responsible for work accidents, and therefore it frequently links the government to the subject. However, whenever the ruling party is mentioned in the news, the abbreviation "AKP," the general party abbreviation pattern, is used instead of the "AK Party," preferred by the government. On the contrary, PGM newspapers carefully use the abbreviation "Ak Party." The data show that DM newspapers addressed the government by name 814 times in total, 805 as AKP, and Ak Party connotation was used only 9 times. Likewise, the PGM group mentioned the government 145 times, and 140 of them used the AK Party connotation. Moreover, both newspaper groups directly quoted from the news sources in the few opposing uses seen hence used "AK Party" indirectly. Due to the vast amount of similar keywords, they are presented as a corpus in the form of a table specific to each event (i.e., accident vs. massacre/murder, AKP vs. Ak Party).

The latest sub-dimension of microstructure analysis, News Rhetoric, is about whether and how Photographs, Persuasive Information like numbers and (Eye) Witness Statements are utilized. All newspapers mostly resorted to persuasion with photographs for new rhetoric, and the photograph usage was appropriate for the central theme. Besides the photographs, the analysis and discussion news supported by the numbers in the DM and RNM newspapers were essential for rhetoric. Witness statements draw attention as a method primarily used in

events other than mining, but it was still uncommon. There are only 67 witness statements in the 15 cases. However, the situation is quite the opposite regarding expert opinion usage. A total 595 expert opinions were included, as 585 of them were thematized, as well. The DM newspapers, representing the counter-discourse in general, resorted to the use of experts as rhetoric most, while the PGM group (DM-271, PGM-133, and RNM-191) the least. The DM group utilized expert opinion to convince that there is a systemic problem with an anti-reductionist approach, an attitude and functioning in parallel with DM are found in the RNM group. However, PGM determined that experts were never consulted until Davutpaşa but started to be used to refute the counter-discourse after this incident. Experts' speeches that are more critical towards work accidents, such as MMO, were clipped and presented in a way that supports their discourse or at least does not refute it.

Another issue that differs significantly among groups or newspapers is the photographs used in rhetoric and the quantity. As stated earlier in the thematic structure, DM-3 and RNM-2 produced a lot of photo news and therefore used the persuasiveness of the photos differently. The use of photo-text per total news article is approximately 60% in these two newspapers; a different assessment was needed. It is also noteworthy that photo-text in DM-1 and DM-2 is much less than in other newspapers. The rhetoric is supported by expert opinion, reports, and explanations of unions in these two newspapers rather than photographs. PGM newspapers stand out as the group that uses the most mutual mourning theme in general, and they are primarily used in photographs to emphasize mutual mourning and government themes. The incompatible photographs with the general theme will also be addressed individually.

The different strategies of PGM-3 should be explicated at the end of the section. PGM newspapers applied a strategy of neglect for the issues that can be negatively associated with the government. For instance, the Prime Minister's visit to Soma and the events that took place there were rarely covered in any PGM newspaper. Besides, there is no direct news on this subject in PGM-1 and PGM2 apart from the news where Deputy Prime Minister Arınç criticizes Yusuf Yerkel. However, it was found that the PGM-3 performed a very different manipulation, editing, and functionalization on this event with a distorted story, as a "so-called" event stemming from the "bad intentions" of Doğan Media group to convince its readers with a different photo montaging as a method of persuasion. Some examples will be discussed in the relevant events.

The purpose and functioning of the newspapers differ from the CDA's point of view. The circumstances specific to each event will be revealed, and how they developed and changed in the process will be analyzed with the individual analyzes below. Reviewing the 15 cases as a whole after individual analyses shall help better understanding the larger framework as the naturalization process and factors will be revealed.

4.2. Individual CDAs

4.2.1. Ermenek-I

On 22 November 2003, 10 workers died in a coal mine owned by Özsayan Madencilik as a result of *the explosion of methane gas*⁵ in Ermenek district of Karaman province. Although intense search and rescue operations had started immediately after the incident, only the dead bodies of three workers could be found on the first day. Then, while the lifeless body of a worker was reached on the third day, the last six workers were barely found on 28 November, the sixth day of the incident. Due to the magnitude of the disaster and the fact that the majority of the workers were trapped underground approximately for a week, I expected intense news in at least the first week of the incident. However, this dire incident found little coverage in most national newspapers (Table 4.4).

When the incident took place, the Justice and Development Party (AKP) was in a reasonably new government status since it has just completed its first year in power. In this context, the number of media outlets that both directly support the government and openly oppose the government was relatively low. The attitudes of newspapers towards the government were known, but most of them followed a balance policy in this period. Therefore, only one newspaper representing each group was identified in this incident: *Cumhuriyet* represents the dissident media (as DM-1) while *Yeni Şafak* represents pro-government media (as PGM-1) and *Hürriyet* represents the relatively neutral media (as RNM-1). Since these three newspapers are representatives of these groups in all 15 cases, they have also been expressed with the same codes in all subsequent cases.

⁵ Although the term "*grizu*" in Turkey refers to the concept of firedamp in academic texts, the news media prefer to use the terms of gas or methane for this concept. Thus, in this study, both concepts were used based on the context: when I refer to the news, the concept of gas or methane explosion were used while firedamp was used for the academic purposes.

Table 4. 4: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (6/6)	PGM-1 (4/4)	RNM-1 (3/3)
1	3	3	7
2	1 & 3	3	4
3	3		
4		3	3
5	3		
6	-	-	-
7	3		
8		3	

DM-1 (6/6) means that DM-1 newspaper reports a total of six pages of related news in 90 days, and all of these six pages were published in the first 14 days. These news texts were published on the first day on page 3, the second day on pages 1&3, the third day on page 3, the fifth day on page 3 and finally, the seventh day on page 3.

Related news was subjected to a 90-day (23 November 2003 - 20 February 2004) screening period from the day of the incident occurred (22 November 2003), and as a result, the data in Table 4.5 was obtained. As can be seen from Table 4.5, this dire incident, in which ten workers died, found very little coverage in the news in the 90 days. Even the dissident media representative, DM-1, who reported the incident the most, reported it for only five days. On the first page, which is seen as the most crucial page of the newspapers and called the showcase or headline, the incident was only reported in DM-1 newspaper and only one day. This news on the first page was presented as a tiny piece of news in an area corresponding to only two per cent of the page. Considering the total number of pages where the news was presented in 90 days, DM-1 newspaper was the most frequently reported with six pages, followed by PGM-1 with four pages and RNM-1 with three pages. In other words, this event, which was never reported on the first page in PGM and RNM newspapers, could be represented on the first page at a very low rate of 0.02% in DM. During the 90-day screening period, this incident, which was reported for an average of 4 days, was only represented in 4.3 pages on average.

Table 4. 5: Quantitative data of Ermenek-I incident for 90-days screening period

1.Ermenek-I (22.11.2003)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	Ave. area (%) of reported news on 1st page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1802	20	5	6	1	2,07	0,02	6	839
PGM-1	2060	23	4	4	0	0	0,00	4	461
RNM-1	3655	41	3	3	0	0,00	0,00	3	317
Averages	2506	28	4,0	4,3	0,3	0,69	0,01	4,33	539

Lastly, the last two columns of the table contain the total number of news and the word count in this news. The first of these two data is important in terms of theme analysis and the second is important in understanding the actual news size.

4.2.1.1. Application of CDA

Based on thematic structure, while all the news of PGM-1 and RNM-1 conducted only the incident themes, DM-1, which conducted the most themes, also reported news with topics related to factors and attribution themes. The reason why DM-1 shows such a difference is because of the two news it reported. The first of these is the second-day news, which explains why the incident took place within the framework of the company's negligence theme and strengthened the news rhetoric by reporting it with the words of the Karaman Governor.

[DM-1-5.3: **TITLE**] ‘Victims of exploitation, not the rubble’ (*‘Göçük değil sömürü kurbanları’*)

- 8- Görgün [*Tayfun Görgün, Chairman of Dev Maden-Sen*] who stated that Governor İsmet Metin declared that the regulations and provisions of worker health and safety at the mine were not followed, said; “*The private sector knows neither laws nor rules. The **ambition and understanding to earn more money and exploitation bring blood and tears with it***”.

The second is the fifth-day news whose title and conclusion sentence given above. While the title emphasizes the context, it gives information about the background of the incident by referring to the governor's word. Then, with the words of Tayfun Görgün (Chairman of Dev Maden-Sen), it emphasises that this accident should not be reduced to an isolated incident by generalization of private sector. This is significant for the background and especially the context, as a systemic problem within the framework of the victims of exploitation theme. The newspaper aimed to increase the rhetoric by shaping the news based on the statements of the Karaman Governor and Dev Maden-Sen's president.

Considering the schematic structure, episode focuses on the occurrence of a gas explosion, the death of 10 workers, how the funerals were carried out and the arrest of those responsible as main events. Apart from these, in parallel with thematic analysis, DM-1 goes out of general with a piece of specific news. In this report, it emphasises that this is not an ordinary accident but it is an “accident”, which cannot be reduced to an isolated incident, occurred due to the ambition of the private sector for profit and exploitation. PGM-1 presented a subject other than general events as the main event in one of its news stories. The main event in the related news is that although no worker survived as a result of the rescue efforts, the search and rescue efforts were successfully carried out uninterruptedly

and with devotion. Consequences issued are entirely parallel to the previous sections of analysis. Despite the exceptions mentioned above, all three newspapers do not make any meaningful consequences other than that “an accident occurred and ten workers died”.

Table 4. 6: The theme distribution of Ermenek-I

1. Ermenek-I (22.11.2003)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	8	7	5	20	0,50
	1.2	Background	0	0	0	0	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	4	1	0	5	
	1.4	Other	0	0	0	0	
	Incident total			12	8	5	25
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	0	0	0	0	
	2.2	Government	0	0	0	0	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	0	0	0	0	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	1	0	0	1	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	1	0	0	1	
	2.6	Expert	0	0	0	0	
	2.7	All Other Actors	1	0	0	1	
	Actors Total			3	0	0	3
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	0	0	0	0	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	3	0	0	3	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	1	0	0	1	
	3.4	Legal Matters	2	0	0	2	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	3	0	0	3	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	0	0	0	0	
	Factors Total			9	0	0	9
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	2	0	0	2	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	1	0	0	1	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	0	0	0	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	Attribution Total			3	0	0	3
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION / MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	0	0	0	0	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	0	0	0	0	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	0	0	0	0	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	0	0	0	0	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	0	0	0	0	
	Polarization Total			0	0	0	0
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	(“Fatalism” vs Not Fate!)	0	0	0	0	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	0	0	0	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	0	0	0	0	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	0	0	0	0	
	De-Naturalization Total			0	0	0	0
Themes total			27	8	5	40	1

While no background information is included in the RNM-1 and PGM-1, there are some notions in the DM-1 that can be regarded as background, despite not directly. In terms of context, ideological meanings have also been examined, as the absence of any information in newspapers may be ideologically meaningful. The fact that only the DM-1 contains background information may indicate that there is an ideological difference with other newspapers. However, the scarcity of both relevant news and related notions is not sufficient to support such a claim.

As comment analysis, in terms of news sources and the parties of the event, PGM-1 and RNM-1 newspapers hardly contain any comments or statements other than their reporters while DM-1 includes the comments and thoughts of many parties in addition to reporters. Although this is not adequate to indicate that the DM-1 attaches more importance to the event, it is undoubtedly a sign that this newspaper is different from the other two newspapers in terms of ideological stance. As a matter of fact, similar results have emerged in all macrostructure analyses conducted so far, and DM-1 differs clearly from the other two newspapers.

Based on the microstructure, it was observed that there is no significant difference between these three newspapers if only common news is considered. However, DM has two different news those news sources and terms indicate a difference in terms of lexical style and news rhetoric. In other words, DM-1 differs from the other two newspapers with the terms of exploitation and profit ambition based on lexical style and with the views of various sources based on rhetoric. In addition, syntactic analysis reveals that PGM-1 newspaper differs from other newspapers with a large number of passive sentence structures.

In sum, regardless of the differences in the ideological attitudes of the newspapers, all the news, other than exceptions mentioned above, publish as if this accident was a very ordinary event; that an incident took place, ten workers died in this incident, those responsible were arrested, funerals and burials were made, etc. They are content with presenting the report of the news only. Similarly, all of the photographs, in which no “construction” was observed, are framed by the theme of mutual mourning. As seen at Table 4.6, during this period when political actors and experts were not thematized yet, 9 factors and 3 attribution themes were covered. Although the responsibility of the government is dealt with as an attribution, the privatization policy of the government is criticized here rather than a direct government critique. Similarly, all themes that are handled under factors focuses on privatization and private sector criticism.

Based on Table 4.6, the themes seem to be more common themes than specific themes involving ideological productions and thus ideological contexts. It is seen that 50% of the themes used are common themes while 63% are related to incident themes. Although this indicates that there was no sharp polarization between newspapers, it is meaningful that the vast majority of specific themes were observed in the newspaper, which could be considered as dissident even at that time. Particularly, the themes of systemic/ structural deficiencies, negligence/lack of inspection and victims of exploitation target privatization policies and implicitly government.

4.2.1.2 Keywords and government officials

After each individual CDA, the keywords of each incident and statements of some senior government officials, such as the minister of labour, deemed important for the analysis will be discussed here.

Minister of Labour and the Prime Minister's statements related to the incident are also part of this analysis. The aim here is to examine the effects of the comments of senior government officials, in particular, the ministry of labour, on a possible naturalisation process. No statement has been made by the minister of labour and the prime minister regarding this incident or has not been reported in the press. Therefore, there is no analysis of the governmental statements in this case.

Lastly, in each case, 45 specific keywords or keywords group classified under 11 group have been identified with the help of Nvivo qualitative analysis program. In this part, the specific words of each case will be discussed and compared. Table 4.7 shows the keywords of Ermenek-I.

Based on Table 4.7, in parallel with the theme distribution, most of the keywords were also used by DM (20 in 24) while only one keywords is used by PGM. Considering the total number of words used in the news, DM ranks first with keywords usage of 2.38%, while RNM-1, which has the least number of words, is in the second place with 0.95% in terms of keywords usage rate. While there is no difference between RNM and PGM in terms of CDA and theme analysis, RNM differs slightly with the use of the word negligence.

24 keywords under 6 groups were identified and there is no any related use with the government and opposition parties in this incident. All newspapers consider the incident as accident or disaster and all keywords related to systemic issues refer to neoliberalist

characteristics. In this section, basic comparisons such as accident/disaster vs murder/massacre, AKP vs AK Party, protest vs provocation will be made in terms of each incident, but since most of them were not used in this case, a comparison and therefore a discussion could not be made.

Table 4. 7: Keywords of Ermenek-I

1. Ermenek-I (22.11.2003)					
Total word count			839	461	317
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Government-related	AKP	AKP			
	AK Parti	AK Party			
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related			
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP			
	MHP	MHP			
	Muhalefet	The opposition			
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK			
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş			
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş			
	Sendika / I	Union (labour)	1	0	0
	Sendikası	Non-union/ nonunionised	1	0	0
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	6	1	2
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God			
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom			
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre			
	Kaza/kader değil (,) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre			
	Katil	Murderer/killer			
Inspection vs Lack of inspection	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	1	0	0
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	0	0	0
	İhmal	Negligence	1	0	1
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility			
Law-related	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	2	0	0
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law			
	ILO	ILO			
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödövens	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty			
	Özelleştirme	Privatization			
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital			
	Özel işletme /şirket- Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Sector	1	0	0
	Üretim (kayıtdışı & vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded & wild production)			
	İstihdam	Employment			
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /profit ambition	4	0	0
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded			
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier			
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery			
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	3	0	0
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)			
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
	Medya	Media			
Protest vs Provocation	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest			
	Gösteri	Demonstration			
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
	Polis	Police			
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords			20	1	3
Total keywords / Total words (%)			2,38	0,22	0,95

4.2.2. Küre

On 8 September 2004, during tunnel construction in the copper mine of the company named STFA, which extracted copper for Etibank in Kastamonu Küre, a fire broke out in the bands used in copper transportation. As a result of this fire, 19 of the 36 workers trapped at a depth of 150 meters lost their lives by being burned or drowned in smoke, and a total of 19 workers, including 2 of the rescue team members, were injured. Although this dire incident, in which 19 workers lost their lives, found more coverage than Ermenek-I in newspapers, such an important event did not see enough news value. After the third day, the relevant news decreased considerably, both quantitatively and qualitatively (Table 4.8)

Table 4. 8: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (9/9)	PGM-1 (5/6)	RNM-1 (4/4)
1	1 & 3	1 & 4	1 & 25
2	1 & 3	1 & 12	5
3	8		3
6	3 & 6		
8	3		
16	3	5	

It was previously specified that the news reported in the first 14 days for each incident would be covered under the context of CDA. As shown in the table above, an exception was made in this case, and the first 16 days were considered. This is because of the critical content of the news published in PGM-1 and DM-1 on the 16th day of the incident. To be more precise, the discourse “***This is not a work accident; this is a work murder!***” was used here for the first time. Therefore, it is essential to emphasize where this discourse was first used, which will become a slogan with its many versions in most subsequent events. Considering the first 16 days, the CDA coverage rate, which was approximately 84% in the first 14 days, increased to approximately 95%.

As in Ermenek-I, the number of newspapers divided into distinct sides is relatively low in this period, and only one newspaper was selected to represent each of the three groups again: Cumhuriyet (DM-1), Yeni Şafak (PGM-1) and Hürriyet (RNM-1). Related news was subjected to a 90-day (9 September 2004 –7 December 2004) screening period from the day of the incident (08 September 2004), and as a result, the data in Table 4.9 was obtained.

Table 4. 9: Quantitative data of Küre incident for 90-days screening period

2.Küre (08.09.2004)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	Ave. area (%) of reported news on 1st page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1800	20	6	9	2	6,44	0,14	10	1031
PGM-1	2160	24	4	6	2	12,52	0,28	8	1088
RNM-1	4288	48	3	4	1	9,54	0,11	4	804
Averages	2749	31	4,3	6,3	1,7	9,50	0,18	7,33	974

As can be seen in the table, more news was reported in the 90-day period compared to Ermenek-I. It has also been observed that the news varies quantitatively. The event was mostly reported on DM-1, and all three newspapers reported the incident on the first page. Based on the related news covered on the first page, most areas are allocated to the news in PGM-1, and the least area is allocated to the news in DM-1. Considering the 90-day period, the relevant news in the Ermenek-I incident covers only 0.01% on the first page, while it increases 18 times and covers an area of 0.18% in the Küre. Again, considering the news days, the average area of 0.69% in Ermenek-I increased by 14 times in Küre and reached 9.50%. Compared to Ermenek-I, although the average number of days covered increased slightly (from 4 to 4.3), there were significant increases in the average number of pages (from 4.3 to 6.3) and the average amount of news on the first page (from 0.3 to 1.7). The number of news (from 4.3 to 7.3 on average) and the number of words in this news (from 533 to 974 on average) also showed significant increases in this incident compared to the first incident. However, the most critical factor in this increase was the change in the PGM-1 newspaper, which increased by 100% in the number of news and by 136% in the number of words. The reason for this change may be that the number of workers who lost their lives is higher than that of Ermenek-I, or the participation of the prime minister and some ministers to workers' funerals. Detailed discussions will be made under the CDA content.

4.2.2.1. Application of CDA

Based on thematic analysis, contrary to first incident, newspapers started to process new themes under different sub-titles. Besides the mutual mourning theme, which is the most common themes in all newspapers, the themes under each sub-group are also processed in DM-1 and PGM-1, albeit in different ratios. In RNM-1, where no themes from the attribution and (de) naturalization subgroups are addressed, the government is legitimized on the one hand and macro problems are expressed under factors on the other. Although the factors

covered are not questioning purposed, it is important as it indicates that the incident should not be reduced to an isolated issue.

Table 4. 10: The theme distribution of Küre

2. Küre (08.09.2004)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	7	5	7	19	0,22
	1.2	Background	0	0	0	0	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	0	1	2	3	
	1.4	Other	0	0	0	0	
		Incident total		7	6	9	22
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	3	1	0	4	
	2.2	Government	1	3	0	4	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	0	0	0	0	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	3	2	2	7	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	2	0	1	3	
	2.6	Expert	0	0	2	2	
	2.7	All Other Actors	1	0	0	1	
		Actors Total		10	6	5	21
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	0	0	0	0	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	6	2	0	8	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	0	0	0	0	
	3.4	Legal Matters	0	0	1	1	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	5	0	1	6	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	1	0	0	1	
		Factors Total		12	2	2	16
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	3	1	0	4	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	4	0	0	4	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	1	0	0	1	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	0	0	0	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
		Attribution Total		8	1	0	9
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION /MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	0	0	0	0	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	6	1	0	7	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	0	1	0	1	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	1	6	1	8	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	0	0	0	0	
		Polarization Total		7	8	1	16
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	(“Fatalism” vs Not Fate!)	0	0	0	0	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	0	0	0	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	0	0	0	0	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	1	1	0	2	
		De-Naturalization Total		1	1	0	2
Themes total			45	24	17	86	1

The clear stance taken by the DM-1 against privatization policies is observed and reporting many questioning contents by DM-1 also attracts attention. In addition, DM-1 criticizes the government indirectly through privatization, which stands out as the first significant reactions in terms of factors and polarization. On the other hand, PGM-1 also implicitly started to emphasize not its policies but the government. Only in the thematic structure, seven of 11 thematic elements other than mutual mourning was processed to emphasize Erdoğan positively.

In sum, based on thematic structure, newspapers have revealed some notable differences. The reason for these differences may be that PGM-1 and DM-1 newspapers have appeared their status as a side, while RNM-1 still maintains its balance policy. However, it is noteworthy that even if newspapers were to take a side, journalistic aspects seem to be more dominant than taking sides in this period.

The schematic structure is constructed in parallel with the thematic structure, in the form of detailing the themes revealed in the thematic structure. In terms of PGM-1, only one difference is noticeable in addition to the thematic structure, which is the main event presentation of that STFA firm offers scholarships to children of victims. Another critical main event presentation is the theme of attitudes/explanations of dissident parties, built on the statements of the CHP Küre research commission. In this news, two significant issues attract attention. The first is the emergence of the discourse of “*this is not a work accident, but a work murder*” and the use of this discourse in the PGM newspaper. The second is the strategic and ideological factors in the fiction of this news, created within the framework of the CHP’s statements and the decision to bring the issue to the parliament. In the related news, a piece of news with the subtitle “*The facility had received Ce-Ka for 33 million dollars ...*” was added to the CHP commission’s statements. Here, a reference was made to Ce-Ka, instead of STFA, which is touted as the relevant company in all other newspapers and other news of PGM-1. Moreover, the Ce-Ka firm was presented in association with the ANAP period and Mesut Yılmaz, the prime minister of that period.

Three companies are associated with the mine in question: Ce-Ka, Eti Bakır and STFA. Ce-Ka Construction took the copper production business from Eti Bakır AŞ (a public affiliate) for ten years with the Build-Operate-Transfer method and STFA Companies that continue this activity on behalf of the CE-KA Construction company after the sale of the business within the scope of privatization. However, while STFA and Eti are featured in all newspapers, Ce-Ka is mentioned only in the statement given to the press by Mehmet

Yıldırım (CHP Küre Commission member) and later in the research proposal submitted to the parliament by Mehmet Yıldırım and 23 deputies on 10 November 2004 (T.B.M.M. Tutanak dergisi, 10.11.2004, s.18-20). While the Ce-Ka firm is never mentioned in other newspapers, it was mentioned only in PGM-1. Here, presenting the relevant firm with the ANAP period is seen as an effort to prevent the issue from being associated with the government through the semantic macrostructures strategy, thus causes ideological production. On the other hand, it is interesting to see the Ce-Ka firm's name mostly in the dissident media representatives in the following years for being a "pro-government firm."

Five different main event presentations draw attention in the DM-1 newspaper. The common denominator of these five main events is anti-privatization and government criticism in this context. The government has been criticized for not solving structural deficiencies (such as no mask requirement) and helping workers be employed in slavery by supporting the private sector in privatization and performance-oriented work conditions. Therefore, the target is the government in the context of privatization policies and structural deficiencies. RNM-1, on the other hand, unlike these two newspapers, is to present two issues in the main event presentations in a reasonably impartial manner compared to the other two newspapers. These are only rules on paper and systemic/structural deficiencies that cannot find a place even on paper. *Decoupling*, which is seen as an effective factor in the continuity of macro factors behind the work accident, has been issued for the first time. The main events presented in all three newspapers determined the *consequences*, and there was no significant difference reflected in the *consequences* contrary to the main event presentations.

When the background is examined, although there is minimal history info in PGM-1, two prominent findings are reached in terms of context info, which are constructed by associating with the mutual mourning theme and expressed by the senior government officials' sensitivity and the company's negligence themes. The first is the context built on the theme of mutual mourning in the early days of the incident. It is framed that Prime Minister Erdogan is the person who will personally carry out the necessary investigations, and "if" somebody needs to be punished, he is the person to do it. In this context, the person who will come to the aid of the rest is Erdogan himself, and as a matter of fact, he made this promise. The second is the context constructed within the company's negligence framework, with individual sections selected from the CHP research commission's statements on the incident's 16th day. By emphasizing appropriate parts of the relevant explanations and de-

emphasizing some other parts, it explicitly tries to censor the particular parts which can associate the government with the incident. On the same day, the same news was also presented on DM-1. It was clearly emphasized that the Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources, and the government were also responsible for the incident. Therefore, it is evident that PGM-1 aims to legitimize the government by manipulating the incident with overall interaction strategies, topic selection and macro speech act.

On the other hand, DM-1 provides a rich background by both directly sharing history info and providing limited history info with the context. The newspaper reports some specific news related to the previous work accidents and the increase of accidents in the mines belonging to STFA company, the number of work accidents and deaths between 1993-2003, negligence/lack of inspection, and these pieces of news provide clear background information. Considering the context, which includes limited background information, the most striking issue is the anti-privatization policy. The newspaper deals with the anti-privatization rather than the main issue in the different news context and associates it with the government. In addition to anti-privatization, the news presented in the context of the lack of inspection and job security with performance-oriented work conditions draws attention. Moreover, the legitimacy of privatization and performance-oriented work conditions is questioned with macro and local speech act strategies, semantic macrostructures, and the government is criticized for supporting such policies. Therefore, as in PGM-1, a clear ideology production is realized in DM-1.

Lastly, it is striking that there is almost no history and context info in RNM-1. However, it can be argued that “‘safety first’ remained on the paper” and “if there were masks, there would be no death” news had limited background and context information and was created around the theme of systemic deficiencies. As a result, from the *situation* perspective, while DM-1 and PGM-1 manipulate the incident in line with their interests or view and carry out ideological production, it is seen that PGM-1 follows a more objective line by pursuing a balance policy.

The *comment* analysis shows that all three newspapers include journalists, workers and workers’ relatives, Prime Minister, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, search and rescue teams, and CHP deputies as news sources. Besides, the newspapers present the following news sources: Turkey Emergency Management General Directorate in PGM-1, Turkey Emergency Management General Directorate and Türk-İş officials in DM-1 and

Ministry of Labour and Social Security, Labour Inspection Board investigation team in RNM-1.

In terms of parties of the incident, workers and their relatives, search and rescue teams, and related companies constitute the event's common parties for three newspapers. However, different than other newspapers, PGM-1 sees Ce-Ka as a party in addition to other companies. Also, DM-1 and PGM-1 introduce CHP as a common denominator. Lastly, DM-1 presents the government as the party responsible for the realization of the incident, while RNM-1 presents the Maden-İş Union, the Küre Public Prosecutor's Office, and the Ministry of Labour Inspection Board as a party. RNM-1 tries to show a more neutral line.

In terms of microstructure, all three newspapers continue the strategy and construction they followed in the macrostructure. When each dimension is individually evaluated, the syntactic analysis does not point to any meaningful differences among the newspapers regarding passive versus active or simple versus complex sentence structure. However, the context shows many different strategies among them. PGM-1 emphasizes Prime Minister Erdoğan positively while de-emphasizing the government's responsibility with the strategies of local syntax, local meanings, expression, macro speech act, and topic selection. Especially with the news of increasing work accidents and dissident parties' statements, DM-1 targets STFA firm and privatization policies explicitly and government implicitly through local speech act and topic selection strategies. Lastly, with the strategy of rhetorical figures through hyperboles, metonymies and metaphors, RNM-1 emphasises the theme of systemic/structural deficiencies, regardless of a direct target. Although they maintain the differences above, all three newspapers appear to be compatible in terms of local coherence. Then, all three newspapers describe the event as a disaster regarding lexical style and make news as an accident—however, some words such as government, prime minister, and slavery point to an ideological production. For instance, the excessive use of “the prime minister” word in PGM-1 or highlighting the word “government” by DM-1 and associating it with slavery illustrates ideological approaches. Finally, although most of the news rhetoric consists of the realisation of the event and the comments and analysis related to it, except for the rhetoric they use regarding the event scene, the workers and their relatives, and all the newspapers' persuasive findings emphasise their ideological differences. As a pro-government newspaper, PGM-1 not only proves the dedication of the authorities but also shows them more sympathetic by presenting two photographs of Prime Minister Erdoğan and Energy Minister Güler while they carry the worker's coffin.

On the other hand, neither the use of the photo showing the anti-privatization poster opened in the press release of Türk-İş nor the news of increasing work accidents with detailed figures is not randomly selected by DM-1. Finally, RNM-1 maintains its policy of neutrality here as well. On the one hand, it presents the photograph of Prime Minister Erdoğan taken while carrying the coffin; on the other hand, it critically reports the systemic/structural deficiencies that the government is responsible for.

4.2.2.2. Keywords and Government Officials

When an analysis was made within the framework of the statements of the relevant ministers and the prime minister, it is seen that the limited statements of Prime Minister Erdogan and the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Güler were once each included. The Prime Minister's condolences for the workers who lost their lives and the statement that the workers were investigated whether they had masks or not was reported in PGM-1. In this statement, no striking situation was observed in terms of analysis. On the other hand, the statements of Energy Minister Hilmi Güler presented in DM-1 are quite meaningful in terms of analysis. [DM-1-2.3]

6. While the Prime Minister said that the accident was investigated, Güler said to questions about security, **"Security is followed very seriously in private enterprises. I do not guess that the accident was due to it."**
7. Çetin Altun, General Organization Secretary of Türk-İş and General Mining Workers Union Chairman, pointed out that the necessary measures were not taken in the mine and said: *"If the precautions had been taken, the consequences of the accident would not be so dire. We think that with the privatization of institutions and organizations, profit-oriented mentalities did not take the necessary investments and precautions. Workers' health and safety cannot be neglected by saying 'I will earn money' in enterprises where human life is a matter"*

This statement was made on the first day of the incident. In other words, such a statement was made by the minister at a time when the relevant inspections and investigations were not yet completed. Therefore, it can be suggested that the minister protects the private sector with his statement. The DM-1, on the other hand, concluded this piece of news with the words of union representatives who highlight the opposition to privatization, and it presents the minister, the private sector and privatization negatively. Even though the DM-1 has an open dissident stance, instead of targeting the government directly, it organizes a flow that will refute its claim with the main event or consequences. In doing so, rhetoric is also increased by union representatives and expert opinions.

Table 4. 11: Keywords of Küre

2. Küre (08.09.2004)					
Name	Keyword	English translation	Total word count	1031	1088
				DM	PGM
Government-related	AKP	AKP			
	AK Parti	AK Party			
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related		16	57
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP		9	8
	MHP	MHP			
	Muhalefet	The opposition			
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK			
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş			
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş		4	0
	Sendika / I	Union (labour)		1	0
	Sendikası	Non-union/ nonunionised			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster		28	12
	Fitrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God			
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom			
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre		2	4
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre		2	4
	Katil	Murderer/killer			
Inspection vs Lack of inspection	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control		3	0
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection		1	0
	İhmal	Negligence		4	0
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility		1	3
Law-related	İş güvenliği- işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health		0	0
	Yasa/I-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law			
	ILO	ILO			
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödöfans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty		0	0
	Özelleştirme	Privatization		4	0
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital		0	0
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company- Private Sector		2	0
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)		0	0
	İstihdam	Employment			
	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition		0	0
Systemic/Structural issues	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded			
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier			
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery		1	0
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery- Exploitation order		1	0
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)		2	0
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
Protest vs Provocation	Medya	Media			
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest			
	Gösteri	Demonstration			
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
	Polis	Police			
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords				81	88
Total keywords / Total words (%)				7,86	8,09
					7
					0,87

When sub-groups of themes analysed, in this incident, the themes under polarization and (de) naturalization subgroups are examined for the first time, but the theme of ‘*not a work accident / not fate but a murder / massacre*’ processed under (de) naturalization is not yet a dissident theme in this incident -also in the next Gediz incident. This theme, which would be used with its primary function since Davutpaşa, would be one of the most important

de-naturalization notions of the opposition discourse. Here, it is critical because the theme is used for the first time and is treated in the same form in DM and PGM newspapers.

Since the same number of newspapers analyzes were made in the first two incidents, it would be useful to start the analysis of the keywords by comparing them. While there was a significant increase in themes compared to the first incident (from 40 to 86), the use of keywords has increased much more significantly, more than 600% (from 24 to 176). Undoubtedly, the most important share in this increase belongs to PGM-1, which increased 88 times compared to the first event. PGM-1, which did not include any keywords related to the political actors in the first incident, used exactly 65 keywords, 57 of which were directly related to the government.

It is seen that 30 of the keywords determined were used by the relevant newspapers in this incident (Table 4.11). The most striking point is the abundance of words related to political actors such as the government, prime minister Erdogan and CHP, which were never used in the first incident. PGM-1, which uses 131 of the keywords used 266 times in total, has revealed interesting data using the keywords associated with the government 57 times. Apart from this, it is noteworthy that the word ‘murder’ and the discourse of ‘not accident but murder’ were used for the first time in this incident.

4.2.3. Gediz

On 21 April 2005, 19 workers were trapped in the mine as a result of the firedamp explosion in a colliery in Kütahya Gediz. In the first stage, while 2 workers who were injured were hospitalized by their colleagues, search and rescue activities were initiated for the 17 workers trapped below. The lifeless bodies of these 17 workers were reached during the night hours. The death toll reached 18 with the death of one of the injured workers who were hospitalized.

While some newspapers reported that the mine where the accident took place was within the scope of the public affiliate Kömür İşletmeleri AŞ (TKI) and under the scope of privatization, other newspapers launched it as a mine operated by a private company. Although this issue is ambiguous, TKI does not include this accident in its death statistics at its mines. Therefore, the claim that it is operated by a private company seems more correct.

Table 4. 12: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (6/6)	DM-2 (8/8)	PGM-1 (4/4)	PGM-2 (4/4)	RNM-1 (3/3)	RNM-2 (2/3)
1	1 & 6	1 & 3	1 & 3	1 & 5	1 & 7	1 & 4
2	1 & 3	3	1 & 3	1 & 3	26	
3		1 & 7				
7	4					
8		1 & 3				
11	17					
14		9				

In this incident, the number of newspapers examined doubled to 6, and as in other incidents, after the first two days, the news in newspapers other than DM was suddenly cut off. Except for news by RNM-2, on the 70th day of the incident, all news reported within the first two weeks. In other words, more than 96% of the total news was presented in the first two weeks. While the DM group made the most news, DM-2, which participated in the analysis with this incident, stands out as the newspaper that makes the most news among all newspapers (Table 4.12).

Table 4. 13: Quantitative data of Küre incident for 90-days screening period

3. GEDİZ (21 April 2005)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	Ave. area (%) of reported news on 1st page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1810	20	4	6	2	4,92	0,11	6	1203
DM-2	1800	20	5	8	3	11,27	0,38	9	1346
PGM-1	2160	24	2	4	2	6,19	0,14	5	545
PGM-2	2520	28	2	4	2	2,44	0,05	4	435
RNM-1	4176	46	2	3	1	2,39	0,03	4	858
RNM-2	2708	30	2	3	1	7,13	0,08	2	449
Averages	2529	28	2,8	4,7	1,8	5,72	0,13	5	806

DM-2 differs from all other newspapers with high rates, not only in the number of days on which the news is made, but also in all aspects, including the number of pages, the number of news, the size of the news, and the rate on the first page (Table 4.16).

4.2.3.1. Application of CDA

DM-2 processes 40 themes and together with its closest follower DM-1 (32), it forms the only newspaper group that has a theme in each subgroup. Similar to the Küre incident, the DM group, which mostly deals with the factors theme, has focused mostly on neo-liberalist issues with opposition to privatisation in terms of factors. It is noteworthy that the

themes focusing on the anti-privatization become more obvious and direct. For example [DM2-8.3]:

- 3- The report prepared by the Chamber of Mining Engineers (MMO) as a result of its investigation in the Gediz mine has been announced.
- 4- The report stated that 57 workers lost their lives only in accidents in Aşkale, Ermenek, Küre, İskilip and Gediz in the last 20 months.
- 5- In the report, which indicates that the privatization works were either completed or ongoing in the enterprises where these accidents occurred, ***“This situation indicates that there is a clear association between privatization policies and work accidents in the mining sector”*** is said.

While only one of the 15 themes processed in the attribution sub-group is processed by RNM, the other 14 themes are processed in DM. 4 of the attribution themes emphasize only the firm, 8 only the government, while 3 emphasize the firm and the government in the context of responsibility. While 6 of the 20 polarization themes covered are used to legitimize the government by PGM and RNM newspapers, 13 of them are used to delegitimize government by DM newspapers. In addition, the government is legitimated by the DM, with a theme that there is no lack of inspection. In the de-naturalization sub-group, the theme of martyrdom is used for the first time in the context of naturalization.

Apart from themes, photographs used by newspapers in thematic analysis also attract attention. While using 34 photos in total, DM using 10 of them only highlighted the mutual mourning theme in all of their photos. In the other two groups using 12 photos, one photo focuses on the senior government officials' sentivity, while the remaining 11 photos are also related to mutual mourning.

In terms of episode, each group emphasizes different issues as the main event, apart from the typical incident themes. While both PGM newspapers started to present the issue of “martyrdom” as the main event for the first time, DM newspapers, on the other hand, started to treat the issue of anti-privatization, which they started to present since the first incident, as a more systemic problem. According to DM, there are many obvious deficiencies and negligence in the mine under privatization. Also, the formulation of privatization = (fatal) work accidents has started to be issued. Thus, DM initiated its motto that such incidents can no longer be considered as a “work accident”. The DM-2 also presented the statements of the Minister of Labour Başesgioğlu stating that there was no inspection weakness as the main event. In the RNM group, RNM-2 does not include any main event presentations other than common incident themes. RNM-1, on the other hand, presented the negligence of the company as the main event with the statements of the Maden-İş Union

President and that the authorities would reveal whether there was negligence by carrying out the necessary investigations.

DM's consequences are related to privatization and inspection. According to DM, the reason for the negligence of the company and the relevant ministries is 'privatization'. The relationship between work accidents and privatization must be seen, and a solution must be found as soon as possible. Otherwise, they cannot be considered as work accidents. It is appropriate to discuss the last news of DM-2 here.

[DM2-14.9: TITLE] Başesgioğlu: Gediz was inspected 4 times

- 1- Murat Başesgioğlu, Minister of Labour and Social Security, in his speech at the opening ceremony of the 19th Occupational Health and Safety Week, stated that **the mine in Kütahya Gediz, where 18 people died, was inspected four times in the last two years and the employer was ordered to make up for his deficiencies.**
- 2- Başesgioğlu stated that ***taking responsibility for the occupational health and safety by the social parties*** will take the efforts to further stages and expand ***the occupational safety provisions to include all employees.***
- 3- Stating that ***losing life caused by preventable work accidents*** upset them even more, the Minister noted ***preventive efforts should be accelerated.***
- 4- Başesgioğlu stated that in the places where the unions are organized, they do not have any problems in terms of occupational health and safety; ***“During the inspections, I asked them to leave the unionized workplaces to the second plan. They have a self-developed control mechanism. I wish we had unions in all workplaces that have this sensitivity,”*** he said.

This little piece of news is crucial to comprehending the DM-2's stance and strategy. To begin with, the fact that only DM-2 published this news among all newspapers indicates DM-2's unwavering support for the specific topic such as unionization. The main event presentation in the news is the lack of a control deficiency in the mine and preventive measures, based on the statements of the minister. However, the “consequence” is to emphasize unionisation, which is the most important preventive measure for the newspaper, with the words of the minister. In this case, it is also important in terms of semantic macrostructures since it is a topic selection.

The consequences of PGM appear to be in line with their overall strategy: Although the rescue efforts continued uninterruptedly in the explosion that took place in the mine, which was included in the privatization scope, 17 workers died, and everyone mourned. The incident, of which both ministers are closely interested, is being investigated.

The consequences of RNM are more similar to the episode of PGM rather than their own main events: After the explosion at a depth of 350 meters, the teams were mobilized, the ministers went to the region, but the workers could not be rescued and those who remained were devastated.

Table 4. 14: The theme distribution of Gediz

3. Gediz (21.04.2005)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	9	9	10	28	0,24
	1.2	Background	3	0	1	4	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	2	0	1	3	
	1.4	Other	0	0	0	0	
	Incident total		14	9	12	35	0,30
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	3	0	0	3	
	2.2	Government	4	3	1	8	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	0	0	0	0	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	0	1	3	4	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	2	0	1	3	
	2.6	Expert	2	0	0	2	
	2.7	All Other Actors	2	1	1	4	
	Actors Total		13	5	6	24	0,21
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	0	0	0	0	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	10	1	0	11	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	1	0	0	1	
	3.4	Legal Matters	0	0	0	0	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	2	0	1	3	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	2	0	0	2	
	Factors Total		15	1	1	17	0,15
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	3	0	1	4	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	8	0	0	8	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	3	0	0	3	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	0	0	0	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	Attribution Total		14	0	1	15	0,13
5. POLARIZATION (IDEJ-LEGITIMIZATION /MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	0	0	0	0	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	13	0	1	14	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	0	0	0	0	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	1	4	1	6	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	0	0	0	0	
	Polarization Total		14	4	2	20	0,17
6. IDEJ-NATURALIZATION	6.1	(“Fatalism” vs Not Fate!)	0	0	0	0	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	3	1	4	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	0	0	0	0	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	2	0	0	2	
	De-Naturalization Total		2	3	1	6	0,05
Themes total			72	22	23	117	1

In terms of background, in DM, while background info is processed in the news in which the deficiencies and negligence issues in the mine are processed, all information is processed in the context of anti-privatization. The news is placed in a context that allows for

ideological production (anti-privatization). In PGM, where neither context nor background information is given, it is placed in a context that allows ideological production by de-emphasizing responsibilities. Finally, both RNM newspapers contain limited background and context information. RNM-1 processes them in the context of mine deficiencies, while RNM-2 processes them in the context of a past large gas explosion.

As news sources, all newspapers used their own reporters as their main news sources. Apart from these, in the DM group where the most resource usage is seen again, DM-1 only gave place to the explanations of Cevdet Selvi (CHP's vice-chairman) while DM-2 carried the opinions and statements of DİSK, Chamber of Mining Engineers, Chamber of Geological Engineers and Minister of Labour (Başesgioğlu) to their pages. PGM-1 used the Minister of Labour, the Minister of Energy and the wife of one of the dead workers as sources, while the PGM-2 gave the words of one of the survivors only. As news sources, RNM-1 used two survivors, one worker's relative, Energy Minister Güler and Maden-İş union official while RNM-2 used only the injured survivors. As the parties of the incident, DM presents the company, the Minister of Energy, and therefore the government as negative sides, and CHP and victims as positive sides. In RNM, Energy and Labour Ministers are presented as positive parties, while the company presents the company negatively.

Considering microstructure analysis, according to syntactic analysis, almost no difference in sentence structures between the 4 newspapers in the DM and RNM group. All four newspapers used passive structure only in sentences that should be passive in nature. Also, all of them often formed short and clear sentences. PGM newspapers actually display a similar structure. However, passive structures in two sentences in PGM-1 and five sentences in PGM-2 emphasizes that the authorities, especially search and rescue teams, perform their duties well. This may be perceived as a Local Syntax strategy. No unusual usage has been observed in terms of local coherence.

In terms of lexical style, although there is an exception in the DM group, the incident is considered as an accident / disaster in all groups, including DM. Although government-related terms exist in each newspaper category, the use of "AKP" is first used in this incident and in the RNM group.

Lastly, in terms of news rhetoric, DM increases the rhetoric mostly with the expert opinion and the use of various news sources, while the least use of photographs is also seen in this group. In PGM, however, no source, including experts and unions, is consulted in

terms of rhetoric, yet still photographs are used for this purpose. Only one photograph used differs from other mutual mourning themed photographs: a photograph of two ministers carrying a coffin. In the RNM group, which tries to increase the credibility of its claims with the opinions of a union representative and numbers on previous accidents in terms of news rhetoric, the photographs are completely in parallel with the PGM. All photographs are related to mutual mourning, except those ministers carrying coffins are presented with photographs as separate news.

4.2.3.2. Keywords and Government Officials

The only statement regarding any government official in the DM group is the statements of the Minister of Labour and Social Security Başesgioğlu, given above. In addition to the aforementioned examination of these explanations, it is possible to state the following: The Minister claims that the government fulfils its obligations regarding the inspection, while also stating that job security is not solely the responsibility of the government, emphasizes the importance of social partners. And, in the section where he stresses the importance of unionization and the issue of preventable workplace deaths, he emphasizes how accidents should be avoided. As a result, it may be argued that there is no naturalization going on here, but rather a denaturalization. On the other hand, on the first day, the PGM-1 newspaper published statements from both Labour Minister Başesgiolu and Energy Minister Güler. The importance of workers to the Turkish economy was also highlighted in Başesgiolu's declaration, in which he claimed the workers who died as martyrs. The same news contained Energy Minister Güler's comment that "we are investigating whether there was negligence in the incident", as well. Only the PGM group reports on the minister of labour's first-day announcement, which is accompanied by naturalization notions. In the later periods, the government officials who made such statements become the target of DM newspapers in such a situation. The only reason this time was not exposed to such a critical approach is that the debate between naturalization and de-naturalization has not yet begun. To put it another way, as the dose of polarization rises, such discourses will be dealt with in the form of naturalization, and counter-discourse will be attempted to combat. Only a statement of the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, Hilmi Güler, takes place In RNM newspapers. According to the news, the minister claimed he did not receive an in-depth report and that the incident was initially diagnosed as a firedamp explosion. In brief, government authorities do not have a

naturalization effort or explanations understood in this manner in Gediz incident, as in the first two cases.

Table 4. 15: Keywords of Gediz

3. Gediz (21.04.2005)					
Total word count			2549	980	1307
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Govern-ment-related	AKP	AKP	0	0	1
	AK Parti	AK Party			
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	23	13	9
Dissiden-t-related	CHP	CHP	8	0	0
	MHP	MHP			
	Muhalefet	The opposition			
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	5	0	0
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş			
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş			
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)	5	0	1
	Sendikasıız	Non-union/ nonunionised			
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	39	4	9
	Fitrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God			
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom	0	5	1
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	1	0	0
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre			
	Katil	Murderer/killer			
Inspection vs Lack of	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	5	0	0
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	0	0	0
	İhmal	Negligence	6	1	0
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	7	0	0
Law-related	İş güvenliği- işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	5	0	0
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law			
	ILO	ILO			
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödövens	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	3	0	0
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	13	2	0
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	4	0	0
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company- Private Sector	4	0	1
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	0	0	0
	İstihdam	Employment	2	0	0
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	0	0	0
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded			
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier			
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery	0	0	0
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery- Exploitation order	0	0	0
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
Protest vs Provocation	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)			
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
	Medya	Media			
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest			
	Gösteri	Demonstration			
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
Police	Polis	Police			
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords			130	25	22
Total keywords / Total words (%)			5,10	2,55	1,68

In terms of corpus, although the number of examined newspapers doubled and reached six compared to the first two incidents, such an increase in the total word count is observed in only the DM group. Furthermore, despite the fact that the number of newspapers in the

PGM category rose to two, the number of words used decreased by 108. An increase of approximately 62% is observed in the RNM newspaper. When keywords are examined, an increase of only 1 keyword is observed in this incident with six newspapers compared to the previous event with three newspapers.

When looking at the keyword categories, it's clear that the phrase "AKP" was used for the first time, and the fact that it was in an RNM newspaper could mean that there was no conflict related to AKP vs AK Party during this time. When the usage is investigated, it is mentioned as "AKP Kütahya MPs" when referring to those who attend the workers' funeral prayer.

Furthermore, the term DİSK, which is the most important player in trade union matters, appears for the first time. When all incidents are taken into consideration, the most critical characteristic that separates DİSK from other unions is that it is the most commonly reported union. Moreover, it is clear that DİSK differs from other unions, especially in terms of expressing systemic concerns and making claims about job security.

It's worth noting that martyrdom was listed for the first time in the most often used category, accident/disaster vs murder/massacre. Though the term privatization is often used, it is noteworthy that it is used for the first time in the PGM category.

4.2.4. Dursunbey-I

17 workers lost their lives and 9 workers were injured as a result of the firedamp explosion in the colliery belonging to Şentaş Mining in Balıkesir Dursunbey on 1 June 2006. Table 4.19 shows the pages of news coverage of the incident in the related newspapers.

Table 4. 16: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (4/4)	DM-2 (5/9)	PGM-1 (4/4)	PGM-2 (4/4)	RNM-1 (2/2)	RNM-2 (5/6)
1	1 & 3		3	1 & 3		1
2	1 & 6	1 & 3*	1 & 5	1 & 3*	1 & 6	1 & 14
3		1 & 3	20			15
4						
5		3				12

* The third page of the PGM-2 on the second day and second day of DM-2 could not be reached.

As can be seen from the table, this tragic incident received little coverage in the media. Therefore, the incident, whose 24 pages are presented in a two-week period, has a CDA coverage rate of around 83%.

Though RNM-2 was the newspaper with the most news about the incident (15), DM-2, which has the highest numbers in terms of page count, rate of being news on the first page, and average areas on the first page, is the newspaper that gives the case the most news impact.

Table 4. 17: Quantitative data of Dursunbey-I incident for 90-days screening period

4. Dursunbey-I (1 June 2006)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of <u>days</u> have the news	Total <u>pages</u> of the news	Num. of news on the <u>first page</u>	Ave. area (%) of reported news on 1st page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1800	20	3	4	2	1,40	0,03	4	535
DM-2	1440	16	5	9	3	13,51	0,46	7	1387
PGM-1	2160	24	3	4	1	8,07	0,09	5	1171
PGM-2	2520	28	2	4	2	2,32	0,05	3	207
RNM-1	4372	49	1	2	1	7,65	0,08	3	741
RNM-2	2664	30	5	6	2	5,99	0,13	15	1780
Averages	2493	28	3,2	4,8	1,8	6,49	0,14	6,17	970

4.2.4.1. Application of CDA

The RNM group, which is similar to the PGM group in terms of theme diversity and, in particular, the theme count in the first three incidents, shows a more DM parallel attitude in this incident. RNM-2, who made the most news about the incident, undoubtedly has an impact on this. Background themes that had previously only been seen in the DM group began to be processed in the PGM and RNM groups, while opposition parties were evaluated for the first time in the RNM group as an actor. It's also worth noting that in this incident, where the highest expert opinion themes were featured so far, all five expert opinion themes were in the DM newspapers. In terms of factors, themes related union issues, anti-privatisation and system-based background and analysis were discussed for the first time in the RNM group.

Parallel to the general situation, attribution themes are mostly observed in the DM group while the only theme other than the common themes among all PGM's headline themes is "the incident is absolutely no surprise, the symptoms/warnings were ignored!". The related newspaper deals with the negligence issues with the company's background for the first time. The most striking finding in terms of polarization is that RNM newspapers both handle the most themes under the polarization sub-group and reporting various news that legitimizes and de-legitimizes the government under polarization. RNM carries out a full balance policy by legitimating the opposition parties in one of its news, as well.

The most significant distinction between this incident and the previous three is that it specifically addresses the themes of “normalization of work accidents” and “fatalism versus not fate!”. 9 out of 10 themes used in this context are seen in the DM group. The only other usage in the sense of naturalization is in the RNM-2 newspaper, which criticizes Güler’s “no negligence” comment, continues the related news with the opinions of union officials, and indirectly criticizes the minister. To give a few examples:

[RNM2-2,14: SUB-TITLE] UNION GOT ANGRY WITH THE MINISTER

- 7- İdris Akyüz, representative of Türk-İş, said: “**Minister Hilmi Güler** does not have expertise in this field. Are there really sufficient precautions? Is the automated gas calculation done? these will be determined. **We find it strange that the minister hastily made such a statement. It is wrong to portray the firedamp disaster as normal.**”

[DM2-3.1-TITLE] Is it Act of God, or Act of Administration? *[Takdir-i ilahi mi, takdir-i idari mi?]*

[DM2-3.3- HEADLINE] NOT AN ACT OF GOD, BUT AN ACT OF ADMINISTRATION
[TAKDİR-İ İLAHİ DEĞİL, TAKDİR-İ İDARİ]

Finally, in terms of thematic analysis, the DM group, which uses less direct leads and photographs than the other groups, shows no significant difference and is just detailing the theme processed in their headline/title. While all of the RNM group’s leads, which mostly use direct lead and photo, are used to summarize the news in the form of the main theme, photographs are also used to support the text and are most often associated with the mutual mourning theme. All direct leads and all photos except one are used in the PGM group for summarization or rhetoric in the sense of mutual mourning or submission information themes. In the only exceptional photograph, PGM newspaper included the photograph of the minister carrying a coffin in this incident as in the previous two incidents. However, this time, while this subject was not included in the relevant text, the photograph was placed in the center of the news and the relevant minister was emphasized in a positive sense.

In the context of the episode, while it is noteworthy that more than one main event is usually handled under one main theme in all groups, there are also various consequences, especially in the DM group. In terms of background, the group that processes the most background info since the first incident is still DM, while the PGM also processes the background directly, albeit limited, for the first time. Direct background info is also shared in RNM. However, there are variations in processing between the groups. PGM takes the constrained background information entirely within the context of the company, while RNM and DM take it in the context of both the company and the general system.

Table 4. 18: The theme distribution of Dursunbey-I

4. Dursunbey-I (01.06.2006)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	8	12	23	43	0,29
	1.2	Background	3	1	3	7	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	2	1	1	4	
	1.4	Other	0	0	0	0	
		Incident total		13	14	27	54
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	0	0	1	1	
	2.2	Government	1	2	2	5	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	1	0	1	2	
	2.4	Victims & Victims’ Relatives	2	2	3	7	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	0	0	3	3	
	2.6	Expert	5	0	0	5	
	2.7	All Other Actors	1	3	2	6	
		Actors Total		10	7	12	29
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	0	0	0	0	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	5	0	1	6	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	1	0	2	3	
	3.4	Legal Matters	3	0	0	3	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	7	3	5	15	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	0	0	1	1	
		Factors Total		16	3	9	28
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	7	0	0	7	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	3	0	0	3	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	4	1	0	5	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	1	1	2	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
		Attribution Total		14	2	1	17
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION / MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	0	0	0	0	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	4	0	2	6	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	0	0	1	1	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	0	1	3	4	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	1	0	0	1	
		Polarization Total		5	1	6	12
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	(“Fatalism” vs Not Fate!)	5	0	0	5	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	0	0	0	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	4	0	1	5	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	0	0	0	0	
		De-Naturalization Total		9	0	1	10
Themes total			67	27	56	150	1

This is the first incident in which all seven groups of actors are featured in terms of comment, which is the last component of the schematic structure. In the RNM group, where the use of the most diverse news sources is observed, only expert opinions are not covered

among the main actors and the comments and statements of the victims and union representatives are mostly included. In PGM, which only includes the statements of victims 'relatives and government officials, the theme of "touching/selfless attitudes of victims/victims' relatives" is mostly featured. In the DM newspapers, which frequently used the statements of opposition parties and union officials until this incident, these actors were not included in this incident at all. However, they approached the situation from a different perspective, providing expert advice five times.

There were no significant differences in terms of Local Coherence in the microstructure review. In terms of syntactic analysis, the majority of longer and more complicated sentences in DM and RNM newspapers draw attention in general. Especially in the analysis reports in which DM-2 reflects expert opinions, it tries to give various aspects of the incident in one sentence by increasing the strikingness with complex sentences. Although the description of accident/disaster continues to dominate all newspaper groups in terms of lexical style, the terms murder/massacre and the motto of not accident/fate but murder, have been used more than ever before. The word 'fate' is used for the first time. All three uses are nevertheless used by the RNM newspaper randomly and without any criticism, while all uses in DM are critically used in the context of "work accidents are not fate".

The DM group also uses the inspection-related terminology for the first time in the form of the systematic critique, whereas the word 'AKP' is used for the first time in a DM newspaper. Furthermore, the AKP usage here was used in a structure that started in the form of "AKP cadres" and directly targeted the government.

In terms of news rhetoric, the PGM group is again seen to use photographs for rhetoric purposes the most, while in DM, rhetoric has been tried to be increased with numbers as well as the variety of news sources. In the RNM Group, especially in the RNM-2, the rhetoric has increased mostly with news source variation and statistical data have been used simultaneously.

4.2.4.2. Keywords and Government Officials

This is the first instance in which a government official's statements were interpreted as "naturalization" and a reaction was elicited. On the first day of the incident, Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Hilmi Güler said, "*There is no negligence in the incident*" and added, "*Such things happen in mining.*" Minister Güler was immediately attacked and harshly criticized by the DM and RNM newspapers for making this comment, which was

interpreted as an act of naturalization. Particularly harsh reactions were elicited since the comment was made on the first day of the incident and before the conclusion of the investigations.

Minister Güler's statements are clipped in PGM newspapers and his statement stating "there is no negligence" ends with the news that the Ministry of Labour initiated an investigation [PGM-1-2.5].

- 15) While Güler said "There seems to be no negligence in the explosion. All the measuring devices are okay and measurements were made before the explosion. It is difficult to determine where methane gas is accumulating. **Still, what is required will be done**", the Ministry of Labour and Social Security started an investigation about the explosion.

Minister Güler's assertion that "there was no negligence in the incident" without the requisite inspections on the first day of the incident was criticized in RNM newspapers, with the words of the union representative. The statements of the union representatives are associated with notions of systemic problems and it is processed that such statements made without investigation cause a perception of a cover-up. The fact that the workers in the relevant mine are not unionized and that most work accidents occur in non-unionized workplaces are closely related to the factors of the study as it is a general and systemic issue rather than an individual event.

[RNM-1-2.6: SUB-TITLE]	Without an examination by the inspector, the minister said 'no negligence'
[RNM2-2.14: SUB-TITLE]	MINISTER: NO NEGLIGENCE
	...
[SUB-TITLE]	UNION GOT ANGRY WITH THE MINISTER
	...

In the DM group, the harshest reactions were made both indirectly and directly, and the issue is described as a systemic problem with expert opinion. Considering all events, this is the first news that systemic structural problems are analyzed. Providing various news and analysis, DM-2 was finally reported that another ministry "refuted" minister Güler [DM2-3.3].

7. Stating that the investigations at the crime scene are continuing, Torun draws attention to the fact that **adequate technical measures are not taken in many collieries operated in Turkey, uneducated workers with no knowledge and experience are employed in the mines** and **he harshly criticized the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Hilmi Güler's statement "Such things happen in mining"**.
8. Torun said, "**The accidents in the mines and the deaths of the workers are definitely not fate. Accidents can be avoided by the use of technical measures. The statements of Minister Güler are a great misfortune. This statement demonstrates the government's point of view against the workers**".

9. Noting the inadequacy of the rescue efforts, Torun also evaluated it as a waste of time to wait for rescue teams from Soma and Tuncbilek for an accident that occurred in Balıkesir.
10. Torun continued: “*Negligence and unconsciousness are very common in the mines. Not everyone who has money can open a mine. Mining requires experience. Public institutions must fulfil the inspection mandate. Inspections are extremely inadequate.*”
11. Complaining that the opinions and suggestions of the Chamber of Mining Engineers were not taken into consideration by the government officials, Torun stated that *the inspection mandate of the chamber was bypassed by the government.*

[DM2-5.3: TITLE] Ministry refuted the other ministry

6. Explaining that there were deficiencies in the mine in Odaköy and that they were fined for this reason, The Ministry of Labour and Social Security denied Energy Minister Hilmi Güler, who said, “Unfortunately, the accidents are usual in mining. There are no deficiencies in inspection, the devices were sufficient” after the accident. ...

Minister Güler’s declaration was embraced as an element of fatalism and naturalization, according to the news. In this context, not only Minister Güler but also the government are being criticized by the DM group, and criticisms expressed explicitly and supported by expert opinion (i.e. [DM2-3.3.8]). RNM newspapers also criticized the minister but did not include any statements that could be attributed to the government. On the other hand, PGM newspapers censored the Minister’s words, which can be understood as naturalization, and put on the agenda only the declaration of “no negligence.” The news of the minister’s statement was also accompanied by the statement that the ministry of labour had launched an investigation into the incident. It can be argued that the relevant newspaper made an order under the expression strategy. I think the newspaper also finds the statement of the minister wrong, but since it is “from us”, it makes the presentation in this manner and makes its criticism implicitly. Finally, I also think Güler’s assertions are an attempt to naturalize. The Minister protects the relevant business while also attempting to normalize mining accidents that have occurred or will occur in the future.

In sum, more macro and structural issues, such as similar problems in all mines, negative changes in working-class characteristics, and the majority of inexperienced mining companies, were investigated in the DM and RNM groups, particularly DM-2 and RNM-2. While privatization was the most specific problem that had been tackled in a systemic manner prior to this incident, various notions have begun to be discussed with this incident.

When the keywords were examined, the number of keywords per newspaper and group increased only in the RNM group. In this context, there are significant differences in terms of RNM in almost all keyword groups. While the term “CHP” from the opposition wing was used for the first time in the RNM group, union issues were also included in a holistic and non-coincidental way for the first time.

Table 4. 19: Keywords of Dursunbey-I

4. Dursunbey-I (01.06.2006)					
Total word count			1922	1378	2521
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Govern- ment- related	AKP	AKP	1	0	0
	AK Parti	AK Party			
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	33	10	12
Dissiden- t-related	CHP	CHP	0	0	1
	MHP	MHP			
	Muhalefet	The opposition			
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK			
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş			
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	1	0	3
	Sendika / 1	Union (labour)	5	0	3
	Sendikası	Non-union/ nonunionised	3	0	2
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	45	22	38
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	5	0	3
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom			
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	6	0	0
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	5	0	0
	Katil	Murderer/killer			
Inspection vs Lack of	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	14	0	1
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	2	0	0
	İhmal	Negligence	7	3	4
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	4	0	0
Law- related	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	4	0	0
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	2	0	0
	ILO	ILO			
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödöfans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	0	0	0
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	1	0	0
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	1	0	0
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector	6	1	4
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	5	1	2
	İstihdam	Employment			
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	0	0	0
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded			
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier			
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery	0	0	0
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	0	0	0
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)			
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
Protest vs Provocation	Medya	Media			
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest			
	Gösteri	Demonstration			
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
	Polis	Police			
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords			150	37	73
Total keywords / Total words (%)			7,80	2,69	2,90

It's the first time the words "inspection" and "lack of inspection" have been used so extensively. The terms accident/disaster were parallel to DM for the first time, and the word fate was used for the first time, although it was not critical. For the first time, terms associated with the private sector are used so often in the RNM group.

The rise in government-related terms indicates that the general trend in DM is continuing, while the decline in PGM indicates that the strategy is also continuing. The terms accident/disaster have been steadily rising since the first incident, and this trend has continued, but the terms murder/massacre and not an accident but murder, which are the polar opposite of this category of words, have also seen a significant rise. Although DM, who has used oppositional words often in previous incidents, has never used them in this incident; legal terms are once again and exclusively encountered in the DM group.

In conclusion, this incident draws attention because of a senior government official's statements considered naturalization and the systematic use of opposing notions in RNM, which differs from its previous attitude. Minister Güler's controversial comments clearly influenced the RNM's change. However, only by looking at later incidents can it be determined if this is due to a straightforward split or an exceptional occurrence. If the next incident follows the same pattern, the political discourse would be examined in greater depth.

4.2.5. Davutpaşa

In many respects, 2007 was a landmark year in our research. The quorum of meeting (367) in the Turkish Grand National Assembly was not reached in the first round of elections held in April to decide the successor to 10th President Ahmet Necdet Sezer, whose term expired in 2007 due to the boycott of the CHP and Anavatan parties, and hence the election was annulled by the Constitutional Court. Upon this, a decision was taken for early general elections and in the general elections held on 22 July 2007, the Justice and Development Party officially started its second term by getting the highest number of votes again. The political environment, which started with the boycott of the CHP and Anavatan parties and then further stressed with the text emphasizing secularism, which was published on the website of the Turkish General Staff and referred to as an e-memorandum in literature, caused a complete polarization. As a consequence of the subsequent events, which can be defined as a kind of counter-attack, the process that began with the presidential elections caused not only society but also the press to take a more political stance:

- a. The Ergenekon process that actually started in June 2007,
- b. The work to lift the ban on headscarf at university entrance with the change in YÖK in 2007, and
- c. Initiative of the Prime Minister Erdoğan related to Constitutional amendment and the introduction of the headscarf freedom in January 2008.

Several notable occurrences in the press happened during this period, as well. After being confiscated by the SDIF (TMSF) in 2007 and then sold to Çalık Holding in 2007, it was deemed appropriate for the Sabah daily to join our work as PGM-3. The Sözcü newspaper, on the other hand, was founded on June 27, 2007, and it was deemed fitting to include it in our work as DM-3. Thereupon, Milliyet, Doğan Media's third most widely read newspaper, was included in our analysis as RNM-3 to equalize the number of each group. Thus, in the 11 incidents that will be investigated from now on, three newspapers will be examined in each group, for a total of nine newspapers.

In addition to the politic environmental ramifications listed above, the news value of the Davutpaşa incident is higher for many reasons, including the fact that it was the first major occurrence outside of mining, that it occurred in Istanbul, and that the related workplace was unrecorded and illegal. This is also backed by both qualitative and quantitative data.

The fire in an unlicensed sparkler workshop in Istanbul Davutpaşa, that is, in one of Istanbul's most central areas, spread to the denim washing workshop downstairs in the morning hours of 31 January 2008, and the boilers here exploded. Following the blast, the building where the incident happened, as well as many nearby structures, were heavily destroyed. While newspapers claimed that 22 to 23 people died as a result of the explosion, official statistics indicate that 21 people died and 116 were injured.

Table 4. 20: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (13/14)	DM-2 (17/18)	DM-3 (6/6)	PGM-1 (10/12)	PGM-2 (7/7)	PGM-3 (10/10)	RNM-1 (7/7)	RNM-2 (6/6)	RNM-3 (6/7)
1	1 & 8	1 & 3	1 & 8 - 9	1 & 14-15	1 & 14-15	1 & 20-21	1 & 18-19	1 & 18-19	1 & 14-15
2	1 & 9	1 & 3	IP* (2)	1 & 11	1 & 3	1 & 18-19	1 & 18	1, 4 & 8	1 & 16
3	1 & 8	1 & 6-7		1 & 7	11	1 & 18	5		4
4	8	1 & 3	8	1 & 9		5	17		
5	3	1 & 3							
6	3	3							
7	3	3		10	11				
8	3	3				16			
9	1 & 13								
10									
11		3							
12		1 & 6							

* IP: The second day of DM-3 could not be reached, but according to AjansPress there are news on two pages.

Although the incident drew widespread coverage across all media groups, especially in the first three days, it was only covered in DM-1 and DM-2 newspapers since the fourth

day, with a few exceptions. When considering DM-3 news, it is reasonable to state that it generally exhibits qualitatively and quantitatively different characteristics from the DM group, but the dissident stance is obvious. This subject will be tried to be elaborated with specific examples in each appropriate case.

The 82-page portion (94%) of the incident, which was reported on 87 pages in 9 newspapers in 90 days, was presented in the first 14 days (Table 4.20).

Davutpaşa incident with an average of 25.44 news is more than three times the highest number of news seen before, 7.33. With an average of 4341 words, it is nearly 4.5 times higher than the previous record of 974 words. In terms of the total number of news reported, it is 6.7 times higher than in 5821. In summary, this event is the most critical incident seen so far in every respect.

Table 4. 21: Quantitative data of Davutpaşa incident for 90-days screening period

5. Davutpaşa (31 January 2008)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	Ave. area (%) of reported news on 1st page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1800	21	10	14	4	10,98	0,49	35	5983
DM-2	1524	17	11	18	6	14,05	0,94	33	7309
DM-3	1440	16	3	6	1	81,04	0,90	14	1863
PGM-1	2400	27	6	12	5	18,02	1,00	37	5349
PGM-2	2520	28	4	7	2	23,46	0,52	16	2856
PGM-3	3312	37	5	10	3	46,42	1,55	31	5316
RNM-1	3096	34	4	7	2	33,97	0,75	19	3434
RNM-2	2904	32	2	6	2	35,81	0,80	23	3210
RNM-3	2778	31	4	7	2	26,63	0,59	21	3746
Averages	2419	27	5,4	9,7	3,0	32,26	0,84	25,44	4341

Although the DM (82) and PGM (84) groups are somewhat similar in terms of total number of news, the DM group showed slightly higher numbers in terms of total page number and total word count than the other two groups. The nearest numbers to DM-2, which has the highest word count, are found in DM-1, followed by PGM-1 and PGM-3, respectively. Although DM-2 has the most news on the first page, PGM-3 is significantly larger than all other newspapers based on the 90-day average size of the area on the first page.

4.2.5.1. Application of CDA

A significant increase is observed in all theme groups. When the groups are analyzed individually, it is notable that the rise in the background subgroup in the incident group is significantly lower than the others. In the DM group, however, there is also a substantial

increase in the background. Another important point in terms of background is that, while all incident subgroups are treated by all three newspaper groups, the background is the one exception. The PGM group retains its stance on this issue by refusing to process any background theme.

Three newspaper groups do not mention the related company in the category of actors, but the remaining five key actors are themed in all three newspaper groups. Though dissident parties are at least represented in the PGM group, this actor appears in the RNM and DM groups six times. This is the highest rate for both newspaper groups. Regarding actors, while experts are the most processed actors in the DM and RNM, it's worth noting that the PGM, which had never included experts prior to this incident, was processed in significant numbers for the first time. On the other hand, union actors, which are also the first in PGM, are also seen. In addition, in three newspaper classes, an equal number of "all other actors" are portrayed. When 'all other actors' details are examined, very different findings emerge. As other themed actors, the themes of witnesses 'statements, touching / selfless attitudes of victims / victims' relatives and workers who survived the disaster by chance / miracle are covered in all three newspaper groups. While DM (5) and RNM (4) mostly used the theme of witnesses' statements, PGM mostly handled the theme of touching / selfless attitudes of victims/victims' relatives.

It will be appropriate and useful to state the following here. The data show that themes such as mutual mourning, common themes, workers who survived the disaster by chance/miracle, touching / selfless attitudes of victims/victims' relatives and salary/relief to victims including aid, scholarship are used as naturalization elements by PGM newspapers. This process begins with the Gediz case when quantitative data are considered while begins with the Davutpaşa case when qualitative data are considered. Furthermore, all of the separate analyses of mutual mourning, common themes, and incident themes clearly demonstrate that the magnitude of the reaction to the incident and the use of these themes are inversely proportional. After the individual examinations are completed, these will be explained and discussed in all details in the general evaluation.

Table 4. 22: The theme distribution of Davutpaşa

5. Davutpaşa (31.01.2008)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	37	57	37	131	0,16
	1.2	Background	7	0	2	9	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	3	4	2	9	
	1.4	Other	2	2	2	6	
		Incident total	49	63	43	155	0,19
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	6	1	6	13	
	2.2	Government	2	6	5	13	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	0	0	0	0	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	5	6	4	15	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	5	1	2	8	
	2.6	Expert	10	5	9	24	
	2.7	All Other Actors	10	10	10	30	
		Actors Total	38	29	36	103	0,13
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	17	0	4	21	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	21	2	6	29	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	2	1	0	3	
	3.4	Legal Matters	17	1	5	22	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	63	26	36	125	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	11	0	10	21	
		Factors Total	131	30	61	221	0,27
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	14	13	16	43	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	36	14	34	84	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	16	3	8	27	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	0	0	0	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
		Attribution Total	66	30	58	154	0,19
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION / MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	0	0	0	0	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	44	4	23	70	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	0	2	0	2	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	5	23	8	36	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	20	3	14	37	
		Polarization Total	68	32	45	145	0,18
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	("Fatalism" vs Not Fate!)	4	0	1	5	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	0	0	0	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	0	0	0	0	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	19	4	3	26	
		De-Naturalization Total	23	4	4	31	0,04
Themes total			376	188	246	809	1

In terms of this incident, the factors group has been the theme group where the most change has been felt. In addition to being the first event to cover all six sub-theme categories, it was also the first time the political context was themed. "Link between government and

the company/business worlds”, “not punishing but protecting those responsible”, “rent-oriented mentality” only in DM while “poor policymaking capacity of the government” theme is processed in both DM and RNM groups, but no theme findings relevant to this theme category were encountered in PGM. Especially in the context of the “poor policymaking capacity of the government” theme, RNM and DM groups are very harshly criticizing the metropolitan municipality and the government for the regulation on explosive warehouses that have been on the authorities’ tables for three years but have not been enacted in any way.

Regarding union issues, the most sensitive topic seems to be the barriers to unionization and the significance of unionization. However, although this issue was raised even by the minister of labour, it did not receive enough attention. While whole themes are also discussed for the first time in the sub-group of legal issues, only the “arbitrary / malicious interpretation of the law or legal gap” theme is dealt with in the PGM group, and it is dealt with on a micro-scale and only in association with the company. Each theme is treated in RNM and DM. While each theme is treated in RNM and DM; the most frequently discussed theme in both is *actions, rules & discourses which remain only on paper/in speech*. All of the legal themes were treated as a macro-scale systemic problem in both DM and RNM, but remained softer in RNM.

Systemic/structural issues is the most frequently handled sub-theme group, with all three newspaper groups focusing heavily on it. However, although DM and RNM show significant interest in the System-based background & analysis subgroup themes, which stand out as the analysis of systemic issues, these themes were not covered in PGM. Some interesting findings are observed in the systemic/structural issues subgroup. The despair/no alternative chance theme should be listed as the most striking of these. This theme expresses that, due to structural issues, workers must work under intolerable conditions, such as unrecorded work, and must consent to work under such conditions. In this regard, newspapers process various and multiple factors together to criticize governments that are essentially responsible for this troubled system. All usage of this theme in DM and PGM work in this context. However, PGM newspapers, especially PGM-3, present this topic in somewhat different construction, stressing the following conclusion based on the related news: Some employers who detect and abuse systematic gaps exploit desperate people, but the “state” will punish those who do so most severely and protect the relatives of the victims with the sensitivity of the highest government officials. Through handling this theme mostly

together with the themes of “senior government officials’ sensitivity” and “salary/relief to victims”, PGM newspapers emphasize that the desperate people are now under the protection of the government and that the relatives of the victims will be salaried. In other words, according to PGM, all precautions are taken to prevent the victim relatives from falling into similar despair. However, there is no single sentence on topics such as why the structural problem occurs and who is responsible for it. If a responsible is mentioned, the weakest link is attacked such as the company or certain local authorities.

Moreover, even the compulsory salary for people who die as a result of work accidents under the provisions of the Labour Law is usually presented as if it were a favour from the government. Especially if there is a situation of uninsured/unrecorded workers as in Davutpaşa, PGM newspapers literally turn this into a show of government sensitivity. Furthermore, they attempt to conceal the fact that finishing or even suppressing despair with the salary offered would be extremely difficult. For instance, it is stated that the victims of Davutpaşa will be paid a salary of 300 TL, and it is even mentioned clearly in the title.

[PGM-3-3.18: TITLE] Salary of 300 (Y)TL for the deceased’s relatives

However, it is not reported that 300 TL was half of the minimum wage of 604 TL in February 2008 and approximately one-third of the hunger limit of 776 TL. Since the salary issue will be analysed in detail in the Soma incident and in the general evaluation sections, I will suffice with this explanation for now.

Finally, in the systemic/structural issues sub-theme group, when the most common themes of each of the three groups are examined, “not an isolated incident but a common problem” theme is mostly used in DM and RNM, while “unrecorded economy and employment” is the most common issue in PGM. While 7 of the 11 themes in this group were processed in DM and RNM, only 3 of them were processed in PGM. It’s worth noting that in the System-based Background & Analysis subgroup, solutions and suggestions are included for the first time in both the DM and RNM categories, in addition to the analysis.

In the Attribution group, all three newspaper groups present the owner of the company as the first and foremost responsible due to the fact that the business is illegal, and the three newspaper groups also impose responsibility on the government, albeit in different ways. Within the context of the responsibility of the government, negligence/lack of inspection is the most common theme in all three newspaper groups. However, while DM and RNM directly target Zeytinburnu Municipality, İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, related ministries and the government; according to PGM newspapers, there is negligence and lack

of inspection but the responsibility of the local authorities or bureaucrats rather than the government. It should also be noted here that the incidents in which critical notions are seen relatively more in PGM newspapers are generally seen in sectors other than mining. In these cases, it is noteworthy that generally different low-level groups within the government target each other. For example, different statements and attitudes among government officials cause PGM to handle some systemic issues in a more critical way, such as In Davutpaşa, between the ministry and the mayor of Istanbul metropolitan; In Ostim, between the Ankara metropolitan mayor, the governor and the OIZ directorate; and Labour minister and an unspecified group of government officials in Esenyurt shopping mall.

In the polarization group, it is seen that the de-legitimize government sub-theme group is mostly handled in DM and RNM, and the legitimize government sub-theme group in PGM is very clearly handled more than other themes. As an interesting point, the legitimized dissident parties theme was also processed only in PGM. In the context of polarization, considering the most processed individual themes, the following themes, most of which are processed for the first time in DM and RNM groups, draw attention: “inviting government official to resign”, “rebellion discourses and / or protest acts”, “sarcasm / satire through the comics, etc.”, “de-emphasizing the responsibilities”, “manipulation / propaganda [claim]”. In PGM, on the other hand, themes of “authorities [will] take urgent measures/make necessary regulations”, “punishment of those responsible regardless of who is responsible”, “senior government officials follow the case personally” and “state/government will prevent similar disasters/problems” appear to be handled.

In addition, the protest theme featured in all three newspaper groups is particularly noteworthy. Protesting a work accident for the first time is one of the most important indicators that these accidents can no longer be perceived as an isolated incident. As a matter of fact that, the theme of “inviting government officials to resign” is often used with these protest themes.

The themes of manipulation and sarcasm/satire were also introduced for the first time. Sarcasm themes, in particular, come to the fore with their emphasis on systemic and common problems. However, it is seen here that the use of sarcasm/satire emphasizes not a systemic problem in the context of work accidents, but the headscarf issue, which is the hottest issue of politics in the days of the incident:

[DM-1-5.3; HEADLINE]

‘Headscarf cannot cover the murder’

In the context of the thematic structure, macrorules strategies are frequently used in all newspapers, but there is no significant difference between groups. There is no difference between the groups in terms of the purpose and method of use in terms of lead, as well. However, as mentioned in the general evaluation before, instead of using direct leads, DM-1 uses super-headlines / titles or sub-headlines that act as leads. This is the first incident in which this use is most noticeable, and it will be seen regularly in subsequent incidents. To put it in numbers, the headline numbers in the groups are as follows: DM: 19, PGM: 16 and RNM: 13. Direct leads used after these headlines are DM: 12, PGM: 16 and RNM: 12. Here, all of the 7 exceptions seen in the DM group are in DM-1. In other words, DM-1 did not use a direct lead after any of the headlines, instead opting for a super-headline for all seven.

When photographs are examined, except for only one of all photographs used in three newspaper groups, all of them are used to support the text in the context of the relevant text. In this context, PGM emphasizes the following three elements: 1. crime scene photos, 2. victims and victims' families in the context of mutual mourning, and 3. government officials, especially İstanbul officials. Similarly, photographs related to the crime scene, victims and their families in the context of mutual mourning, and the governor and mayor of İstanbul were all used extensively in the RNM. In the DM, mostly crime scene photographs and the victims and their relatives were given in the context of mutual mourning, however, not only the governor of Istanbul, the mayor of the Metropolitan Municipality and Zeytinburnu and the minister of labour but also the photographs of the protests and the leader and senior executives of CHP were also used. While all of these photographs are compatible with the text context, in the first page of the DM-3's news on the first day, two nested photographs, both disrupting the local coherence in the text and irrelevant to the subject, were used in the photographs [DM3-1.1.].

20. The **headscarf-wearing** nurse who arrived on the scene after the blast with the 112 medical team was also at work.
21. **The headscarf-wearing nurse's work with heart and soul drew notice.**



In the news whose text and photographs are seen above, it is seen that manipulation was made in the context of semantic macrorules with the news of a nurse wearing a headscarf “working with heart and soul”, which has nothing to do with the subject. Although all medical teams and all rescue teams worked there with a sense of duty, the DM-3 emphasized

the “headscarf issue,” which was the focus of the political agenda, and realized a clear ideology production.

When the schematic structure is examined, with few exceptions, such as the headscarf issue above, the episode consists of main events and consequences in parallel with the thematic structure. As can also be seen in the themes, considering the background, PGM explicitly avoids background themes and does not include background information in the text and instead constructs the incident in the context of an individual incident. Rare background notions in PGM are mostly composed of references made through the company with a reductionist approach (i.e. [PGM-1-1.14-15] SEALED 4 TIMES BUT THEY OPENED) or to previous days in the following days of the incident. RNM and especially DM newspapers often deal with background info and both treat the incident as a common problem in the context of a systemic problem.

When comments are taken into account, various actors are consulted as news sources, in addition to their reporters, who are their main sources for each newspaper. In this incident, DM uses the most news sources, while RNM uses the same groups and uses very close amounts of sources. Experts are the most commonly used resource in these two groups. Finally, for the first time, PGM employs the same number and range of various actor classes as DM and RNM, but mostly consisting of government officials and victims’ relatives. It is also worth noting that this is the first time PGM has hosted experts and union representatives.

When microstructure is examined, it is seen that all newspapers continue their general lines in terms of syntactic. There are a few news texts that deviate from the main topic with conjunctions like “by the way” in terms of local coherence. However, there is only the function of changing the subject here, not an ideological (de) emphasize.

In terms of lexical style, the AK Party term is never mentioned in this incident, but the term AKP, which has only been used once in the previous two incidents, is mentioned six times. All of these uses were used in the DM group and all of them were critically expressed:

- [DM-1-1.8.13] ... criticizing the **AKP government**, “**AKP government** listens to TÛSİAD, not labourers....
- [DM-1-2.9.42] ... The Municipalities Law passed during the **AKP period**...
- [DM-1-2.9.43] Under **AKP rule**....
- [DM-1-7.3.4] “**AKP is harmful to the country**”
- [DM2-2.3.33] **AKP’s neoliberal policies rub salt in the wound.**

When Accident/Disaster versus Murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy is examined, it is seen that the incident is mostly characterized by the terms of

Accident/Disaster and there is a small increase compared to the previous event. However, the word Murder / Work Murder / Massacre, which had previously been used a maximum of six times in an incident, was now used 43 times. It was processed mainly in the DM group (36 uses), but it was also used in the RNM (5) and PGM (2) classes. Moreover, this term was seen for the first time in the RNM group.

Finally, with this incident, the words Resistance/Protest versus provocation were used for the first time. There is no use of provocation term. Resistance/protest is used several times by all three newspaper groups and also three demonstration terms used as “protest demonstration” are in DM and RNM. The most striking feature of this instance is that PGM both reports on protests and uses the expression “resistance” or “protest.”

In terms of news rhetoric, newspapers generally continue their ongoing attitudes, and PGM primarily used photographs for this purpose, while DM and RNM primarily increased the rhetoric with experts and analysts. Experts and union representatives, who were seen for the first time in the PGM group, are being used for this purpose as well.

In sum, Davutpaşa has been a breaking point in terms of both the protests becoming a subject and the frequency of themes directly targeting the government. In the macrostructure, where significant changes were observed, a differentiation was observed in all structures, especially headlines and situation analysis. Especially some headlines of the DM group are the most prominent indicators of differentiation and polarization: Not an accident but a massacre; Explosion like murder; “Not the order of God, negligence”; ‘Headscarf cannot cover the murder’; ‘The government responsible for 23 lives’; Istanbul is entrusted to God, not to the state!; 70 per cent of Istanbul is illegal

In conclusion, the Davutpaşa incident marked the beginning of an era in which the news topic and presentation (precisely macrostructure) were directly influenced by the political context. This incident illustrates how newspapers and other relevant actors frame any topic within their own context. In other words, in terms of our sample, Davutpaşa was the beginning of a period in which factors other than the actual incident shaped the news. With exceptions such as Dursunbey-II, there has been a sharp difference between newspapers in terms of news presentation and focus since this incident.

4.2.5.2. Keywords and Government Officials

In this incident, Minister Başesgioğlu was removed from the Ministry of Labour as a result of the cabinet change and Minister Faruk Çelik came in his place. Considering the statements of Faruk Çelik, the following points come to the fore in his statements.

Unrecorded employment in Turkey is a major problem and the government is aware of this. Minister of Labour Çelik expresses this situation with the following words: “In the previous Cabinet meeting, as I share these issues with the Prime Minister, we mentioned that 10 million 700 thousand unrecorded [workers] in Turkey” Unrecorded employees are not guilty, according to the Minister, but “employers” who force workers to work unrecorded are and hence he states clearly for the victims of Davutpaşa, “Unrecorded workers will also benefit from this right [death pension]. We do not see them as guilty. The culprits are those who make them work that way.” Stating that they will increase the inspections by doing their “part”, the minister emphasizes that even though the workplace is sealed at the end of the inspections, the sanction of this has no practical equivalent: “If a workplace is unregistered, a penalty of 88 YTL is applied. You seal it, and the penalty for removing the seal is 6 months to 3 years in prison. This is also translated into a fine. It should not be.” Afterwards, he emphasizes that although they do their part, the responsibility is not solely with them and that neighbours should denounce the illegal enterprises with the following words: “If the neighbour does not know what was done on the upper floor, how will we know. We should have been informed that this workplace was doing business illegally.”. Later, Çelik stressed that if such workplaces unionize, inspections would be easier, and that “as long as the barriers to unionization remain, the auto control system will be out of our hands.” Moreover, he calls out to employers and says, “If there were union activities in these workplaces, we would have the opportunity to control them much more easily. Finally, he specifies that more deterrent sanctions would be implemented to fight informality.

Considering these explanations, it can be argued that the minister has done very important things by identifying these problems, although he has not yet had time to correct these problems since he was newer in his office. The fact that Faruk Çelik will be in this position in almost all events that will take place after this event will allow us to evaluate how successful he is in solving these determinations.

On the other hand, it should be noted that the statements of Minister Çelik correspond exactly to the words of IMM President Topbaş, “If the public does not inform us, how should

we know?” In this context, the first thing that needs to be questioned is the question of whether the control mechanism of the state will actually become dysfunctional without “notices”? Of course, such a thing should not be the case, the state is primarily responsible for solving the problematic systemic issues such as unrecorded employment, with or without notice. Moreover, the interviews with the local tradesmen in the following days revealed that this place was actually reported. Considering these, it can be argued that de-emphasize negative topics about “us” is made and therefore the semantic macro structure strategy is implemented. Considering that the ruling party, of which the minister and the mayor is also a member, has been in office for 6 years, this situation can be seen more obviously. The same can be said for the lack of deterrent sanctions in law. After all, it will be the government that enacts and enforces these deterrent penalties. Finally, presenting themselves as the party fulfilling their responsibilities and the employers as the non-fulfilling party are also examples of overall interaction strategies.

The most significant aspect of the minister’s remarks, in my view, is what he said about unionisation and union. The minister raises an important argument that belonging to a union is important for self-control. His predecessor, Minister Başesgioğlu, made similar statements after the Gediz incident in 2005 [Gediz, DM2-14.9]. In other words, both ministers recognize and express the importance of the issue. But nothing has changed in the past 3 years.

Although the relevant ministers have expressed these deficiencies, there may be two reasons why nothing has changed. The first, ministers are trying to solve the problem but cannot afford it, and the second, speak in this way to manipulate the situation. Although very clear manipulation strategies can be seen above, it would be more appropriate to make a collective evaluation after the analysis of 15 incidents.

When the change in the keywords is examined, first of all, it should be noted that there is an increase in almost every group. While it is the most usual result that this situation is caused by the increase in the word count, considering the ratio of keywords in total words compared to the previous event, the fact that this ratio has decreased in all groups invalidates this usual situation. Before examining the reasons for this, the status of the keyword groups should be looked at.

While a significant increase is observed in all three newspaper groups in government related keywords, a similar situation is also valid for the dissident related keyword group.

Union related keywords have increased approximately twice in each incident compared to the previous one, while it has increased approximately five times in this incident. Undoubtedly, the effect of the statement of Labour Minister Çelik emphasizing the importance of unionisation is important in this increase. Furthermore, this is the first occurrence to list three major confederations. Considering that Hak-İş, whose name was mentioned 18 times in all 15 incidents, was mentioned in this incident, this situation becomes relatively important. Besides, another important point is that DİSK and Türk-İş were used for the first time in the PGM group.

In the accident or murder group, there is an increase of approximately 50% compared to the previous event. Other points that draw attention in this group are as follows: Using Murderer/Killer for the first time, the motto of not an accident / a fate but a murder / massacre was used for the first time and widely in the RNM group, the first use of Fate / Destiny / Act of God words in PGM group and use of Murder/work murder/massacre word group in each group and too much use in DM.

The word group control-negligence is used for the first time in all newspaper groups and with all of its words. Although it is mostly processed in the DM group and least in the PGM group, it is important to use the lack of inspection and negligence terms used for the first time in the PGM group.

Law keywords were used a maximum of 6 times in one incident until now, and a total of 13 times in the first four incidents while all of these 13 uses were in the DM group. Law-related word groups were used precisely 76 times in this incident, and they appeared in all three newspaper groups. Of course, the most use is in DM with 54 times, but it has been used 13 times in PGM and 9 times in RNM.

Subcontractor-Privatization, which are the most discussed terms of the neoliberalist word group, is the only keywords group that does not show a significant increase in this incident.

Keywords associated with neoliberal concepts, which have risen dramatically in recent incidents, have also risen dramatically. Employment keywords are seen for the first time in all word groups. All uses in the DM and PGM group are in the context of unrecorded employment. However, in the RNM group, it was used only once in the unrecorded context but more often with an emphasis on deathly employment. Previously, the Boss / Employer /

Capital word category, which was only used in DM, was used in all three newspaper groups for the first time.

Table 4. 23: Keywords of Davutpaşa

5. Davutpaşa (31.01.2008)					
Total word count			15155	13521	10390
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Government-related	AKP	AKP	6	0	0
	AK Parti	AK Party			
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	98	38	39
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP	9	3	11
	MHP	MHP			
	Muhalefet	The opposition	1	0	1
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	16	4	0
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş	2	0	0
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	9	1	1
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)	46	10	3
	Sendikasız	Non-union/ nonunionised	1	1	0
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	51	23	39
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	0	3	5
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom			
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	36	2	5
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	12	1	9
	Katil	Murderer/killer	2	0	0
Inspection vs Lack of	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	62	17	42
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	12	3	9
	İhmal	Negligence	8	2	11
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	62	7	19
Law-related	İş güvenliği- işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	16	3	3
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	38	10	6
	ILO	ILO			
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödöfans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	0	3	0
	Özelleştirme	Privatization			
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	15	9	2
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company- Private Sector	0	0	0
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	14	21	12
	İstihdam	Employment	3	1	6
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	5	0	0
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded	35	38	6
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier	5	0	0
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery	1	0	0
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery- Exploitation order	1	0	0
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)			
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
Protest vs Provocation	Medya	Media			
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest	9	6	4
	Gösteri	Demonstration	1	0	2
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
	Polis	Police	4	21	7
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords			580	227	242
Total keywords / Total words (%)			3,83	1,68	2,33

Although there has been a significant increase in terms of Systemic issues keywords, it is seen that the unrecorded workplace in this incident resulted from the excessive use of unrecorded keywords (79 times) in this word group. The most significant word in this

category, however, is Rent / Rentier, which has never been used before. This word stands out as a signifier, especially with its occurrence at key incidents. As a fundamental systemic issue, it is the subject of important analysis, especially in DM newspapers. Moreover, it is used in conjunction with the theme of changing characteristics of the working-class to explain a very important role in some analyses. It is noteworthy that after the wrong practices (conscious or unconscious) in agricultural policies, people who become unemployed in agriculture have become suitable workers for construction and mines (Buğra, 2015b; Boğaziçi University Soma Research Group, 2015) and this is associated with rent issues.

Protest vs provocation group is used as a group for the first time in an event. The occurrence of a protest action after an incident is generally interpreted as having a social response because, the following three issues stand out as the most popular causes of protests in the social movements literature: significant structural shifts (i.e., economic crisis), discontent with the existing state of the system or government, and feelings of being treated unfairly. These three circumstances are thought to be related to the protests because the following slogans were shouted during the protests, according to the relevant news:

“Not an accident, but a massacre”,
“No to precarious work”
“The cause of disasters and deaths is irresponsibility and lack of inspection”
“Whose minister is the Minister of Labour”
“The killers are certain, they should be called to account”,
“Resign Labour Minister”,
“AKP is harmful to the country”

On the other side, the protest news was also reported in the PGM newspapers as a protest. This can be interpreted as accepting the existence of a systemic problem and not yet at a significant level to require counter-discourse. As a matter of fact, PGM newspapers will either disregard the news of the protest or characterize it as a provocation in the future. Moreover, the PGM group will often present the protests as an isolated incident of a particular group. But this would not change that the period of protest for “work accidents” started with the Davutpaşa incident.

4.2.6. Mustafakemalpaşa (MKP)

A firedamp explosion occurred at the colliery belonging to Bükköy Mining Enterprise in Bursa Mustafakemalpaşa during the evening hours of 11 December 2009, when 32 workers were working. Even though their deaths were confirmed on the first day, it took days to reach the bodies of 19 workers who were trapped in the collapse that occurred after

the explosion. On the first day, nine workers' bodies were found, followed by two on the second day, one on the third day, and the remaining seven on the fourth day.

The lifespan of the news in this incident appears to be extended due to a number of factors, such as reaching workers' bodies barely in four days, many statements made by government officials, especially Energy and Labour Ministers, and the company owner's reactionary behaviours. Owing to factors such as the Peace Process, the closing of the Democratic Society Party (DTP), and the terror attack in Tokat just three days before the incident, the polarization between the government and dissidents is seen even harsher. As a matter of fact, this incident stands out as the first incident in which a minister directly criticized the dissidents due to work accidents. Finally, this is the first incident that happened during Energy Minister Taner Yıldız's ministry, and he will be the only Minister of Energy from now on (1 May 2009 - 28 August 2015).

Table 4. 24: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (15/16)	DM-2 (16/19)	DM-3 (12/12)	PGM-1 (17/17)	PGM-2 (14/16)	PGM-3 (17/17)	RNM-1 (12/12)	RNM-2 (11/15)	RNM-3 (14/14)
1	1 & 3		1 & 3	1 & 3	1 & 15	1 & 7	1 & 3	1 & 5	1 & 4
2	1 & 9	1 & 4	1 & 8	1 & 14	1 & 17	1 & 28	1 & 8	1 & 19	1 & 16
3	1 & 6	1 & 4	8	1 & 9	1 & 11	1 & 8	1 & 6	1 & 19	1 & 18
4	3	1 & 4	1 & 9	1 & 15	1 & 11	1 & 18	4	1 & 16	13
5	6	1 & 4	8		1 & 9	1 & 25	7	15	1 & 5
6	6	4		14	19	1 & 18	4	17	1 & 5
7	1 & 3	1 & 5	1 & 11*	1 & 11		8			17*
8		4		11			8		
9	3	4	1 & 8	1 & 3	11	1 & 6		6	1 & 4
10	13	3	1	17					
11					5				
12									
13	1 & 3	1 & 4		1 & 11*	3	1 & 7			

*inaccessible page(s)

In the MKP incident, 93 per cent of the news (138 pages) was reported in the first 14 days (128 pages). In comparison to previous events, this incident has the most common and balanced distribution in the first 14 days. For example, for the first time, the news is seen in the newspapers of the RNM group after the fourth day.

While most news in terms of the page count is seen in DM-2, the most news in terms of news count is seen in PGM-1. RNM-3 has the highest overall word count and the highest area ratio on the first page, while PGM-3 has the highest news count on the first page. MKP, which is the first incident to exceed 10 days based on the average number of news days, has reached a 12-day news rate even in DM-3 that usually makes the least news. Other different

data are seen in the PGM group. While the DM group mostly gives the most news value to work accidents in all contexts, PGM has reached the highest figures in all variables such as number of news days, amount of news on the first page, news count and word count in this incident. In this change, it may be effective that the DM-3 pays less attention to work accident while the PGM-3 shows more interest. However, it could be argued that the government's and thus PGM's counter-strategies have had the greatest effect on this change, as work accidents stand out as an argument against them. As a matter of fact, the PGM group has also generated more news in subsequent incidents compare to the previous ones, and this pattern continues until the OSTİM.

Table 4. 25: Quantitative data of MKP incident for 90-days screening period

6. MKP (10 December 2009)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	Ave. area (%) of reported news on 1st page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1890	21	11	16	5	6,54	0,36	28	4191
DM-2	1400	16	12	19	7	10,21	0,79	25	5324
DM-3	1424	15	8	12	6	1,43	0,10	15	1001
PGM-1	2190	24	10	17	7	7,48	0,59	43	5156
PGM-2	2354	26	12	16	5	12,59	0,70	35	3743
PGM-3	3780	42	9	17	8	7,68	0,68	31	5206
RNM-1	3944	44	8	12	4	10,68	0,47	20	2192
RNM-2	3240	36	11	15	4	7,45	0,33	17	3691
RNM-3	2702	30	8	14	6	12,97	0,86	35	5574
Averages	2547	28	9,9	15,3	5,8	8,56	0,54	27,67	4009

4.2.6.1. Application of CDA

Before getting into the details of the case, it would be appropriate to touch upon one of the key points raised by the findings. Based on the number and proportional distribution of the themes, the findings demonstrate that incident and polarization have an inverse relationship. Furthermore, the more serious an incident is taken for the newspaper groups, the less incident themes there are. This issue will be discussed in depth during the holistic analysis and working model adaptation.

DM demonstrated the opposite pattern, decreasing the number of incident themes from 49 to 44, despite the fact that the number of incident themes rose from 155 to 191 compared to the previous incident. Although the number of common themes in the RNM and PGM groups continues to grow, the DM follows in a more stable line. In terms of the background subgroup, many background themes were found to be treated in DM and RNM, while PGM was the first time that these themes were processed in many and similar to other groups. However, while it is seen that three of the related themes in PGM are entirely company-

based, they are often used to reinforce the thesis that “the incident was entirely triggered by the company’s fault” (eg. [PGM-1; 4.1: Title] We warned but are scolded). With the last background theme, the deadliest mining accidents were reported based on Turkish Hardcoal Authority (TTK) data, and the PGM-2 news titled “The third accident with the highest casualties” became the first example of processing such data with a reductionist approach by concentrating on the company. Consequence of the news, on the other hand, is that “such big accidents are usually caused by these greedy bosses.” It is understood that the related newspaper constructed the news in order to persuade readers that the company was the sole cause of the incident. This is the first example of a strategy that will often appear in the next incidents. With Taner Yıldız, “the period of the firm being the clear target of government officials” has also begun.

Although there is a slight decrease in terms of actors, there is an increase of approximately one third in PGM. PGM does not have any union-related actors, which is the only exception in this case where all relevant actor themes are presented. Experts are the most prominent of the six key players in DM, government officials in RNM, and government and company in PGM. While the increase of government actors in DM and RNM is noteworthy, it is also noteworthy that boss appeared/found and workers who survived by chance/miracle themes are often issued by PGM under the classification of “all-other actors”. As previously stated, the PGM group uses these themes in conjunction with common themes as a naturalization notion.

In terms of factors, DM and RNM handle all subgroups, including political context, while PGM only handles neoliberal and structural problems, similar to Davutpaşa. The first thing that draws attention is that performance-based work has been reported for the first time in all newspapers, while another is that union issues are increasingly being addressed in DM and RNM. The theme of union weakness in RNM is a first seen in union issues. This may be an indication that union matters are becoming more common as a structural issue. DM is not only the group that handles the most themes related to factors but is also the first group to handle clientelism theme directly under the political context. The news, which includes the statements of MMO Chairman Torun, is about the government’s connection with the related business and several other small coal enterprises. It has been analyzed and criticized how the demand created by the government through free coal distribution operates through companies close to the government. Finally, legal issues that were first raised in the context

of factor as a structural matter in the Davutpaşa case are still being addressed in the same manner, but PGM continues to ignore them.

Systemic issues are less frequently addressed than in the previous incident, but still continue to be handled significantly. One of the most striking themes here is Despair / No alternative chance theme. This theme, which is covered in all three newspaper groups, is framed quite differently by the newspaper groups. DM and RNM newspapers consider this theme as a systemic problem and criticize the government for which they are blamed for the failure of the system. On the other hand, PGM pays particular attention to not being associated with the government in any way. Even, by acknowledging this desperation, the government is portrayed as the side that is sensitive to desperation victims.

When the examples seen below are examined, RNM handles the event completely as analysis news and highlights that it is a systemic issue. This is, after all, the theme's main function. However, although PGM also treats this as a structural problem, it presents it as if the government has nothing to do with this structural problem. In its conclusion, it proposes "the security measures should be increased", but it is not questioned why it has not been increased for so many years, or it is almost never questioned that it is the government that must solve these problems.

[RNM3-4.13: SUPER-HEADLINE] Mines of disaster are the mandatory destination

[HEADLINE] The down is death, the up is misery

[LEAD] The mine, where 19 workers died, had become the fate of those who work to death with a minimum wage, meters below the ground. Because they have no other choice against the misery above ground.

1. The gas explosion in Bursa Mustafakemalpaşa has not only revealed the struggle for bread face-to-face with the death, meters below the ground but also the unmanageable poverty above the ground.
2. This disaster also showed that working with the minimum wage was not enough to pay the accumulated debts, the miner could not even afford a window for their makeshift house, and economic troubles destroyed marriages.
3. Moreover, the only way to all these negativities was the unsafe working environment in the mine...

[PGM2-4.13: TITLE] Asked for a favour the minister, who went to condolence, to the mine

- 6) At these meetings, Yıldız told the people of the region, "If you want, we can close the mine".
- 7) Thereupon, everyone whose relatives worked at the mine stood up and declared that they did not want the mines to be closed.
- 8) This shows that there is no alternative but to increase the security measures of the mine sites.
- 9) Because hundreds of people are waiting in queue to work in the mines where 19 miners lost their lives.

Only two theme groups show a numerical and proportional increase in this incident as compared to Davutpaşa. While the first is the incident group described above, the second is

the attribution group. Although DM processes a similar number of themes to the previous incident, there is an increase in PGM and a decrease in RNM in this regard. In terms of subgroups, it is observed that while the ‘emphasizing negative side of company’ subgroup increased in all newspapers, negative aspects that could be associated with the government decreased in all newspaper groups. The attitude and actions of the firm and the owner are thought to be the most significant factors in this. Because, considering the 12 events before the Soma incident, MKP is the only event that the company and its owner are clearly and severely targeted. To put it more clearly, although the firm in Davutpaşa is unrecorded, the related unrecorded company has not been criticized in any newspapers as directly and harshly as the company in MKP.

There is a decline in DM and RNM and an increase in PGM in terms of polarization. In addition, the first incident in which all polarization subgroups were processed is MKP. While the sub-theme group of the delegitimize dissidents / claims is discussed for the first time in this case, it is seen that the only newspaper group handling this is PGM. This theme is entirely constructed on the news of the energy minister Taner Yıldız targeting the opponents who criticize them. On the other hand, while the themes of legitimizing dissident parties are only listed once in PGM and RNM newspapers, the theme of legitimizing government is stated 17 times in the RNM group. The “legitimize government” subgroup is processed 9 times in the DM group, while the “de-legitimize government” subgroup is processed 16 times. When the themes are examined individually, Taner Yıldız’s explanations that the people who are responsible will be punished and salary issues are most prominent in the “legitimize government” sub-group. In the De-legitimize government subgroup, the themes of ‘direct criticism of government’ and ‘intimidation efforts’ are mostly handled. When the content of the PGM’s single theme is examined in these sub-themes, it is clear that the intimidation efforts theme, which has been used in other newspapers to criticize the government, is treated on the basis of the relevant company. According to the related news, the workers remained silent as the firm threatened the workers with unemployment. In other words, although the theme is common, as in the despair/no alternative chance theme, the process mechanism of the theme differs among the groups.

(De)naturalization themes were covered 17 times in 3 groups and only one of them was used for naturalization purposes in the context of “martyrdom” in PGM. 16 uses, including the other two uses in PGM, are in the context of de-naturalization. The most used theme is the ‘not a work accident / not fate but a murder/massacre’ theme, which all three

groups processed. Apart from this, while no subgroups are covered in three newspaper groups together, the ‘fatalism vs not fate!’ theme is seen in both DM and RNM groups.

Table 4. 26: The theme distribution of MKP

6. MKP (10.12.2009)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	35	69	48	152	0,21
	1.2	Background	5	4	8	17	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	4	8	10	22	
	1.4	Other	0	0	0	0	
		Incident total	44	81	66	191	0,27
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	5	1	2	8	
	2.2	Government	6	9	7	22	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	3	9	1	13	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	3	5	4	12	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	5	0	3	8	
	2.6	Expert	7	4	2	13	
	2.7	All Other Actors	4	12	6	22	
		Actors Total	33	40	25	98	0,14
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	11	0	1	12	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	29	2	10	41	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	5	0	3	8	
	3.4	Legal Matters	11	0	11	22	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	29	5	25	59	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	3	0	2	5	
		Factors Total	88	7	52	147	0,21
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	38	37	41	116	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	16	2	3	21	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	11	2	6	19	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	0	0	0	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
		Attribution Total	65	41	50	156	0,22
5. POLARIZATION (IDEI-LEGITIMIZATION / MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	0	3	0	3	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	16	1	6	23	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	0	1	1	2	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	9	34	17	60	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	6	3	2	11	
		Polarization Total	31	42	26	99	0,14
6. IDEI-NATURALIZATION	6.1	(“Fatalism” vs Not Fate!)	2	0	2	4	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	1	0	1	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	1	0	0	1	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	8	2	1	11	
		De-Naturalization Total	11	3	3	17	0,02
Themes total			272	214	222	708	1

When the other elements of the thematic structure are examined, there is no difference in terms of lead other than those stated in the general evaluation, but some issues draw attention in terms of photographs. As stated in the general evaluation, DM-1, DM-2 and RNM-3 generally use fewer photos than other newspapers. Although this situation does not change in terms of quantity, it is seen that especially DM-1 and 2 evolve into a photo-oriented story use. To be more precise, these newspapers have started to build the news on this photograph, mostly using only one large photograph. On the other hand, the use of a large number of small photographs in addition to a primary main photograph is becoming more common in the PGM group and other RNM newspapers. So much so that almost every title is now accompanied by a different photo. This has been interpreted as rhetoric attempting to be bolstered even further by photos. Finally, when examining what kind of photographs used in which group, three distinct situations emerge in the DM group. While the DM-1 only uses incident photographs with mutual mourning intensity, most news reports only have one or no photos. In DM-2, each news item contains only one photograph, and all but one is the incident photograph with mutual mourning intensity, while the exception is the photograph of the boss. In DM-3, sometimes a single incident photo is seen, and sometimes many small photos placed around a large photo are seen. While this newspaper primarily features incident photos with mutual mourning, it also includes photographs of company officials and ministers, as well as a caricature criticizing the Ministry of the Environment. As previously mentioned, caricatures and cartoons play an important role in a systematic critique (Picture 4.1): The minister's failure to take any precautions prior to the incident, but making such a statement after it occurred, is criticized by the newspaper.

"It is now under our control," said Minister of Environment for the mine, which was closed after the gas explosion in Bursa.

AS WE SAID, "THE MINE IS UNDER OUR CONTROL", THERE IS NO LONGER ANY DANGER OF THE MINE.



Picture 4. 1: Example of systematic critique caricatures

The most commonly used photographs in the PGM and RNM groups are incident photos with mutual mourning intensity, many photos of the boss, and many Taner Yıldız and other ministers' photos from funerals, respectively.

When the Schematic structure is examined, it can be seen that the DM group presents a main event summarizing the main theme and usually under a title, although the consequences are varied. While the main event is mostly systemic issues and criticism rather than the incident itself, several different issues are generally covered within the framework of the main event. For example, while the main event in the DM-2 news entitled “Government Invitation to Disaster” was the control gap that came with the liberalization arrangements, it is seen that the following sub-events were handled under this main event: Why and how was liberalization done? What kind of systemic gaps did it cause? How did nepotism/clientelism affect? How the capital group and the capitalist order were preserved? By supporting these issues with expert opinions and numerical data, the following consequences are highlighted: Marketization of job security by ignoring the problems caused by marketization will cause more problems and it is the government that should be criticized as the government and its policies are responsible for all this. Due to the government’s negligence, bad intention, or recklessness, some sensitive institutions bring such regulations to the judiciary and they are often revoked. Thus, these sensitive institutions are targeted by the government. This news is then supported by the following news: The state mines are punished more and there are fewer work accidents in unionized workplaces. Anti-privatization and the importance of unionization are implicitly linked to the problem here as well.

Similar to DM, RNM presents a main event that summarizes the main theme and usually under a title, while consequences also diversify. Apart from common themes, the main events are the firm’s greed, the government’s attitude (both positive and negative), desperation resulting from systemic deficiencies, and structural problems (eg. Minimum wage, minimum precaution MAXIMUM DEATH; Mines of disaster are the mandatory destination)

In PGM, on the other hand, it is seen that only one main event is presented under a title that summarizes the main theme and related consequences are handled. All issues, without exception, highlight the following three episodes: common themes, responsible and sensitive government behaviour, and firm’s negligence.

When the background is examined, it is seen that the DM group shares many various and detailed background information. While the RNM group presents a variety of background information, the RNM-3 stands out in this regard. PGM contains very restricted

and company-based background information. When comment analysis is taken into consideration, it is seen that each group includes resources in parallel with their own actors.

When the microstructure is examined, there is no remarkable element in terms of Syntactic Analysis except the issues in the general evaluation. In terms of Local Coherence, some incompatibilities are realized with the conjunctions mentioned in the general evaluation. Although these incompatibilities often occur to change the subject, there are also some examples that include manipulative notions. To give specific examples.

1- **DM:** ‘While the news sub-titled ‘There is no value as much as coal’ shared one of the miners’ views about the company, the following information was shared in the last sentence:

“Meanwhile, AKP Bursa Deputy Ali Koyuncu and accompanying district officials visited the families of the miners who lost their lives and gave the bankbooks related to the aids sent by the Prime Ministry and Bursa Governorate and amounting to 11 thousand TL per worker.”

2- **PGM:** While sharing the investigation information for the news titled “3 arrests to the death mine”, the following information was shared in the last sentence:

“By the way, the Chamber of Mining Engineers put the mine in the ‘very risky’ group in its January 2009 report.”

3- **PGM:** In the news sub-titled “5 THOUSAND TL FOR FAMILIES”, the claim that the delegation that came to the mine for inspection 7 months ago did not enter the mine is brought to the agenda. Then, with the sentence connected with “in the meantime”, it is reported that the workers have begun to be buried. Finally, this news is completed with the following sentence, which has also determined the sub-title:

“Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Taner Yıldız, who attended the funeral of Yusuf Karaca, one of the miners who were buried in their hometown, announced that 5 thousand TL will be given to families from the social aid fund in the first place.”

4- **RNM:** In the news titled “They died for 140 thousand TL”, the negligence of the company was discussed in line with a report, and the following two sentences were added with the subtitle “Aid money was paid”:

***In the meantime,** 100 thousand TL aid sent from the Prime Ministry and 110 thousand TL aid from the Governorship of Bursa started to be paid to the families of the dead workers.*

While the owner of the mine, Nurettin Ercan, is still not able to found, Fahrettin Şolpan, the General Manager of the mine, who was arrested the day before, said in his statement, “The mine has been transferred to me. All responsibility belongs to me.”

Van Dijk (1988b: 65) makes the following warning on this matter: *“Also, we have seen that topics in news discourse may not be expressed continuously. This means that because of topic shifts subsequent propositions may not always be directly connected. In other words, according to this preliminary picture of what to expect about the local organization of news, the reader must unscramble bits and pieces throughout the text and fit them into the appropriate topics and schematic categories.”* In these four examples, local coherence patterns with similar functions but different purposes are seen based on the warning above. Examples 1 and 2 emphasize positive topics about ‘them’ as well as give few details and vague information about the issues that can be negative for us and therefore there is manipulation through the semantic macro structures and local meanings strategies. In the third example, manipulation was made to emphasize positive topics about Us and give more detail, which is the opposite use of the same strategies. Finally, in the fourth example, the first sentence was manipulated to de-emphasize positive topics about Them.

When the Lexical style is examined, the use of the Ak Party has emerged for the first time. DM prefers to use AKP more and more distinctly, whereas PGM and RNM newspapers used AK Party instead of AKP. In terms of the Accident/Disaster vs. Murder/Work Murder/Massacre dichotomy, Accident/Disaster is still used more in all three groups, while Murder/Work Murder/Massacre use has decreased in DM and RNM while increasing in PGM. None of the words Resistance / Protest vs provocation are used in any newspaper group.

Finally, no situation other than the general evaluation has been observed in terms of News Rhetoric. Again, DM and RNM benefited more from experts, unions and numerical data, while PGM again preferred photographs.

4.2.6.2. Keywords and government officials

In this incident, it is seen that the Minister of Labour and Social Security has changed and the current minister is Ömer Dinçer. All statements of the Minister of Labour Dinçer are in the form of information and it is almost exactly the same in DM and PGM. No element of naturalization or manipulation was encountered in Minister Dinçer’s statements.

On the other hand, there are some interesting notions in the statements of Energy Minister Taner Yıldız, who made much more statements on the subject. The newspapers with the least coverage of Minister Yıldız’s statements are the DM group. Relevant news highlights the minister’s statements that he specifically targets the private sector by

explaining the negligence of the firm, and reports that 5 thousand TL will be given to the families of the deceased workers. The following explanation, in particular, has been repeated several times: *“Whoever has negligence, fault or guilt will pay for it. As I said before that not 19 lives, we do not change one life for anything.”*

PGM, on the other hand, is the group that covers the statements of Minister Yıldız the most. The most striking one of these statements is the words of the minister’s frequent post-incident, *“Since there was such an accident, there is definitely a problem”*. Apart from the explanations he made informing, he highlighted the following issues:

- *“After making the notification to our governorship, measures will be taken here. The private sector will work to eliminate the deficiencies. If the private sector does not complete these deficiencies, it means that there will be no mining activity there.”*
- *“The investigation and inspections are ongoing. If there is negligence, those responsible will be punished. Nobody goes unpunished. There is absolutely no compromise in this regard.”*
- *“Some areas where air must circulate have been ‘bypassed.’ We see that there is the negligence of the private sector here.”*
- On the other hand, by stating that they have checked the total 5769 mine sites in Turkey, Energy Minister Taner Yıldız said, *“The activities of 2159 enterprises that did not fulfil their obligations were suspended. We take measures regarding all mining licenses.”*

The most striking statement made by Energy Minister Yıldız is his remark about the opposition. The following statements are highlighted in the news, presented with the subtitle ‘Criticized the opposition’ and with a photo text.

- *Energy Minister Taner Yıldız, who did not leave Küçük Şeyma alone at her father’s funeral, criticized the opposition. Yıldız said, “It is a shame to do politics on such a day when a matter of life and death is happening.”*
- Stating that some opposition MPs prefer to do politics where a matter of life and death is happening, Yıldız said, *“After a 5- to 10-minute visit, they claim to have an idea. They make wrong explanations. In such a painful environment, I only laugh at them. We are always by the citizen’s side.”*

RNM, on the other hand, reported the minister’s informative statements more, but also highlighted the following points:

- *If the private sector does not complete these deficiencies, it means that there will be no mining activity there.*
- *In our work, we decided to stop the mining activity for 6 months here.*
- Minister Yıldız had said the day before, *“There is no need to close it for now.”*

Taner Yıldız's statement that "the private sector has negligence here" instead of the company while explaining the deficiencies of the company draws attention as the first occurrence that a government official directly targets the private sector. The minister also said, "Whoever has negligence, fault or crime will pay the price of it..." Therefore, the question arises whether there is a policy change in the government. However, after several similar incidents occurred later, it is seen that Minister Taner Yıldız made almost exactly the same statement. Furthermore, despite the increasing number of such massacres, no one has been punished in a manner that "relieves the public conscience," as the minister stated. Therefore, I think it would be more accurate to interpret this as a crisis management approach employed by the minister rather than a policy shift. Indeed, despite the fact that 301 people died in the Soma, many praises written for him will attract attention, thanks to the Minister's "successful strategy". The minister's success in crisis management, however, will not change the fact that this is a naturalization factor.

Finally, it is clear that Minister Yıldız applied overall interaction strategies, as evidenced by his statement about the opposition, which he also would use in other events. Because he not only portrays the opposition in a negative way, but he also portrays the government in a favourable way. As a result, this is an apparent manipulation.

In conclusion, while the Minister of Labour Dinçer's statements did not contain any manipulation or naturalization elements, the Minister of Energy Yıldız's statements did contain both.

In terms of the incidents so far, MKP, which is the second-largest file with 36078 words after the Davutpaşa incident, is also in second place in terms of keyword usage, with 921 keywords. In DM and PGM, the rate of keyword use in the total word increased over the previous event, while it decreased in RNM.

When the keywords groups are examined, government related words reach the highest number used until this incident. In the MKP incident, which is also noteworthy as the incident in which the use of Ak Party emerged in the AKP vs Ak Party dichotomy, dissidents-related keywords show a stable situation with only one incomplete use from the peak they reached in Davutpaşa. Union-related keywords, on the other hand, has decreased by almost half. The main cause of this decrease is DM and PGM, as RNM has risen fivefold compare to the previous event and is now at its highest level ever.

The DM group used the same amount of Accident/disaster versus Murder/work murder/massacre keywords as the previous event, but there was a sharp decrease in Murder/work murder/massacre keywords and an increase in Accident/disaster keywords. In this keywords group, there was a small increase in RNM, while there was a more than 3-fold increase in PGM compared to the previous event. The most important reason for this rise in PGM is undoubtedly the Accident/disaster keyword, which increased from 23 to 92.

Table 4. 27: Keywords of MKP

6. MKP (10.12.2009)					
Total word count			10516	14105	11457
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Government-related	AKP	AKP	16	0	0
	AK Parti	AK Party	0	5	2
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	90	86	50
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP	7	3	8
	MHP	MHP	2	0	1
	Muhalefet	The opposition	0	3	1
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	6	0	2
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş	0	0	1
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	6	0	2
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)	17	1	15
	Sendikası	Non-union/ nonunionised			
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	78	92	65
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	6	3	2
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom	0	2	1
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	14	4	1
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	3	0	0
	Katil	Murderer/killer			
Inspection vs Lack of	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	40	26	23
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	2	0	0
	İhmal	Negligence	13	20	15
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	18	12	5
Law-related	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	22	3	5
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	12	4	2
	ILO	ILO	2	0	0
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödövans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	3	0	2
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	1	0	0
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	21	2	6
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector	14	7	8
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	6	11	8
	İstihdam	Employment			
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit/Profit ambition	4	0	0
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded	6	0	2
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier			
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery	0	0	0
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	0	0	0
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)	1	0	0
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
	Medya	Media			
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest			
Protest vs Provocation	Gösteri	Demonstration			
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
	Polis	Police			
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords			410	284	227
Total keywords / Total words (%)			3,90	2,01	1,98

While there was a substantial decrease in the keyword category of Inspection vs. Lack of inspection in all three newspaper groups, there was a notable increase in the term Negligence. Law-related keywords have also decreased whilst the first use of the term ILO was realized here. Although almost the same number was seen in terms of neoliberalist keywords, an increase was observed in the Subcontractor / Subcontracting / Royalty and Privatization special group. While the biggest decrease has occurred in Systemic/structural issues keywords, the use of Partisan words in DM is remarkable. Finally, there is no use in Protest vs provocation keywords.

4.2.7. Dursunbey-II

In the colliery belonging to Şentaş Mining in Balıkesir Dursunbey, where 17 workers were killed and 9 were injured as a result of the gas explosion four years ago, 15 workers were killed again and 18 were injured in the gas explosion on 23 February 2010. All newspapers made a lot of news targeting the relevant company and the boss in the first days of the incident, particularly since it was the second incident in the same mine, but their attitude changed in the following days as the details were clarified. In 15 cases, the Dursunbey-II incident is the only one in which the boss was positively emphasized and presented not guilty. Both the boss's attitude and the comments made about him were viewed positively after the incident.

To summarize, following the first incident four years ago, the mine's owner decided to close the mine, but upon the insistence of his employees and their families, he decided to keep it open in order to prevent his workers from unemployment. Following that, he had made all of the necessary investments and attempted to maximize mine's work safety. Balıkesir CHP Deputy and Member of the Parliament Mining Commission Ergün Aydoğan confirmed this situation with the following words: *"This mine was equipped with the latest technology after the explosion in 2006 and all alarms were set. We were going to have an inspection visit in April. We were showing this mine as an exemplary business."* The company owner, who arrived at the mine immediately after the explosion and helped in the rescue efforts, instructed his lawyers not to appeal his detention after his arrest. When all these were compared with the boss and the company of the MKP incident that took place about 2,5 months ago, the attitude towards the boss and the incident also changed in Dursunbey-II. However, each newspaper group has determined a unique strategy.

Finally, it is seen that the main agenda item at the time of this incident was the Sledgehammer Action Plan and related investigations. Therefore, very fierce debates have been observed on the political agenda. When other incidents were taken into account, however, this incident, which occurred during a time of extreme polarization, was comparatively less reported, resulting in a decrease in criticism of the company. The main reason for this is thought to be the positive attitude of the mine owner. As a matter of fact, even in the DM group, which has made the harshest criticisms of the incident, the number of news directly targeting the company is quite low, and after the third day, there is no.

Table 4. 28: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (11/11)	DM-2 (9/9)	DM-3 (7/7)	PGM-1 (7/7)	PGM-2 (6/7)	PGM-3 (6/6)	RNM-1 (6/6)	RNM-2 (7/9)	RNM-3 (6/6)
1	1 & 9		1 & 16	1 & 14	1 & 17	1 & 5	1 & 6	1 & 13	1 & 6
2	1, 6 & 9	1 & 4*	1 & 8-9	1 & 15	1 & 11	1 & 20	1 & 25	1 & 18	1 & 14-15
3	5	4		14*	9	6			
4	9			8		23*	4		
5	8	1 & 3		8	15		6	7	16
6	6							15	
9			1 & 9						
10	7	10							
11	3							6	
12		3							
14		1 & 4							

*inaccessible page(s)

This event was mostly reported in the DM-1 and DM groups, as shown in the table. Newspaper groups' reporting is similar to those before Davutpaşa. Considering the first 14-day period, this period includes 65 pages of 68 in the 90-day period. In other words, the news covered by CDA accounts for 96% of all news.

Table 4. 29: Quantitative data of MKP incident for 90-days screening period

7. DURSUNBEY_II (23 February 2010)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	The area (%) on the first page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1890	21	8	11	2	9,88	0,22	19	4080
DM-2	1396	16	6	9	3	7,75	0,26	9	1281
DM-3	1420	16	3	7	3	2,37	0,08	12	898
PGM-1	2280	25	5	7	2	8,67	0,19	23	3025
PGM-2	2308	26	5	7	2	14,49	0,32	15	1282
PGM-3	3690	41	4	6	2	20,19	0,46	13	2479
RNM-1	3900	43	4	6	2	15,46	0,34	15	1713
RNM-2	3052	34	7	9	2	9,33	0,21	11	2011
RNM-3	2810	31	3	6	2	15,69	0,35	22	3098
Averages	2527	28	5,0	7,6	2,2	11,54	0,27	15,44	2207

While DM-1 is the most reporting newspaper, DM-2 and DM-3 are the ones with the most news on the first page. Considering the area covered on the first page, it is seen that the

three newspapers that separate the largest area are PGM-3, RNM-3 and RNM-1, respectively. While the top three newspapers with the highest news count are PGM-1, RNM-3 and DM-1, it is seen that the most words are used in DM-1, RNM-3 and PGM-1, respectively. As in most cases, the least word count is seen in DM-3.

4.2.7.1. Application of CDA

The most striking factor in terms of this incident is that it is the second case with the highest average of incident themes after Ermenek-I. As previously stated, there is an inverse relationship between incident and polarization themes, and the rise of incident themes in this context means that the ideological impact in the incident is less. Another striking point is the sharp increase in background themes. The change in the PGM group, in particular, is striking. PGM, which had processed a total of 5 background themes in all previous incidents and drew attention with less processing of these themes, committed a total of 12 themes in this one. When the details are examined, it is seen that only company-based background theming is observed in 11 of the 12 uses in PGM-3, while the MKP and the Dursunbey-II incidents were compared in the other exceptional use. The purpose of the background theme in the related news whose main event is to criticize the boss's arrest despite his positive attitude is essentially to back up this critique.

Actor themes dropped significantly overall, although there was a slight increase in the RNM group. The DM group stands out because government-related actors are not processed at all, whereas company-related actors are only processed once. Once again, the DM group has the most critical attitude. However, it operates its criticisms by focusing only on systemic problems without making the actors thematic.

In terms of factors, Dursunbey-II, which processes only three of the six sub-groups, stands out as the incident with the least factor diversity of all. It is seen that for the first and last time in all groups, including PGM, the theme of systemic problems is addressed with so little association with the firm. There is a similar situation with attribution themes.

While all three groups attribute to the government rather than the company in this context, the PGM group approaches attribution themes in a very different way. Attribution themes generally cover why the incident happened and who was responsible for it. However, PGM focuses on two different subjects with these themes. One is that the corpses of the workers who lost their lives are placed in the apple storage instead of the morgue, and the second is the transportation of the body of one of the deceased workers by a taxi. In other

words, it is post-event rather than pre-event, which is a very unusual situation. Another significant point in terms of attribution is that the company is associated positively and, in this respect, it is unique in 15 incidents.

Table 4. 30: The theme distribution of Dursunbey-II

7. Dursunbey-II (23.02.2010)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	29	40	37	106	0,33
	1.2	Background	4	12	12	28	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	0	0	0	0	
	1.4	Other	0	0	0	0	
		Incident total	33	52	49	134	0,42
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	0	0	2	2	
	2.2	Government	0	6	6	12	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	1	8	4	13	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	2	4	4	10	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	3	0	1	4	
	2.6	Expert	5	1	8	14	
	2.7	All Other Actors	1	0	2	3	
		Actors Total	12	19	27	58	0,18
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	0	0	0	0	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	3	0	0	3	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	0	0	0	0	
	3.4	Legal Matters	5	1	0	6	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	19	7	8	34	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	0	0	0	0	
		Factors Total	27	8	8	43	0,14
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	4	1	1	6	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	15	6	7	28	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	2	2	4	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
		Attribution Total	19	9	10	38	0,12
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION / MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	0	0	0	0	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	7	0	2	9	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	0	0	0	0	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	1	9	3	13	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	6	0	2	8	
		Polarization Total	14	9	7	30	0,09
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	("Fatalism" vs Not Fate!)	2	2	2	6	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	0	1	1	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	1	0	0	1	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	6	1	0	7	
		De-Naturalization Total	9	3	3	15	0,05
Themes total			114	100	104	318	1

Although there has been a significant decrease in polarization, it is clear that each group has a distinct attitude in its own context: DM seeks to delegitimize government, while PGM seeks to legitimize government. The most striking point in this context is that the theme of "delegitimization of rival media groups" has been processed for the first time. So much so that the DM newspapers specifically target STV's news anchor because of his comment. In the related news, STV announcer Asım Yıldırım had linked the events of MKP and Dursunbey-II to the detention of generals within the scope of the "Balyoz Action Plan" allegations. As previously mentioned, Dursunbey-II's exception is due to the event itself rather than the general situation. Since the Davutpaşa incident, polarization has not decreased at all.

Finally, despite the significant decrease, some very interesting data emerge when de-naturalization themes are examined: While the theme of 'fatalism versus fate!' was used for the first time in PGM, it was the first incident in which this theme was discussed in all three groups at the same time. After it was understood that the relevant company complied with the precautions regarding occupational safety, the PGM group implicitly treated this situation with the notions of "fatalism". The DM group responded with counter-discourse and emphasized that work accidents should not be naturalized by focusing on the general situation without mentioning this incident. In terms of other dimensions of the thematic structure, none of the three newspaper groups took a position other than those stated in the general assessment.

In the schematic structure, there are no significant differences in terms of comment while there are some important differences in terms of the situation. When the episode is examined first, it is seen that the main event and the consequences show serious changes between the first two days and after. In the first two days, all newspapers presented episodes within the framework of their general attitudes, after which all newspapers focused on different presentations, although they were still in the context of their own stances. At this stage, the episodes of PGM newspapers focused only on common themes, while DM and RNM focused only on general systematic issues without mentioning the company, although they handle common themes more than normal. In terms of background, RNM and DM again presented more background info, and most of them are systemic-oriented background. Although PGM has made the highest and direct background information sharing until this case, it has made all its related news in the context of the company except one. The only

exception is seen in the news of a comparison with a previous event for the company to be acquitted.

When the microstructure is examined, it is seen that the issues stated in the general evaluation in terms of Syntactic Analysis, Local Coherence and News Rhetoric are not exceeded.

In terms of Lexical Style, while there is 3-3 equality in terms of AKP-AK Party dichotomy, the serious decrease in DM is noteworthy in terms of AKP term. In terms of Accident / Disaster versus Murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy, it is seen that the use of Accident / Disaster is much more, but the use of Murder/work murder/massacre does not decrease, but even increases proportionally. In the last group, Resistance / Protest versus Provocation dichotomy, it is seen that the related words are not used at all.

4.2.7.2. Keywords and Government Officials

In this incident, both the Minister of Labour Dinçer and the Minister of Energy Yıldız made most of their statements to inform. These statements, which were reported similarly by RNM and PGM groups, did not appear in DM newspapers. Two common issues stand out in the statements of the two ministers. First, the relevant mine was inspected very recently and there were no significant deficiencies in this inspection. Second, the payments to be made to the victims will be done soon.

Energy Minister Taner Yıldız made only the following two brief statements apart from these common issues: “7-8 minutes before the incident, gas measurement had done about the gas and the level had said to be normal. There is talk of an instant gas discharge. This is a matter of 2-3 minutes.”

Minister of Labour Dinçer, who made more statements and comments on the subject, made the following statement in line with Taner Yıldız:

- *In our inspection reports, there was no situation requiring closure. It was seen that the motors in the parts of the air inlets were not flameproof and the management was warned about this. These motors pump air inside. They are far from the place of production. Other technical elements in the mine were appropriate.*
- *In this respect, we had difficulty understanding how the accident occurred.*

After these statements, Minister Dinçer expresses his general thoughts on work accidents with the following words:

- *Especially by inspecting them, we cannot prevent accidents in mines. We will surely do our duty as the state, we will inspect as often and sensitively as we can. But work accident is a social-cultural issue. Employers, unions, employees and chambers need to work together to raise awareness about job security. We need to create consciousness.*
- *We should all recognize that the responsibility for this is heavy. Our worker should not think as 'nothing happens to me'. Our employer should not say t 'we handle it'. The Ministry should give up the understanding of going and intervening when something happens and establish an early warning system. **I will make an effort to do so.***

When the statements are considered, the comments made by both ministers about the incident and the mine are in the form of questioning how the incident occurred concurrently with the general news. There is no notion of manipulation or naturalization here.

When Minister Dinçer's comments on the subject are examined, he states that occupational accidents are a cultural issue that can only be solved with a social consensus and that he will make an effort to achieve this. It is difficult to claim that there is any notion of manipulation and naturalization in these explanations, which can be regarded as quite correct determinations. In this regard, addressing the problem solely with these data may be insufficient. However, to what extent he did what he promised during his ministry, taking into account the subsequent incidents, will be discussed in the general discussion section.

Finally, when keywords are analysed, it is seen that the total word count used compared to the previous incident decreased by almost half and the same decrease also occurred in terms of keywords.

When the keywords groups are examined, a serious decrease is observed in all actor-related keywords. However, from these declines, government and dissidents related keywords have declined well above the average decline. Keywords groups that decrease less than average are Accident / Disaster vs. Murder/work are murder/massacre dichotomy and law-related keywords. Although Accident/Disaster vs. murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy decreased more than the average, it is noteworthy that DM has almost no decrease in Murder/work murder/massacre keywords.

While there is a decrease of one third in almost every group, it is seen that there is an increase in rebellion group keywords with the use of police expression once. However, it is understood that this usage is the result of a random use that is unrelated to the event. As a result, there is no increase in this keyword group as well. Finally, it is difficult to argue that there is a significant change in terms of other groups.

Table 4. 31: Keywords of Dursunbey-II

7. Dursunbey-II (23.02.2010)					
Total word count			6259	6786	6822
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Govern- ment- related	AKP	AKP	3	0	0
	AK Parti	AK Party	0	0	3
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	29	34	20
Dissiden- t-related	CHP	CHP	1	0	4
	MHP	MHP	1	0	0
	Muhalefet	The opposition			
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	5	0	0
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş			
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	6	0	1
	Sendika / 1	Union (labour)	7	0	1
	Sendikasız	Non-union/ nonunionised			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	57	51	80
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	0	7	10
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom	1	3	2
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	13	0	0
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	3	0	0
	Katil	Murderer/killer	0	0	3
Inspection vs Lack of inspection	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	11	13	9
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	2	0	1
	İhmal	Negligence	0	6	0
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	6	6	1
Law- related	İş güvenliği- işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	13	2	4
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	6	0	0
	ILO	ILO	8	0	0
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödöfans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	0	2	0
	Özelleştirme	Privatization			
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	1	8	1
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company- Private Sector	0	1	2
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	16	1	0
	İstihdam	Employment	4	0	1
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	4	0	0
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded			
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier			
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery			
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery- Exploitation order			
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)			
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
Protest vs Provocation	Medya	Media			
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest			
	Gösteri	Demonstration			
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
	Polis	Police	1	0	0
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords			198	134	143
Total keywords / Total words (%)			3,16	1,97	2,10

4.2.8. Karadon

When all the incidents in the sample are considered, two of them display a strong increase or a clear breakpoint prior to Soma: One of them is Davutpaşa and the other is the Karadon incident. The reasons in Davutpaşa in detail were examined in the analysis of the incident and made the comment that the most fundamental factor was due to political polarization. Karadon is influenced by political polarization as well, and it is obvious from the headlines that it is more severe than Davutpaşa. In this period, both the hottest source of polarization and the most important agenda of the newspapers is Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu's candidacy for the CHP presidency. Apart from that, we can list the reasons why the Karadon incident is a touchstone and remains on the agenda for a long time.

- i. Kılıçdaroğlu's election as the chairman right after the incident and his first trip to Karadon, and his attitudes and statements there,
- ii. The Karadon incident was one of the worst mining incidents in history and the worst under AKP power,
- iii. The bodies of 2 out of 30 workers who died in Karadon were not able to find for a long time,
- iv. Severe reactions to subcontracting and privatization of mine inspections, and especially the auditor's salary being paid by the company,
- v. The Prime Minister's repeated use of the word "fate" in describing the incident, as well as his retaliation towards those who blame him for it.
- vi. Karadon took place only 83 days after Dursunbey-II and 125 days after MKP. These incidents happened in just five months, and a significant number of people died in each of them. As a result, the reactions were more intense and long-lasting.

On 17 May 2010, an explosion took place in the sub-quarry of a TTK mine, which was operated by a subcontractor and opened recently, in Zonguldak Karadon. While 11 of the workers were rescued with injuries, 30 of them were trapped under the collapse. In the search and rescue activities carried out under very difficult conditions due to the gas accumulated in the mine after the explosion, the lifeless bodies of 28 workers could only be reached on the fourth day. The last two workers, Engin Düzcük and Dursun Kartal were able to found on 17 January 2011, 8 months after the incident.

Table 4. 32: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (16/20)	DM-2 (19/37)	DM-3 (15/15)	PGM-1 (21/21)	PGM-2 (15/21)	PGM-3 (18/20)	RNM-1 (17/17)	RNM-2 (14/22)	RNM-3 (21/21)
1	1 & 3	1 & 4	1 & 8	1 & 10	1 & 17	1 & 25	1 & 4		1 & 5
2	1 & 3	1 & 5	1 & 9	1 & 11	1 & 17	1 & 24	1 & 4	1 & 20	1 & 16-17
3	1 & 3	1 & 5	1 & 9	1 & 12-13	1 & 11	1 & 20	1 & 5	1 & 15	1 & 16-17
4	1 & 8-9	1 & 5	1 & 9	1 & 14-15	1 & 9	1 & 24-25	1 & 26-27	1 & 18-19	1 & 16-17
5	1 & 9	1 & 4	1 & 8	1 & 14	1 & 9	1 & 30	5	17	1 & 20
6	10	1 & 4	5	1 & 8	17	30	4	24	6
7		4			3 & 7	1 & 22		15	1 & 13
8			9	10		30	1 & 5		6
9			4	1 & 12		1 & 25	1 & 26	18 & 19	1 & 17
10	1 & 3	1 & 4	1 & 9	1 & 15	1 & 16		1 & 19*	18	17
11		4				30			
12		1 & 4							16
13		4		1 & 6				19	
14	1 & 13								

Karadon is the first incident to report nonstop for the entire 14-day duration. In general, there is a significant increase in the number and size of the news in all newspapers. Newspapers continued to report not only in the first 14 days but also after. While a total of 194 pages of news are presented in the 90-day period, 156 pages of this, that is, 80.4%, are seen in the first 14 days. Furthermore, all of the news in four newspapers was published in the first two weeks.

Karadon has the highest figures in all contexts in all incidents that have occurred up to this period, according to all of the criteria studied. Karadon has increased more than three times in every context as compared to the Dursunbey-II incident, which occurred about three months ago.

In this incident that at least one newspaper from each group exceeded 10000 words, DM-1 ranks first in terms of the number of news days and pages, the number of news on the front page, and the average area covered on the front page over a 90-day period. PGM-3 have reached the highest figures in terms of news and word count over the 14-day period. The average word count per news seems also important. The newspapers with the most word count were DM-1 with an average of 217 words, followed by RNM-2 with 165 words and RNM-3 with 164 words. The newspapers with the least word count were PGM-2 with 111 words and DM-3 with 116 words.

Table 4. 33: Quantitative data of Karadon for 90-days screening period

8. Karadon (17.05.2010)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of <u>days</u> have the news	Total <u>pages</u> of the news	Num. of news on the <u>first page</u>	The area (%) on the <u>first</u> <u>page</u>	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	2028	23	11	20	9	11,94	1,19	49	7253
DM-2	1420	16	25	37	12	23,87	3,18	54	11736
DM-3	1440	16	9	15	6	19,56	1,30	36	4179
PGM-1	2308	26	10	21	9	10,92	1,09	64	10228
PGM-2	2318	26	13	21	7	20,65	1,61	41	4538
PGM-3	4332	48	11	20	8	17,70	1,57	56	8493
RNM-1	4410	49	9	17	7	16,27	1,27	51	6600
RNM-2	3260	36	17	22	5	35,96	2,00	36	5955
RNM-3	3060	34	11	21	7	19,49	1,52	73	11940
Averages	2731	30	12,9	21,6	7,8	19,59	1,64	51,11	7880

4.2.8.1. Application of CDA

While there were a total of 2229 themes handled in the previous seven cases, 1444 themes were handled in only Karadon. Also, in several other contexts, the Karadon incident usually stands out as the most important occurrence that occurred prior to Soma. When the theme groups are examined one by one, similar scenarios emerge.

As emphasized in some previous incidents, incident themes, but especially common themes, are used for manipulative purposes in the PGM group. The same use is also observed in this case. These themes have become a common way to get through the incident. The number of incident themes has risen in this incident, as has the number of other themes, but the long-term search and rescue efforts have also had a significant impact on this rise. Because both the inability to reach two workers for a long time and the difficulties experienced due to the gas accumulated in the mine in the first days caused a lot of news on this subject. The most striking subgroup in terms of this theme group was again the background.

The total number of background themes has steadily increased while there is a decline in this incident for the first time compared to the previous one. The DM group, which usually deals with the most background theme and information, peaked in this incident, while the RNM and PGM groups, which peaked in the previous event, showed a significant decrease. It is interesting that while this incident peaked in almost every theme group and sub-group, this theme sub-group decreased. Actually, there is no real decrease in terms of PGM here: PGM newspapers channel all the accusations directly to the company in terms of their general strategy. However, in the Dursunbey-II incident, PGM had to adopt an attitude other

than its normal attitude since the company concerned could not be easily blamed. Therefore, different findings have emerged in the previous incident, including the high level of background themes. Consequently, rather than a decline, there is a return to the essence.

Table 4. 34: The theme distribution of Karadon

8. Karadon (17.05.2010)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	59	128	111	298	0,21
	1.2	Background	12	4	6	22	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	10	27	17	54	
	1.4	Other	0	1	0	1	
	Incident total			81	160	134	375
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	12	7	12	31	
	2.2	Government	28	17	27	72	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	0	0	1	1	
	2.4	Victims & Victims’ Relatives	14	17	11	42	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	30	4	5	39	
	2.6	Expert	9	3	10	22	
	2.7	All Other Actors	3	1	2	6	
	Actors Total			96	49	68	213
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	18	0	1	19	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	80	11	26	117	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	9	2	7	18	
	3.4	Legal Matters	24	2	8	34	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	75	11	34	120	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	16	0	10	26	
	Factors Total			222	26	86	334
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	20	4	12	36	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	38	6	11	55	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY & GOVERNMENT	14	0	2	16	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	0	0	0	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY & GOVERNMENT	2	1	0	3	
	Attribution Total			74	11	25	110
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	0	9	3	12	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	114	10	34	158	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	0	0	0	0	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	6	42	16	64	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	30	13	7	50	
	Polarization Total			150	74	60	284
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	(“Fatalism” vs Not Fate!)	31	5	23	59	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	1	0	1	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	24	0	7	31	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	33	1	3	37	
	De-Naturalization Total			88	7	33	128
Themes total			711	327	406	1444	1

In terms of actor themes, company actors are only mentioned once, in the RNM group. The newspapers could not include company actors because the main firm is TTK and the subcontractor is uncertain. In the attribution theme group, it also will be highlighted as a

"subcontractor company" and information about it will not be given at all. In terms of other main actors, it is observed that they show a parallel distribution to the general attitudes of the newspaper groups, the only exception to this situation is that PGM gives more space to dissident actors than normal. However, the primary reason why dissident actors are being used so often is that it coincides with the time of Kılıçdaroğlu's CHP Chairman candidacy and victory. Particularly in the PGM group, although they are actors, they are frequently reported for criticism and satire. As a matter of fact, it is seen that 'de-legitimize dissidents' themes reach the highest rate in polarization themes. Some headlines/titles illustrate this situation clearly:

- SAV POKED, FELL SILENT
- SAV COMES OUT FROM EVERYWHERE
- 'Mr Recep' turn: Dear Prime Minister

When factors are examined, all six sub-groups are processed in DM and RNM while PGM, which has never treated political context and system-based background & analysis sub-groups, again does not include these sub-group themes. These two subgroups will be seen only exceptionally in PGM newspapers until Soma. Although PGM also mostly covered the themes of neoliberalist characteristics and systemic/structural deficiencies as in the other two groups, these are out of function and the majority of them are news reported by clipped or distorting. For example, let's examine the news submissions of PGM and DM newspapers that published the same news on the same day:

[PGM-3-5.30: TITLE] Protesting the subcontractor at the Miners Monument

- 33- Ankara Labour and Professional Organizations Platform made a press release related to the methane gas disaster that occurred at Turkey Hard Coal Enterprises (TTK) Karadon Institutional Directorate colliery in front of the Miners Monument.
- 34- Speaking on behalf of the Platform, TMMOB Provincial Coordination Board Secretary Ramazan Pektaş argued that "labourers who produce bread from coal-black are victims of privatization and negligence".
- 35- On the other hand, losing 28 workers lives and not being able to reach 2 workers still were protested in Beyoğlu, İstanbul, as well.
- 36- Protesters claimed that the subcontracting system was also behind this accident.

[DM2-5.4] [TITLE] 'Death does not pass tangent in the mine'

44. Members of the Ankara Labour and Professional Organizations Platform came together at the Miners Monument for the workers who lost their lives in Karadon.
45. Speaking on behalf of the platform in front of the monument, President of the Chamber of Electrical Engineers Ramazan Pektaş called on those responsible for the deaths to resign.
46. By stating that considering all mining accidents, including the private sector in Turkey after 2003 there were 257 casualties in total and these deaths could not be fateful, Ramazan Pektaş said "Occurrence of death wherever being subcontracted are not fate or workers' negligence, but murder."

When the news examples are analyzed, the statements of the relevant actor are portrayed as an allegation (i.e., argue, claim) in the PGM, and the sections that can be associated with the government and the background information are clipped. In the DM, on the other hand, a stronger emphasis was made with expressions such as "said, stated, called" and background information is provided for the sections that explicitly link the government (responsible) to the deaths after 2003. Ideological production was occurred by framing the news of both newspapers with their own contexts. However, clipping appears to be more manipulative in such cases. It should also be noted that PGM-3 provides this news comparatively more often due to its more central location and more diverse audience. Since they take a more radical approach, the other two PGM newspapers often do not publish such news at all.

Another significant development in terms of factors is that although the subgroup of "weak and/or politicized trade unions" is the least processed sub-group, it is critical that some sub-unions affiliated with Türk-İş protest against Türk-İş. Türk-İş and its affiliated unions first had taken a general strike decision for Karadon and Tekel workers on 26 May, and then the general strike was turned into a one-hour food boycott by the Türk-İş headquarter. Upon this, 15 sub-unions occupied the Türk-İş 1st Regional Office Building in Beyoğlu-Istanbul to protest the Türk-İş administration and declared that they would not leave the building for two days. In addition, they left a black wreath at the entrance of the building and hung the following banners: "Resign irresponsible Türk-İş management and Mustafa Kumlu" and "The workers are dying, the unions are silent, we will ask Türk-İş who throw workers under the bus to account for 26 May. This event stands out as the first yellow trade union event, although the concept of yellow-union is not used.

Finally, although the neoliberalism and systemic/structural deficiencies sub-group of factors themes are the most frequently processed themes in all three newspaper groups, the frequency between them is very different: The DM group published a total of 139 separate news about the incident, with the themes of neoliberalism critique appearing 80 times and systemic/structural deficiencies appearing 75 times. While these two themes are covered 26 and 34 times in RNM which makes a total of 160 news, both sub-group themes are covered 11 times in PGM which makes a total of 161 news. Total factors themes are 222 in DM, 86 in RNM and 26 in PGM.

When the themes of the attribution group are examined, it is seen that the usual order prior to Dursunbey-II has been restored. In all three groups, it is observed that the

themes of negligence/lack of inspection and unacceptable working conditions are predominant and therefore the responsibility of the company and the government is emphasized. However, PGM handles the event differently and resorts to manipulative referrals. One of the interesting examples of this is the following news, in which the statements of Ömer Dinçer, Minister of Labour and Social Security:

[PGM-1.13.6: HEADLINE]
[LEAD]

Negligence is certain but guilty is not

Ömer Dinçer, Minister of Labour and Social Security, said about the methane explosion that took place on 17 May and caused the death of 30 workers; "*It is very likely that we can talk about negligence*. But we are not sure *whether it is administrative or the negligence of our workers working there*."

The news presented in line with the statements of Minister Dinçer deals with the theme of negligence but applies the local context strategy by reporting it vague and indirectly associating the workers. On the other hand, DM-2 gives the same news through satire with the title "*Minister half awoke: There is negligence in the explosion*". In other words, while PGM makes a presentation in line with the minister's manipulative strategy, DM tries to refute this manipulative strategy by ridiculing the minister.

To summarize the attribution group themes, DM emphasizes the responsibility of the government in a very clear and direct stance, RNM softer, while PGM de-emphasizes all negative connotations about the government. Just like the government, according to PGM, the liable party is an unknown subcontractor, probably the deceased employees themselves, or fate.

PGM newspapers frequently and directly target CHP and new president Kılıçdaroğlu under the "de-legitimize dissidents" theme group in Karadon, which is the incident with the highest average after Soma in terms of polarization themes. In other words, while the incident was a mining murder in Karadon, the subject of the news was the election issue in CHP. Interestingly, PGM newspapers accuse RNM newspapers of supporting CHP, and then RNM newspapers also report news de-legitimizing the CHP. In the DM group, which targets the government in 144 of the 150 polarization themes in total, it is seen that there is no theme targeting the dissidents.

Considering the basic polarization arguments, it is possible to divide the PGM group into two main classes in this respect. The first is the following themes aimed at de-legitimizing the dissidents: 'solidarity time; not the time to do politics/discussion in such difficult time (3)', 'direct criticism & accusation of the dissident parties (3)' and 'the incident

is manipulated with information pollution / malicious statements, be careful! (3)'. The second is the themes that are processed to legitimize the government: 'punishment of those responsible regardless of who is responsible (8)', 'salary/relief to victims including aid, scholarship and so on (9)', 'senior government officials' sensitivity [president, pm, ministers] (7)', 'state/government will prevent similar disasters/problems (7)' and 'ugly protest/provocation/provocateur (8)'.

The polarization themes that the RNM group has handled the most are the themes that de-legitimize the government: 'rebellion discourses and/or protest acts (17)' and 'direct criticism & accusation of the government [policies] (13)'. However, there are also themes legitimizing the government in the RNM group, which touches more or less on almost every subgroup theme.

All of the main polarization arguments of the DM group are framed within the following themes that directly target the government: 'direct criticism & accusation of the government [policies] (49)', 'rebellion discourses and/or protest acts (32)', 'manipulation/propaganda [claim] (14)', 'de-emphasizing the responsibilities (12)' and 'inviting government official to resign (10)'. The increase in "sarcasm / satire through the comics, etc" in this newspaper group is also noteworthy.

In terms of [de]-naturalization themes, Karadon is the incident with the highest average among 15 events. In other words, in this incident, the processing rate of naturalization versus denaturalization themes is even higher than Soma. The most important factor in this high ratio is, of course, Prime Minister Erdoğan's description of the incident as "fate" and his insistent emphasis. Furthermore, the Minister of Labour Dinçer's statements that "they died beautifully" for the workers who lost their lives were also effective. Six of the seven themes used in PGM in this context are related to naturalisation through the concepts of martyrdom and fate, while one performs de-naturalization, albeit indirectly, with the theme of not work accident but work murder. All 33 themes in RNM and 88 themes in DM, on the other hand, are processed in the context of de-naturalization. These two newspaper groups explicitly target Prime Minister Erdogan due to his description of the incident as 'fate'. Both groups clearly criticize and refute the Prime Minister's statements, especially the following statement has been widely reported: "If you do not have faith in accident or destiny, I will not argue with you. Go and talk to the President of Religious Affairs." Both groups also attempt to refute the prime minister's argument with his thesis, by combining this news with the statements of the President of Religious Affairs Bardakoğlu, who said, "It is not enough

to call sad events accident and inevitable." These explanations will be explored in greater detail in the next section.

When the other dimensions of the thematic structure are examined, it is clear that all of the direct leads are used in all related newspapers for summarizing and focusing depending on the context of the main theme. When it comes to photos, the use and placement of photographs are observed in all three newspaper categories in compliance with the relevant stance.

66 photos in the DM group using 93 photos in total are incident photos focused on mutual mourning. Apart from these, protest photos (15) were presented the second most, along with a few photos of Prime Minister Erdogan, Minister of Labour Dinçer, and CHP Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu and others. Here, it can be seen those photographs of government officials, especially those of Prime Minister Erdoğan, are generally presented in a negative manner. While the photographs of the prime minister are mostly associated with the themes of rebellion and protest, it is also seen that his photographs are also used in the criticism of the description of "fate", along with the harshest discourses.

In the PGM group, in which 142 photographs were used, including 107 incident, 28 photographs belong to government officials. All related news were edited and served with photos supporting the news story. In terms of actors in the photos, PGM newspapers generally presented Kılıçdaroğlu negatively. However, one neutral presentation is also seen in PGM-3. On the contrary, numerous positive presentations, especially about the prime minister and ministers, draw attention. For Prime Minister Erdogan, positive news or photo texts such as *"He did not leave the miners alone"* stand out. In addition, two protest news are given with the Prime Minister's words *"Don't come to provocations"* and *"Don't be driven by provocation"* in the headline and with his photographs.

The PGM group, which also favourably portrayed President Abdullah Gül, presented the labour and energy ministers in an exaggeratedly supportive manner. Ministers' photos are often showed them at funerals, condolence homes, or crime scenes while listening to the public or giving information. These photographs are always given by special construction with their words *"The responsible will pay the price"* and *"Tough measures will be taken"*. In addition, special "praise" news was made for the ministers and they were served with special photos. For example:



Picture 4. 2: Some photos of Ministers in PGM newspapers

The photographs, designed to emphasize the sensitivity of the ministers, were served with special titles and photo-texts (i.e., Picture 4.2). Furthermore, it has been carefully chosen for which news the government-related news will be published and where it will be positioned on the news or page. However, one of them stands out in particular. On the seventh day, PGM-3 presented the following news in a separate title on page 22 under the headline "To the Ministers: Return to Ankara for the Country":

[TITLE] Ministers worked in the area with three hours of sleep a day

17. The works of the Minister of Labour and Social Security Ömer Dinçer and the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources Taner Yıldız, who were in the region during a week after the Grizu explosion, were appreciated.
18. Both ministers worked with a total of 20 hours of sleep a week.
19. Right after the mining disaster in Zonguldak was heard, Minister Dinçer interrupted his meeting in Ankara and moved to the region, while the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, Taner Yıldız, who was in Baku with Prime Minister Erdoğan, reached Zonguldak by the Prime Minister's private plane.
20. This time, their spouses Esmâ Dinçer and Selma Yıldız joined the ministers who made condolence visits to homes after the funerals.
21. This devoted effort of Ministers Dinçer and Yıldız was also appreciated by the families.
22. During the condolence visit, a family who reacted to the ministers on the first day of the incident said: "We reacted to you with the provocation of some people. We apologize".

[PHOTO TEXT] Ministers Taner Yıldız and Ömer Dinçer (left) with the Taşdemir family. Meanwhile, by putting the miners' spouses and children on salaries, their documents were handed over.

Some critical issues stand out in this news, but some background info is needed first to explain the situation: Both the Prime Minister and the ministers repeatedly had claimed in the early days of the incident that ministers would never leave Karadon until the last worker was found. However, when the last two workers could not be found, the news given by the headline emerged, which is 'To the Ministers: Return to Ankara for the Country'. According to this news, the victims' devoted relatives want the ministers to return to Ankara. The second news, which is attached with a "paper clip" and whose full text is provided above, is put to the inside of headline news. In other words, the background of the event was shaped in the desired direction with the headline news and the positive aspects were highlighted

with the second news. Here, all of the semantic macrostructures, local meanings, local syntax and expressions strategies have been used and the news is manipulated in the editing of the news both functionally and contextually. Furthermore, when the above news text, which is given with semantic macrostructures in the context of the topic selection, is examined, it is noteworthy that even the details of the actions of the ministers are shared, but the family who apologized in the last sentence is vaguely described as ‘a family’. Next to it, a photograph taken during a family visit is associated with the photo-text. Finally, the sentence connected with the conjunction (i.e., meanwhile) emphasizes the topic of salary. It is a clear example of a local meanings strategy that gives a lot of detail on one subject and not particularly details on another. Then supplementing this with a visit photo also supports this strategy. Then, in the last sentence of the photo-text that connects with meanwhile, the function of “implying our ‘good’ acts” is fulfilled with macro speech act. Therefore, it can be argued that this news is a clear example of a manipulative news body in every respect. These kinds of manipulative constructions, especially supported by photos, are frequently encountered later in PGM-3.

The RNM group, which released the most photographs, used a total of 163 photographs in this incident, 127 of which focus on the incident. Similarly, photos of government officials, Kılıçdaroğlu, and protests were published in this group as well, while photos of Religious Affairs President Bardakoğlu and two experts were published separately from other groups. RNM newspapers, which generally present ministers as neutral or positive, often criticize the Prime Minister for his description of "fate" and present him negatively. Almost all of the photos of the prime minister are given either in protests or in nervous from. Furthermore, right next to the news titled "The Prime Minister insists on ‘fate’", it presents the Religious Affairs President’s news titled "It’s not enough to say accident and inevitable" with the same size and location. Some of the headlines, all of which are critical and served with photographs of the Prime Minister, are:

- *“This is the destiny of this profession”*
- The state writes the fate.
- Protest tension at the mine visit
- *“If you do not have faith in fate, I do not argue.”*

Schematic structure analysis shows that all three newspaper groups made presentations in their own contexts in all episode, background and comment dimensions. In terms of the episode, all main events are shaped according to the main theme. Although there are some exceptions in terms of consequences, the situation is still similar to the main events. In terms

of background, a considerable amount of background information based on both the incident and the context of work accidents is observed in DM and RNM. While the PGM group still provides little and incident-based background information, it has been shown that PGM-3 uses manipulative background editing, which is also reflected in thematic analysis.

Considering the comment dimension, the company is rarely used both as an actor and as a news source. Apart from this, the use of news resources is seen in parallel with the actors. However, the frequency varies greatly. For example, experts and union representatives, who are among the most important news sources about work accidents, have been used as news sources 91 times under 39 themes in the DM group, while this number is 19 in 15 themes of PGM.

Considering the microstructure, there is rare use other than general evaluation in terms of syntactic analysis and local coherence. Exceptional circumstances are used to emphasize and de-emphasize the elements of legitimacy of associated parties.

When the Lexical style is considered, it is clear that the use of AKP is very prominent in the AKP vs AK Party dichotomy. While both terms are not used in PGM, it is seen that both are used in RNM. Furthermore, in this usage in RNM (i.e., *AKP will account for the public*), AKP is used for the first time with the dissident notions, albeit indirectly use. DM, on the other hand, again did not use the Ak Party expression, which it had never used before, but used the AKP term exactly 30 times.

In the accident/disaster versus murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy, it is seen that the use of accident/disaster is much more in all three groups. However, while Murder/Work Murder/Massacre expressions are commonly used in the DM group, Murderer/Killer expressions are also used 20 times. Finally, the slogan '*Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre*' has been used extensively in both DM and RNM.

Finally, in the dichotomy of Resistance / Protest versus Provocateur / Provocation, although the word Resistance / Protest is predominant, the words Provocateur/Provocation are used for the first time in DM and PGM in limited numbers. Resistance / Protest terms are used 165 times in three groups, reaching the highest number after Soma. This situation is noteworthy in light of the fact that the word "protest," which appears 40 times in PGM, appears only 20 times in 13 incidents, with the exception of the Karadon and Soma incidents.

While the keywords associated with the lexical style have not changed, the sternness in the style is striking, as shown by the frequent use of the expression "murderer."

Newspapers began to level overt and significant charges against the rival sides. PGM newspapers have published several of the news that directly targets their rivals, especially about the presidency process in the CHP. Satire and satirical cartoons, on the other hand, began to appear more frequently in DM newspapers, such as "AKP = Allah Keep from the Party/Allah Kurtarsın Partisi"

Just two newspapers, in terms of News rhetoric, go beyond their general stance. Again, DM and RNM often relied on expert opinion, background information, and analysis to strengthen news rhetoric, while PGM attempted to do so with photographs. However, the RNM-3, which uses few photographs in its general attitude, was exceptionally the newspaper that used the most photographs, and in terms of rhetoric, it used more photographs than the others. PGM-3, on the other hand, attempted to increase the rhetoric in a novel way by changing the page layout, design and background, as mentioned in detail above.

There are some situations in which there is much more intensive use, but within the framework of their general attitude. As mentioned frequently before, the DM group has frequently carried the opinions and statements of experts, the representatives of trade union and various dissident parties to their pages. However, this situation is mostly seen in DM-2 and least in DM-3. In this case, DM-2 has literally experienced a peak. This newspaper carried the opinions and statements of the following news sources on only its fourth page on the fourth day: Minister of Labour and Social Security and Minister of Energy as government representative; BDP, EMEP, ESP, EDP and ÖDP as dissident parties; DİSK, Hak-İş, Türk-İş, Tekstil-Sen, SES, KESK as unions; ITO and Chamber of Pharmacists as third parties. In other words, it has included 15 different news sources.

Finally, it would be appropriate to mention the rhetoric sampling that the DM and RNM newspapers made in the form of refuting the claim and which is clearly seen in this incident. To discuss through the example, the prime minister had described work accidents as "fate" and then he directed those who criticized him to Religious Affairs, as an expert on the subject, with the words "If you do not have faith in accident or destiny, I will not argue with you. Go and talk to the President of Religious Affairs". However, the President of Religious Affairs said that "it is not enough to say accident and inevitable" in relation to work accidents, and the situation that drew the attention of the media emerged. While DM newspapers refuted the prime minister directly and in his own words, RNM newspapers did the same indirectly with the positioning. In other words, DM newspapers emphasized this issue directly by title (Erdoğan: Fate, Religious Affairs: Not Fate). On the other hand, RNM

newspapers have done this refutation indirectly by giving the statements of the prime minister and the head of religious affairs on the same page, side by side and in equal size and form. Similar indirect rebuttals have been used very often, especially in Soma and later events.

4.2.8.2 Keywords and Government Officials

The statements of Prime Minister Erdogan, Minister of Energy Yıldız, and Minister of Labour Dinçer will be scrutinized in this incident. First of all, the following statements made by the Minister of Energy, Taner Yıldız, are noteworthy.

1. *Inspections and investigations continue. If there is negligence, those responsible will be punished. Nobody goes unpunished. There is absolutely no compromise in this regard.*
2. *We will not treat anybody differently in this regard, even if they are the son of our father. However, using this sentence also carries with it not to be unfair. We will neither do injustice nor hide the facts.*
3. *We will not go anywhere until our 2 workers will be found.*

Minister Yıldız repeats almost exactly what he said in the previous incident. These explanations have become a discourse that the minister use in almost any similar incident, and have thus become a form of manipulation and naturalization.

Then, the following statements of the Minister of Labour, Ömer Dinçer, are also noteworthy.

1. *There was nothing in our first 19-20 bodies. They died beautiful. I can easily say that they did not suffer, and died physically beautiful.*
2. *See, if you say this, you misinform people; they gave this place to the subcontractor, the accident has occurred ... This is an absolutely wrong determination. Trade unions oppose the subcontracting system in Turkey for failing to organize in the private sector.*
3. *Work accidents are lower in the private sector.*
4. *It is very likely that we can talk about negligence there (gas explosion in Zonguldak). But we are not sure if it is the negligence of the administrative or our workers working there.*

The statements of the Minister of Labour Dinçer are more striking. First and foremost, the minister's portrayal of the workers' deaths as "beautiful" elicited strong reactions and was also echoed in subsequent incidents. With this explanation, the minister, who is attempting to calm the reactions in his own way, has literally made a huge blunder. Afterwards, the explanations that protect the private sector and the subcontractor system and then attempt to refute the criticism of the subcontractor system by associating it with the inability of unions not being organized in the private sector, are obvious examples of the apparent overall interaction and macro speech act strategies. While the minister portrays themselves and his policies favourably, he portrays the unions negatively. Simultaneously,

the minister, in order to prevent criticism of the privatization and subcontracting system, associates the problems with the unions, accusing them of malice. On the other hand, it is obvious that the argument that “work accidents are lower in the private sector” lacks support since all relevant studies suggest the contrary. Furthermore, it is an undeniable fact that three major accidents occurred in the private sector in the last five months alone. Finally, on the 13th day of the incident, Minister Dinçer made a contradictory statement that protects the private sector. However, when he generated confusion by suggesting "there could even be worker negligence" he manipulated the local meanings strategy once more.

Finally, it is seen that Prime Minister Erdoğan made the most controversial statements in this incident. Here I will combine the prime minister’s statements, taking the most comprehensive version from 9 newspapers.

First statement:

1. *Our sorrow is great. But the people of this area are accustomed to such events. I’m going back 20 years in time. We have always experienced such disasters in Zonguldak since the 90s. I also went down to the collieries. I saw how miners work at a depth of 2 thousand meters. I broke fast (Ramadan) with them. This is the fate of this profession.*
2. ***They enter the profession knowing that such things can happen.*** *His father and uncle had been trapped under the collapse; you see, he also became a miner. We have witnessed such events. As the state, we carry out rescue efforts with internal and external support. Whoever says to you, this will be over the next day, don’t believe it. But we will try to reach our friends as soon as possible. After that, we aim to search and find the cause of the accident.*
3. *Work continues intensely with a team of 400 people. It is not an event based on the day. As a state, we carry out our work with internal and external supports. Our goal is to reach 30 workers as soon as possible. **This is the fate of this profession.***
4. *Here, a person just insulted and swore severely. We searched it; he is not a person of this region. Don’t get caught in the incitements. My friends of ministers and deputies will not leave the area until the result is achieved. Today is the day of solidarity with each other.*

Second statement:

1. *As in many previous cases, we witnessed that the politics over suffering has been done after the mining accident in Zonguldak. Gas explosions are, unfortunately, a natural part of mines. It is not possible to prevent 100 per cent. In many parts of the world, this is the destiny of the job. I want to remind some columnists who want to pull about this to the right or left (manipulate); I also tell various institutions and organizations; I say this is the job’s fate. Neither the depth of mind nor the depth of thought of such men is enough to pull this to the right or left (manipulate). The man is taking this; I think he wants to*

relate the accident, the fateful event. If you do not have faith in the accident or destiny, it is a separate issue. I would not discuss it with you. Go and talk about this with the President of Religious Affairs. The issue I am talking about is different. That is in the nature of this event; this is the destiny of this event.

2. The incident that happened to two police officers yesterday with a thinner addict in the Aşıyan Cemetery. What is it? For god's sake! This is the destiny of this profession. This is the nature of this profession. This is the duty of the police. This happened to them while they were performing this duty there. Are you going to speculate on this now as well? Would you say that "Why were these policemen sent to Aşıyan Cemetery" or "Why did they deal with these sniffers"? **"Oh, Sir, why were these given to subcontractors?" This subcontractor has been working there for 5 years; there has not been an incident there for 5 years.** Previously, 243 workers died in Kozlu due to a gas explosion. When this explosion happened, the subcontractor did not work; the TTK did this job. With what will you explain this?
3. Our intelligence agencies have revealed that a person who wants to provoke the public with very heavy, unspeakable swearing and insults has no ties with Zonguldak and is a member of illegal-legal organizations. We see that this painful accident is wanted to be turned into a campaign against us in the media, as well. We are experiencing painful events that are being interpreted as an opportunity to discredit the AK Party, far from accurate news.

Third statement:

5. We have seen how this issue is exaggerated.
6. We want to drop this incident from our agenda.
7. **We also see what it is wanted to be made in Turkey, how a sneaky tactic was put into practice.** It's like, for example, a gas explosion has happened for the first time in Turkey. We have seen how this issue is exaggerated as if a mining accident occurs for the first time, **you've also seen. It does not escape our notice that the incident is reflected by agitation, by absolutely and absolutely establishing a direct relationship with the government.** We observe that ordinary cases occurring in different parts of the country are over-exaggerated and moved to the top of the agenda and that every relevant or unrelated issue is shown directly related to the government. **We also see how the news that was previously on the third page was pushed to the headlines and kept on the screens for minutes and hours, and how local and negative events were presented as almost Turkey panorama.**
8. Recently, in coal mines, both production has increased, and accidents have decreased.
9. "Doing politics from here does not gain anything to anyone. If there are flaws in the measures, it is our duty to address them. We need to know that as a human being, you are capable up to a point, not beyond. You cannot have unlimited power. You will know that.
10. Our reckoning is not only within this world, but we also have a posthumous account.
11. I had an explanation. I said, "This is the fate of this job". Immediately, fate event was made the subject of mockery in known circles. Gas will explode, fate; something will

happen, fate, they said. Do not worry; I did not explain the belief in accident and fate. In that regard, I know your temperament (meşrep) as well as your creation (cibiliyet). This is in the nature of this profession. Methane gas explosion, these tragedies are not only valid for Turkey. It happens everywhere. There has been no accident in this place where the subcontractor has been working for 5 years. But a short time ago, entirely Turkish Coal Enterprises was working in Kozluk. Our 243 citizens died there. We will be realistic. There is no point in doing politics from here. Our Ministry of Labour makes its assessment.

12. *Reminding that he went to the region as soon as he returned from Spain; “Because I have to hug my people. Already, we exist for these days. We need to know that as a human being, you are capable up to a point, not beyond. You cannot have unlimited power. You will know that. We must know that our power is limited. Some of them are firing blanks (lying) as if they have unlimited power. That’s why our ancestors had said it beautifully. It is easier said than done [It is spoken in slang form: Bekara karı boşamak kolay]. This is their situation.*

Prime Minister Erdoğan’s statements are the harbinger of a truly significant transformation. Erdoğan describes the incident as "fate" and claims that the workers knowingly worked in the mine as if they had a choice or alternatives.

First, the prime minister described the incident as fate, and then gave harsh answers to those who criticized himself. He even insults them with some slang words and implicitly accuses them of "irreligiousness". Thus, he tries to delegitimize those who criticize him in the eyes of the public. While he supports his arguments with numerous examples and repeats them often, he also sprinkles motifs in his vocabulary that appeals to people’s religious feelings. On the other hand, it marginalizes the other party with specially selected words such as "temperament (meşrep)", "creation (cibiliyet)".

Furthermore, he attempts to mask the fact that the issue has become more essential now with his statements about the work accident news, claiming that similar accidents were not previously brought to the agenda and are now being purposely brought up to portray the government negatively. Also, it illustrates an obvious manipulative action by contrasting Us vs Them. Finally, the Prime Minister establishes a remarkable record by using all nine manipulation techniques in conjunction with his three statements. To give a brief example of each of these:

1. OVERALL INTERACTION STRATEGIES

- As explained above, it is seen that in many parts of his statements, he presents themselves positively and those who criticize him negatively. While all his explanations in the form of US vs THEM can be easily associated with this strategy, most of the examples given below under other strategies may also be appropriate here.

2. MACRO SPEECH ACT

- *Because I have to hug my people. Already, we exist for these days.*

- *This subcontractor has been working there for 5 years; there has not been an incident there for 5 years. But a short time ago, entirely Turkish Coal Enterprises was working in Kozluk. Our 243 citizens died there.*
- *Our reckoning is not only within this world, but we also have a posthumous account.*
- *It does not escape our notice that the incident is reflected by agitation, by absolutely and absolutely establishing a direct relationship with the government.*

3. SEMANTIC MACROSTRUCTURES

- *I'm going back 20 years in time. We have always experienced such disasters in Zonguldak since the 90s. I also went down to the collieries. I saw how miners work at a depth of 2 thousand meters. I broke fast (Ramadan) with them. This is the fate of this profession.*
- *Our reckoning is not only within this world, but we also have a posthumous account.*
- *I had an explanation. I said, "This is the fate of this job". Immediately, fate event was made the subject of mockery in known circles. Gas will explode, fate; something will happen, fate, they said. Do not worry; I did not explain the belief in accident and fate. In that regard, I know your temperament (meşrep) as well as your creation (cibiliyet). This is in the nature of this profession. Methane gas explosion, these tragedies are not only valid for Turkey. It happens everywhere*

4. LOCAL SPEECH ACTS

- *Not only in Turkey but also in many parts of the world, unfortunately, I am underlining again; this is the fate of this job.*
- *With a team of 400 people ...*
- *Previously, 243 workers died in Kozlu due to the gas explosion.*
- *Police example.*
- *Most of the seventh item of the third statement.*

5. LOCAL MEANINGS

- *Seventh item of third explanation.*

6. LEXICON

- *Nature (Fıtrat), Fate (Kader), Provocation (Provokasyon, Tahrik), Temperament (Meşrep), Creation (Cibiliyet).*

7. LOCAL SYNTAX (Active vs passive sentences, nominalizations: (De)emphasize Our/Their positive/negative agency, responsibility

- *The underlined words/word groups in the seventh item of the third statement.*

8. RHETORICAL FIGURES:

- *It is easier said than done [It is spoken in slang form: Bekara karı boşamak kolay].*

9. EXPRESSIONS

- *Order of "our issues" versus "their issues"*
- *many emphasise negative meaning for "them"*
- *many emphasise positive meaning for "us"*

Erdoğan's use of multiple manipulative techniques, as seen in the examples, indicates a deliberate intent. Furthermore, the specific selection of certain terms demonstrates that the naturalization aspect of the event is also made consciously. For example, the word "*fitrat*", which means creation, nature, temperament, and character and is used in theology as a feature originating from creation, legitimizes this specific work accident and also all future work accidents. Moreover, as DM newspapers often express, naturalization/normalization legitimizes not only work murders but also the socio-political factors behind it, such as the politics of privatisation, subcontracting and marketisation, where the government is most criticized. In the related statement, the prime minister claims that deaths are the nature of this job. However, the facts of the huge difference in mortality rates between Turkish Hard Coal (TTK) and subcontractor mining companies and significant decreasing mortality rates in other countries refute the Prime Minister claims. According to a study conducted by the General Mining Workers Union (GMIS), the death rates in private / subcontracted mines in the Zonguldak Coal Basin are 34 times higher than the death rates in the mines operated by TTK (Çelik, 2010).

In summary, the statements of both the relevant ministers and especially the Prime Minister were made in a manipulative manner for the purpose of naturalization and normalization. The statements made by the Prime Minister here caused some differences in the strategies of the relevant newspapers. From this point of view, similar government officials' statements in all incidents, including Soma, were openly criticized in DM and RNM newspapers. Still, PGM newspapers were often either not reported or covered between the lines with specific words and strategies.

When the keywords are considered, it is seen that the ratio of keywords in the total word count shows a significant increase in the three groups compared to the previous event. While the total word count increased approximately 3.6 times compared to the previous event, the total number of keywords increased 6.6 times. The DM group's effect, which increased 8 times compared to the previous incident, is great in this increase. In the DM group, Government-related keywords increased approximately 14 times while the term CHP approximately 17 times, and neoliberalism keywords approximately 10 times. Also, it is noteworthy that 237 keywords were used in the protest vs provocation dichotomy, which was never used in the previous incident and was used 56 times in three newspaper groups in the first seven incidents.

Table 4. 35: Keywords of Karadon

8. Karadon (17.05.2010)					
Total word count			23168	23259	24495
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Government-related	AKP	AKP	30	0	1
	AK Parti	AK Party	0	0	7
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	415	254	191
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP	17	27	27
	MHP	MHP	1	1	4
	Muhalefet	The opposition	3	0	0
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	15	2	2
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş	2	1	1
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	14	8	8
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)	62	24	53
	Sendikasız	Non-union/ nonunionised	6	1	5
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	259	133	182
	Fitrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	141	31	65
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom	3	3	6
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	62	1	3
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	27	0	31
	Katil	Murderer/killer	20	0	0
Inspection vs Lack of inspection	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	29	39	34
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	2	5	2
	İhmal	Negligence	15	18	12
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	41	15	9
Law-related	İş güvenliği- işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	24	8	6
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	7	8	16
	ILO	ILO	5	5	4
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödövans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	141	21	85
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	21	1	6
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	27	8	13
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector	23	14	13
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	18	3	19
	İstihdam	Employment	1	1	1
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit/Profit ambition	8	0	1
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded	4	0	1
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier	1	0	2
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery	0	0	3
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	7	0	1
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)	7	0	0
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
Protest vs Provocation	Medya	Media			
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest	100	40	25
	Gösteri	Demonstration	4	5	0
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation	3	5	0
	Polis	Police	20	5	30
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords			1585	687	869
Total keywords / Total words (%)			6,84	2,95	3,55

When the keyword groups are analysed, it is discovered that while the government-related keywords group was used 699 times in the previous seven incidents, it was used 898 times only in this incident and increased 10 times over the previous one. This is also the highest before Soma, and the third highest in 15 events after Soma and Ermenek-II. It is seen that dissident notions are predominant in these words, which are mostly used in the DM group. As a matter of fact, the AKP's supremacy, which is the dissident discourse, in the AKP versus AK Party dichotomy, is quite clear. A similar increase is seen in dissident-related and union-related keywords. Here, the significant increase in the CHP keywords in all three newspaper groups is noteworthy. It is also noteworthy that Hak-İş, which was seen only in two incidents and one newspaper group so far, was also seen in three newspaper groups. Another important point in this context is that the protest against Türk-İş by its member workers stands out as the first example of direct criticism of unions.

Accident/Disaster keywords still dominate in the Accident / Disaster vs Murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy sub-group. However, Murder/work murder/massacre keywords are also very high here in DM and RNM newspapers, and they are used very closely with Accident / Disaster keywords (259 to 250). In the Inspection vs Lack of Inspection keywords group, there is an increase in each keyword. Simultaneously, the frequent use of the words Negligence and Responsible (s) / Responsibility also stands out.

In the context of law-related keywords, the DM group often deals with this topic and keywords in every incident. According to DM, who continues to use increasingly in this incident, it is seen that these keywords have increased much more in the other two groups. Besides, the words ILO and ILO 176, which were used only by DM newspapers in both incidents where they were used up to this one, are seen in three newspaper groups. The use of these keywords in all newspaper groups shows that all segments now discuss the issue; addressing it in PGM may mean accepting that structural deficiencies are actually the main factor behind work accidents despite the prime minister's rhetoric of fate.

In terms of neoliberalist keywords, where the most serious increase was experienced, the most remarkable issue is that the subcontractor and privatization keywords were used 275 times, which were used 34 times in the previous seven incidents. It is seen that the subcontracting system, in particular, is frequently addressed in every newspaper group. While the privatization issue was mostly handled in the DM group, in this context, privatization of mine controls has begun to be addressed as one of the fundamental structural

problems. As in many incidents, profit/profit ambition continues to be discussed in DM, while the first use in RNM is seen in this incident.

In terms of the Systemic/Structural issues keyword group, the increase in slavery and partisan keywords is significant. While these keywords are mostly seen in the DM group, they have never been used in the PGM group.

Finally, in the protest vs provocation dichotomy, the provocation word group's birth is witnessed by observing the first use of this keyword group. Provocation is a keyword frequently used by the government and the PGM group in Karadon and Soma incidents. Still, in this incident, it is directly reported mostly within the framework of Prime Minister Erdogan's statements. The main argument is that some individual events are portrayed as too common and regarded as a provocation in this context. This group of keywords and protests that will appear in six of the seven incidents after this event are the clearest indicators that work accidents are accepted as a systemic and structural issue.

In sum, the Karadon incident is a turning point in that the discourse of "nature [fitrat]" and "fatalism" both emerged as a stance and was clearly defended at the state's highest point. These discourses, which were previously presented as a claim and used for criticism, are now beyond being allegations and have become a fundamental polarisation issue. As a result, the primary question is not whether work accidents are naturalized but rather how they are naturalized.

4.2.9. OSTİM

Around 11 am on 3 February 2011, 9 workers lost their lives, and 30 workers were injured in the explosion and fire in Ostim organized industrial zone (*Özkanlar Hidrolik İmalat San. ve Tic. Ltd.*). Only 8 hours later, at around 19:20, 11 more workers died, and 13 workers were injured in the second explosion and fire that occurred in the İvedik Organised Industrial Zone (*Metsan Yedek Parça Otomotiv San. ve Tic. Ltd.*). It was understood that the incident was caused by oxygen cylinders purchased from the same company (*Ersoy Gaz San. AŞ.*). Since these two explosions occurred on the same day, in the same place, and for the same reason, the cases were merged by the court. Therefore, they were also handled as a single file in terms of this study.

In the first 14 days of the event, it can be said that any newspapers did not report only the ninth and tenth days, and on the other days, it attracted more attention in DM and PGM

newspapers. In RNM newspapers, on the other hand, the subject, which attracted great attention in the first six days, loses its news value until the release of the preliminary report on the 12th day after the seventh day.

Table 4. 36: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (13/13)	DM-2 (15/15)	DM-3 (6/6)	PGM-1 (7/7)	PGM-2 (15/20)	PGM-3 (8/8)	RNM-1 (8/8)	RNM-2 (7/7)	RNM-3 (13/13)
1	1 & 7	1 & 3	1 & 16	1 & 16	1 & 16	1 & 8	1 & 4	1 & 4	1 & 16-17
2	1 & 7	1 & 3-4	16	1 & 14	1 & 17	1- 9 & 22	1 & 6	1 & 20	1 & 14
3	1 & 8	1, 3 & 7	9	9	1 & 17	26	8	17	1 & 19
4	3	1 & 4	9	11	10			3	1 & 13
5	3				9			15	14
6	3	1 & 3-4			10	6	4		15
7	4	4			8				
8	3								
11	3				7				
12	15		9	8	19	17			
13					18				4
14		3			1 & 11		1 & 8		7

On the fourth day of the OSTİM incident, a dent occurred in Elbistan that caused a worker's death, and only three days later, on the seventh day of OSTİM, a second dent occurred in the same mine site in Elbistan, and 10 more workers died. In other words, four unacceptable incidents occurred in two separate locations in seven days. Unfortunately, both this event and our next incident, Elbistan, could not get enough newspapers coverage. The owner of the mine site in Elbistan is considered to be the key reason for this. Thus, this situation will be addressed in-depth in that incident, but it is believed that the situation in Elbistan also has limited the amount of news about this incident.

Although both workplaces are located in the centre of Ankara and within the OIZ and are only 15 km away from the Turkish Grand National Assembly, the news on the first page is also very little. It is seen that the main news subject of the newspapers during the days of the incident was the process that started in Egypt and called the Arab Spring.

In this incident, the debate between Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and the OIZ directorate over the inspection authority has resulted in some news different from the general attitudes in terms of newspapers. However, the most striking data is that the DM-3 newspaper reported very little. DM-3 only made small news (96 words on average) on 6 pages and was the lowest rates ever in all respects.

Table 4. 37: Quantitative data of OSTIM for 90-days screening period

9. OSTİM (3 February 2011)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	The area (%) on the first page	Average area (%) on the 1st page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1912	21	10	13	3	18,88	0,63	35	5367
DM-2	1398	16	8	16	5	14,53	0,81	25	4664
DM-3	1504	17	5	6	1	1,46	0,02	6	579
PGM-1	2358	26	6	7	2	13,43	0,30	20	3549
PGM-2	2480	28	16	20	4	10,95	0,49	25	3746
PGM-3	3778	42	5	8	2	22,12	0,49	22	4075
RNM-1	3708	41	5	8	3	11,48	0,38	17	3218
RNM-2	3260	36	5	7	2	27,22	0,60	18	3921
RNM-3	2730	30	8	13	4	18,85	0,84	36	7524
Averages	2570	29	7,6	10,9	2,9	15,43	0,51	22,67	4071

While the most news about the event is seen in RNM-3, this newspaper also differs significantly from all other newspapers regarding the word count. While the highest numbers in terms of the number of pages and days are seen in PGM-2, the highest number on the first page is seen in DM-2.

4.2.9.1. Application of CDA

When the first nine incidents are taken into consideration, it is seen that incident themes are so close in DM and PGM groups for the first time in OSTİM, which is the second biggest incident after Karadon with 864 themes. Furthermore, given the harsh polarization era that began with Davutpaşa, this is the first instance in which RNM handled more themes than PGM in terms of both common and incident themes. It is also the last case in terms of common themes.

When the incident themes subgroups are examined, it is seen that only the ‘claims drawing attention to different dimensions of incident’ theme are processed under other incident themes in both DM and RNM. This theme states that the result of the incident’s findings, explanations, resolves, and so on leads people to reflect on different aspects of the incident. When the content is analysed, the debate between Ankara Metropolitan Mayor Melih Gökçek and İvedik OSB President Hasan Gültekin in both newspaper groups in the form of accusing each other over inspection authority, revealing the issue of "rent" is the first question to be raised. This issue constitutes the second questioning content by concluding that the generated rent economy causes such accidents and allows those responsible for going unpunished. This is exemplified by the fact that those responsible for the Davutpaşa incident were not punished despite the intervening three years.

Table 4. 38: The theme distribution of OSTİM

9. OSTİM (03.02.2011)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	40	53	57	150	0,17
	1.2	Background	12	3	4	19	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	6	6	8	20	
	1.4	Other	2	0	2	4	
		Incident total	60	62	71	193	0,22
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	10	2	4	16	
	2.2	Government	9	14	23	46	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	1	1	5	7	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	1	0	4	5	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	9	2	2	13	
	2.6	Expert	8	0	8	16	
	2.7	All Other Actors	2	1	2	5	
		Actors Total	40	20	48	108	0,13
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	23	1	4	28	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	27	2	4	33	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	8	1	5	14	
	3.4	Legal Matters	19	3	6	28	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	73	23	45	141	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	12	1	11	24	
		Factors Total	162	31	75	268	0,3102
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	18	19	5	42	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	33	7	24	64	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY & GOVERNMENT	2	0	2	4	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	0	0	0	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY & GOVERNMENT	1	1	0	2	
		Attribution Total	54	27	31	112	0,13
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	1	8	2	11	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	43	6	19	68	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	1	0	0	1	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	9	23	11	43	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	11	6	11	28	
		Polarization Total	65	43	43	151	0,17
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	("Fatalism" vs Not Fate!)	6	0	1	7	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	0	0	0	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	4	0	0	4	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	17	1	3	21	
		De-Naturalization Total	27	1	4	32	0,04
Themes total			408	184	272	864	1

Background and search & rescue subgroups are handled in line with the usual attitudes of the relevant newspapers. Although there is no change in the way it is handled in terms of Background, the decrease in handling this theme in the RNM group is remarkable, while the comparisons made with the Davutpaşa incident in the PGM group are a first for these newspapers. Until this incident, while company-based background themes are generally

handled in PGM, in this case, it is handled as a comparison with a past event and a general problem, albeit vaguely.

Considering the Actors, it is seen that RNM and DM have included all of the main actors once again. On the other hand, PGM does not use experts and Victims and Victims' Relatives, which it frequently does. It is quite remarkable that PGM never benefited from Victims and Victims' Relatives, which they made a lot of news in the context of the mutual mourning theme. In terms of Actors distribution, it is seen that DM has a balanced distribution among the government, opposition, experts and trade unions but the other two groups clearly give more room to government actors. It should be noted that Gökçek, the mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, is also counted among the government officials. Finally, in union-related actors, it is seen that employers' unions are also included in PGM besides trade unions.

Factors themes, which DM processes mostly, are processed least by PGM once more. However, in PGM, which has the most factors themes of the first 11 incidents, some exceptions stand out: Political context sub-theme group was covered for the first time in a PGM newspaper. The news subject is the fight between the Metropolitan Mayor and the OIZ directorate and the war of "rent" in the speeches made in the parliament after the issue was moved to the parliament. It is the first example of publishing the political context issues such as "rent" in PGM newspapers, and it is believed that the explanation for this is that both actors are from the government and are strong. The second exception is that system-based background and analysis themes are covered in PGM newspapers for the first time and presented with a solution proposal again for the first time.

In all three newspaper groups, the Systemic/structural issues sub-theme group is the most worked themes. Since factor themes are often treated minimally in PGM, it stands out as an exception, with Davutpaşa, in processing this theme a lot in PGM. In DM, whose Factors handled the most in every incident, it is seen those themes other than systemic/structural issues are also handled a lot. In RNM, it is seen those themes other than System-based Background & Analysis is handled in very few numbers. It is obvious, however, that no subgroup is processed less than PGM. In addition, considering the rates of the factors theme group in the total themes, it is noteworthy that the Ostim incident is in the second place after Esenyurt AVM in terms of both DM and three group averages. Once more, this data shows that, in incidents other than mining, factors are covered more in all newspaper categories.

The main focus of PGM is the company, while the main focus of DM and RNM is the government in terms of attribution themes. However, it should not mean that DM and RNM do not criticize and associate with the company. In the OSTİM, for example, the attribution theme count focusing on the company in the DM group is only one less than the PGM. In the remaining 14 incidents, DM has consistently handled more attribution themes than PGM in this context. In this context, the main argument of DM newspapers is that, although the firm is solely responsible for the incident it is involved in, this is not an isolated case but rather an example of a common issue. The government, on the other hand, is mainly responsible for this common problem. Except for some exceptions, RNM also displays a parallel stance with DM in terms of its general attitude.

When the first 12 events are taken into consideration in terms of the frequency of processing polarization themes, it is seen that OSTİM and Esenyurt AVM incidents are the most studied themes after Karadon. In terms of polarization themes, in parallel with the general attitude, the De-Legitimize government sub-themes have been handled more in DM and RNM with a distinct difference. In contrast, the Legitimize government subgroup is predominantly studied in PGM. In this theme group, it is noteworthy that PGM is processing the theme *"trying to portray an isolated incident as a common problem"* for the first time. This theme, which is commonly used by the PGM group, particularly in the Soma incident, is positioned as a counter-discourse against DM's opposing discourse, and all uses except one are in PGM. In addition, the "incident is manipulated with information pollution/malicious statements, be careful!" theme, which was first used in the Karadon incident for similar purposes, has become more popular in PGM. This theme will be used frequently by other newspaper groups later on. In this context, it is worth noting that the "manipulation/propaganda [claim]" theme, which all three newspaper groups have used since Davutpaşa, is being used much more frequently. One of the striking points in terms of the PGM group here is that all de-legitimization of government themes is handled in municipalities' focus.

In the DM and RNM newspapers, the intensity of new law discussions and actions on labour law is also noteworthy. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the "police state/violence: disproportionate use of force by the police" theme in DM was used for the first time in this incident. This theme, which was handled a lot in Soma, was not used in any of the 15 incidents by PGM newspapers. While it is seen that this theme is frequently used

in protest events, the counter-discourse of the PGM group is treated with the theme "ugly protest/provocation / provocateur".

The first critical point that draws attention in terms of [de]-naturalization themes, which are rarely covered in newspapers other than DM, is that martyrdom had not been covered one more. As emphasized before, these themes are rarely discussed in events other than mining. The theme "Not a work accident / not fate but a murder/massacre" is again the most worked, even the only theme covered in PGM. Finally, despite the DM-3, which only handles 16 themes, the DM group deals with more dissident notions and general terms than any other group.

The last element to be mentioned in terms of themes is the structural or functional changes observed in some themes. The first of these is the "solidarity time; not the time to do politics/discussion in such difficult times" theme. Until now, this theme was an argument used only by the government to criticize dissident parties, but many government officials used it in OSTIM to criticize Melih Gökçek and İvedik OIZ President Hasan Gültekin. This theme, which has become a notable exception, is also seen in DM with a little satire.

The second is the more money and profit orientation theme. Until this incident, this theme, which focused solely on the company, was also handled in the DM and RNM groups in the same way. However, with Karadon and especially Ostim incidents, DM newspapers are associated and targeted not only the firm but also the government. With this new function, the main argument is that the more money-oriented and greedy government creates firms like itself and creates a rent economy.

Third, the theme "state/government will prevent similar disasters/problems" was used as a full pro-government theme until OSTIM, only to emphasize the government in a positive sense and for legitimization. The only exception in the RNM is handled in the same way. However, with Ostim, it is seen that DM newspapers started to process it with critical notions. Moreover, this theme is linked directly or indirectly with the "not punishing but protecting those responsible" theme and handled within the scope of clientelism. In this context, it has been argued that government officials' words and actions actually pursue naturalization.

"Workers' negligence/mistakes" theme has become more pronounced. However, this theme, which is never explicitly addressed, is provided implicitly in a rather soft language as "mistake made by our working brother may cause it." The striking change here is the

frequency of processing. This theme, which was previously voiced by one person and almost always under the investigation info, is repeatedly voiced by more than one person in this incident, especially by Melih Gökçek.

Furthermore, the uses for naturalization or normalization, which are often processed with certain manipulative notions observed in PGM newspapers, attract attention: First of all, it is noteworthy that PGM newspapers are the group that deals with illegal labour/company themes in the most severe way. However, these themes are handled without background and context info, in other words, without questioning how and why this illegal work occurs or who is responsible for preventing it. The main argument is that a ruthless boss set up an illegal company and employed the workers illegally. However, there is no slightest question of why the workers consent to work here under these conditions. Therefore, manipulative uses are made with macro speech act, semantic macrostructures, local meanings, lexicon and local syntax strategies.

Secondly, as emphasized several times before, PGM newspapers have made incident themes, especially mutual mourning and common themes, an element of the naturalization process, unlike other newspapers. However, while previously applying it only to the mining sector's incidents, this usage is also evident in the Ostim case. To put it another way, so many details are given in incident themes that, despite the rise in the news's number and size, there is nothing more than drowning in details by sharing a lot of information that is not actually necessary. For instance, many information that is not really relevant to the news itself, such as how many people came from which organisation, which equipment they brought, and which way they came, are introduced under cover of "successful and devoted work" in search and rescue themes. This situation, which stands out as an open local meanings strategy, is also used for manipulative purposes after Karadon in the context of topic selection, that is, with semantic macrostructures. In addition, incident themes are generally handled together with other themes and mostly as secondary themes in DM and RNM groups, while they are mostly framed as the main theme and are handled very frequently in PGM.

PGM newspapers also began to portray the theme of "workers who survived by chance/miracle" under "fatalism" and hence began to render naturalization in this regard. This theme, which PGM newspapers combine with mutual mourning themes, covers the following episode: Since there was no death in these workers' fate, they survived by chance or miracle. In other words, the workers died because that was their destiny.

The salary issue has also been turned into another abused element of agitation. This theme is now used in PGM newspapers only for manipulative purposes. These themes, which are brought to the headlines in the form of salaries for the deceased or their relatives, are touted as a blessing and a special government application. They also dealt with this issue in Davutpaşa. However, the workplace exploded was illegal there, and unregistered workers did not have such a right. Hence, the news of "government sensitivity" had partial truth. However, although there was no illegal work or company in this incident and afterwards, it is seen that they presented in the same way. To put it more clearly, while it is clear that workers working under the SSI are already receiving death wages due to their rights arising from the law and not related to charity work, PGM newspapers have used this as a manipulation tool.

In most of the news in which the themes of negligence and lack of control are discussed, it is seen that the actors were the mayors of Ankara Metropolitan or Yenimahalle and the Mayor of İvedik OIZ. Indeed, whenever these themes are used with critical notions in the PGM group, a similar situation arises: some officials blame some other officials. In other words, the PGM group might be reported such news if only there is a conflict of interest among them. In this incident, while both municipalities demand the control authority of the OIZs in their regions, the president of the OIZ criticizes and opposes this request with analogies such as the "rent" incident. As a result, in their statement to the press, some ministers and the Ankara governor have to tell the parties to be calm and that this argument does not suit any of them.

Finally, some contradictory and questionable findings should be addressed. PGM newspapers present the incident as an isolated issue, often in a reductionist approach, in terms of framing or attribution. However, later, and especially while trying to de-legitimize the dissidents' criticism, they re-frame it either as an ongoing problem from the pre-AKP period or as a common issue stemming from some malicious individuals or institutions. In other words, by accepting the existence of a common problem in both cases, they create a contrast between the "event perception" they frame and the "event perception" they present when they have to defend it.

Some novelties observed also in RNM newspapers are as follows: First "*the importance of industry/private sectors*" theme has emerged. The importance of industry and private sector for economy and employment has started to be presented in RNM as a solution through this theme. Second, the theme comparison with other countries, which was first

published in Karadon by RNM newspapers, is also used in this case. However, this theme used in Karadon within the scope of background was used for systematic criticism in this case. This theme, used only by RNM newspapers in both cases, later becomes one of the main themes of the DM group. In addition to its widespread use for analysis purposes in comparing various data such as the number of work accidents with other countries, it is also seen that it is frequently used for criticism. It is seen that the main arguments are concentrated on two issues for critical purposes. First and foremost, the critical comparison of why 'accident' doesn't happen in other countries. Second, trope-purposed comparison with countries that usually have war such as "this is not ..., but Ankara".

When "direct lead and photo", which are the other elements of thematic analysis, are examined, it is seen that they are handled in the context of the main themes, not going beyond the issues discussed in the general evaluation. However, caricatures, which are considered important systemic criticism tools, draw attention with their more use in thematic element and on the first page.

In terms of Schematic structure analysis, there is no important issue or difference other than the issues mentioned in the general evaluation and thematic analysis. The presence of different actors such as mayors, industrialists, and so on as news sources are related to the incident's sector and place.

Microstructure, on the other hand, draw attention to some important differences. First of all, it is seen that polarisation themes have also hardened in this period when political polarization has become more evident. In this context, newspapers have also made some tactical changes. It is possible to summarize this change mostly observed in Syntactic Analysis as follows: DM newspapers are now much clearer, often concise and directly covering the subject in context. On the other hand, PGM newspapers try to keep the actual issue more blurred and vaguer using longer and more complicated sentences. Although a structure similar to DM is also observed in RNM mostly, it is seen those structures similar to PGM are not rare. In all three groups, it is seen that passive-active structures are used for emphasize or de-emphasize purposes, apart from the natural use of passive-active structures.

There is no important issue or difference in terms of Local Coherence other than the subjects mentioned in the general evaluation and thematic analysis. At the same time, it is seen that all newspaper groups use rhetorical photographs for News Rhetoric. All of the main

photographs in all three newspaper groups are the terrifying images of the explosion areas. On the other hand, other photographs are used in parallel with the newspaper's own attitudes.

In terms of Lexical style, it is seen that the AKP term is superior in the AKP-Ak Party dichotomy (20 to 2). Although both terms appear twice in RNM, they do not appear in PGM. In the Accident/Disaster-Murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy, it is seen that the use of Accident/Disaster is used more in all three newspaper groups. Still, it is predominant in the PGM and RNM groups. When all 15 cases are considered, it is seen that Murder/work murder/massacre group is used more with Not an accident / a fate but a murder/massacre group than Accident / Disaster group in DM newspapers. This is the only exception. In the other two newspaper groups, it is seen that the use of the opposition word group is quite low.

Finally, it is noteworthy that in the Resistance/Protest vs Provocateur/Provocation dichotomy, only the Resistance / Protest keywords were used in all three newspaper groups. The words Police state/violence were also used for the first time in this keyword group. Although used only in DM, these words are critical because both develop discourses against the words Provocateur / Provocation. Now those systemic problems are not only naturalised but also intimidated by the police. Before this incident, the DM group expressed this situation with the themes of intimidation effort, but it was an abstract criticism, but now it has been embodied in police actions.

4.2.9.2 Keywords and Government Officials

In the context of government officials, it appears that the prime minister did not make a statement despite his visit to the scene. While it is observed that almost all of the statements about the incident in the form of information and comment were made by the Minister of Labour, Ömer Dinçer, the following statement made by the Minister of Industry during the briefing is remarkable:

- *Some OIZs have been converted from small industrial sites to OIZs. Here, the growth needs of businesses cannot be met sufficiently. Therefore, some illegal settlements may occur.*

Dinçer, on the other hand, drew attention with the following statements he made apart from informing:

- *We conducted an audit in 2007. I have learned that the company does not have a business certificate. Occupational health and safety can only be possible by taking*

one's own health seriously. Even if we take structural and technological measures, if people do not care about their own lives, this is a huge weakness.

- **"... We will identify the problem surely, then identify the responsible person and do what is necessary. We noticed another situation with this incident that there are serious occupational health and safety problems related to OSTİM and İvedik.** We established a working team with the Ministry of Industry; we will review the enterprises there one by one. We will review their licenses, occupational health and safety, and their registration status and will not tolerate them if there are any deficiencies.
- **We should not discuss and attempt to question our management model from beginning to end just because an accident happened.** We have to see what the problem is, what is responsible.
- **Minister Dinçer**, on a question about Ankara Metropolitan Municipality's blaming the district municipality, replied, "It is not right for everyone to show someone else as responsible when there is a problem".

Considering the statements, it seems difficult to work on the Minister of Industry's statements, a very limited part of which is reflected in the press. However, he clearly stated a systemic problem and the factors behind it with his own expressions. The minister admits that there are illegal constructions and the reason is the unplanned OIZ transformations. Minister Dinçer, on the other hand, generally concludes his informative statements with his own comments.

The Minister of Labour stated that there had been no audit in the company for the last four years, besides that the relevant enterprise does not have an operating certificate. Then he emphasizes that the primary responsibility of occupational safety issues lies with the workers and companies. He particularly emphasizes that the responsibility lies not only in the government but also in all segments, even if government take all kinds of precautions.

Of course, all parties involved have their own responsibilities. Still, here a contradiction has arisen: The minister expects an employer, who has not even obtained a business certificate, to act responsibly, but he has not conducted an audit in Ankara's centre for four years. Moreover, he clearly states that this is not an isolated case but also a structural problem. Finally, in the question asked about the mayors, he says it is not right to direct the responsibility on someone else. Then, what does he do? Also, Minister Dinçer, who claims that they will establish a team and make the necessary investigations, makes his most crucial statement about the management model. Saying that we should not discuss our management model just because an accident happened, the minister not only admits that the issue causes management model discussions but also admits that it is handled as a systemic problem. He also recommends that the situation should not be handled in this way.

When these statements are combined with the statement of the Minister of Industry, serious questions arise. Either the ministers are unaware of this serious issue or are seriously manipulating it by making these comments. While the Minister of Labour speaks of responsibility, he does not raise the slightest question about his own irresponsibility. Moreover, he invites stakeholders to act responsibly, as if there is no responsibility for them on the issue and they are a newly elected government. In this case, in this event that took place almost at the end of the second government periods, the answers to the following questions should be discussed: Who is the one who turned the relevant regions into OIZs without any planning? Who is ignoring the illegal constructions here? Above all, who is responsible for the system that obliges workers to consent to work uninsured and unregistered? To me, the minister of labour clearly avoids taking responsibility and manipulates the issue.

When the keywords groups were examined, the total word count decreased by almost half compared to the previous event, while the number of total keywords decreased by approximately 75%. In actors related keywords, while a significant decrease in all actors is seen, union-related keywords, which shows a decrease of approximately 75% compared to the previous event, exhibits the most striking change. In this context, the number of union-related actor keywords has fallen from 36 to three (1/12) in the PGM group, from 69 to 7 (~1/10) in the RNM, and from 99 to 31 (~1/10) in the DM. Again, DM maintains a consistent line in this regard.

The keywords of Accident/Disaster vs Murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy, which were used 967 times in the previous incident, were used only 167 times. It is seen that the most important factor here is the Accident/Disaster keywords, which were used 574 times in the previous incident and decreased to 105 in this one. These keywords have shown a very significant decrease in all three newspaper groups, but the most significant decrease has seen in the DM group (from 259 to 34). In other words, although there is a decrease in the description of this incident as an Accident/Disaster by the newspapers, the description of murder is still more dominant only in the DM group.

The dichotomy of Inspection vs Lack of Inspection is the least decreasing keywords category, and there is also a significant increase in the Lack of Inspection keywords. While this keyword group increased in the DM compared to the previous event, it reveals once more the importance of this issue for DM.

Table 4. 39: Keywords of OSTIM

9. OSTİM (03.02.2011)					
Total word count			10610	11370	14663
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Government-related	AKP	AKP	18	0	2
	AK Parti	AK Party	0	0	2
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	59	71	56
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP	10	2	9
	MHP	MHP	1	3	4
	Muhalefet	The opposition			
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	9	0	1
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş	3	0	0
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	7	0	2
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)	6	3	3
	Sendikası	Non-union/ nonunionised	6	0	1
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	34	43	28
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	6	0	0
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom			
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	31	3	5
Inspection vs Lack of	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	13	0	4
	Katil	Murderer/killer			
	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	46	15	30
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	12	5	6
	İhmal	Negligence	11	8	3
Law-related	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	20	13	8
	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	15	0	4
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	25	11	8
	ILO	ILO			
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödöfans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	4	1	1
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	3	0	1
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	10	2	2
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector			
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	17	25	59
Systemic/Structural issues	İstihdam	Employment	0	1	0
	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition			
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded	4	4	5
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier	3	1	0
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery			
Protest vs Provocation	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	7	0	0
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)			
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
	Medya	Media			
Protest vs Provocation	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest	23	4	3
	Gösteri	Demonstration			
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
	Polis	Police	3	3	12
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence	11	0	0
Total Keywords			417	218	259
Total keywords / Total words (%)			3,93	1,92	1,77

Law-related keywords is another issue that shows a relatively low decline and is also attributed more importance by DM than other newspapers. These keywords also increase in DM compared to the previous incident.

The second group with the most serious decrease is Neoliberalism keywords. The most important change in this group, which has a significant decrease in each keyword, is Subcontractor / Subcontracting / Royalty keywords. This is directly related to the sector in which the incident occurred and the nature of the issue. A drop of these keywords are also expected as the main problem here has nothing to do with the subcontractor system and privatization. On the other hand, there is hardly any decrease in Systemic / Structural issues keywords, to which the main issue is very closely related. The only keywords in which there is a significant decrease for this group is the partisan keywords.

Finally, the Resistance / Protest keywords are still frequently used, although there seems to be a decline in the Protest vs provocation dichotomy. It is also very important that Police state / violence keywords are used for the first time.

In summary, in terms of the corpus, the same consequence is also reached, which is clearly seen in the CDA analysis and the Minister of Labour statements: There are obvious structural problems but the government, which is largely responsible for these issues, refuses to accept responsibility and instead manipulates and normalizes them by intimidating the incident with deterrents such as the police.

4.2.10. Elbistan

One worker lost his life in the collapse on 6 February 2011, in the Çöllolar Open coal field belonging to Ciner Holding, which supplies coal to the thermal power plant in Elbistan, Kahramanmaraş. Just four days later, on 10 February 2011, a second collapse occurred in the same place, resulting in 10 more workers killed and 5 injured. Unfortunately, nine of these workers' bodies have still not been reached, although 11 years have passed since this incident. A mausoleum was built for these workers who did not even have graves.

When factors such as the incidence of these two collapses on the fourth and seventh days of the OSTIM disaster, the failure to reach funerals, and difficulties in search and rescue operations are taken into account, it is anticipated that related news will be plentiful. However, in terms of both the total news count and the word count, the lowest figures of the post-Davutpaşa period are seen. This is an unusual circumstance. As previously mentioned in the Dursunbey-II incident, it is observed that the newspapers in three incidents out of 15 incidents went beyond their general attitudes. The first of these exceptions was Dursunbey-II. The exception to this incident was due to the company's positive attitude and behaviour discussed in detail in the relevant incident review. The second exception is the Elbistan

incident, while the third exception is the next incident, Gökdere. When questioned why these two incidents were exceptions, no impression was found about the firm's innocence, nor that there was a periodic softening in the political context. On the contrary, there are significant flaws of the relevant companies as well as a political environment that has been tensed by events such as the Balyoz Action Plan. So much so that, on the first day of this event, the fisted fight between the deputies in the parliament is on the headlines of almost all newspapers.

If so, what is the reason that drives newspapers to act outside of their normal attitude? To find the answer to this question, the RNM group, which exhibits the most different behaviour, has been examined, and some anomalies related to the main company, Ciner Holding, draw attention. The Gökdere incident was also investigated from this perspective, and the findings pointed again to the companies: EnerjiSa (Sabancı Holding), which is also the main company, and the contractor firm, the Özaltın-Cengiz Construction partnership. Therefore, the reason for the newspapers' different attitude in these two incidents is related to the relevant companies. Therefore, the newspapers' different attitude in these two incidents is related to the relevant companies. Considering these two incidents together, in other words, related companies are among Turkey's largest business groups. This is seen as the most likely reason for the different attitudes of newspapers. Moreover, the fact that the relevant company (Ciner Holding) has a media group stands out as the most reasonable reason for this particular incident. Because when the relevant news is examined, it is noteworthy that companies are de-emphasized with various strategies. In the Elbistan incident, it is clearly observed that RNM newspapers avoided using the name Ciner Holding. As a matter of fact, this name is never pronounced. Moreover, it is seen that DM-2 is the only newspaper that analyses by directly emphasizing the company's name.

Focusing on some quantitative data, this incident, which had only 72 pages of news in the 90-day scanning period, is presented in the first 14-day period, with 68 pages. In other words, more than 94% of the total news was published in the first two weeks and was almost completely forgotten afterwards. Even in DM-2, which reached the highest number in terms of the news count in the first two weeks, there is no news afterwards.

The newspapers other than DM-2 have presented most of their news in the first five days. It is seen that most of the news published on the tenth day and afterwards focused only on the difficulties experienced in search and rescue activities.

Table 4. 40: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (8/8)	DM-2 (16/16)	DM-3 (3/3)	PGM-1 (5/6)	PGM-2 (10/13)	PGM-3 (7/7)	RNM-1 (5/5)	RNM-2 (5/5)	RNM-3 (9/9)
1	1 & 3	1 & 4	8	1 & 13	1 & 17	1 & 22	1 & 6	1 & 5	1 & 4
2	1 & 7	4	8	3	17	25	6	19	1 & 21
3	3	1 & 4	8	3	1 & 15	5	7		1 & 6
4	1 & 3	4		3	1 & 17	1 & 6			5
5	15	3 & 4			11	7			
6		1 & 4							
7		1 & 3					8		
8		4		16					
10		1 & 4						17	1 & 5
12					19				
13		4			19			15	

DM-3 made news on the eighth page on the first day, but this news text is unavailable. DM-3 reveals the most important data by making only three pages of news in total. In other two days, this newspaper published two tiny news pieces consisting of 172 words in total. Considering that eight newspapers except DM-3 have an average news count of 13.25 and an average word count of 2175, the attitude of the DM-3 has become even more remarkable. The most news and word count are in DM-2. In other words, both the highest and lowest figures belong to DM group newspapers.

It is seen in other groups that both news and word weight is concentrated in one newspaper: PGM-3 and RNM-3. Spatially, the largest area on the first page is in PGM-3 on the news days, while it is in DM-2 in a 90-day period.

Table 4. 41: Quantitative data of Elbistan for 90-days screening period

10. ELBİSTAN (10 Feb. 2011)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	The area (%) on the first page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1918	21	5	8	3	3,32	0,11	9	1606
DM-2	1406	16	10	16	5	11,35	0,63	25	3973
DM-3	1506	17	3	3	0	0,00	0,00	2	172
PGM-1	2250	25	5	6	1	10,65	0,12	7	1499
PGM-2	2484	28	10	13	3	6,34	0,21	13	1817
PGM-3	3804	42	5	7	2	11,59	0,26	16	3484
RNM-1	3762	42	4	5	1	1,58	0,02	7	1036
RNM-2	3232	36	4	5	1	5,28	0,06	11	1392
RNM-3	2770	31	5	9	4	5,47	0,24	18	2596
Averages	2570	29	5,7	8,0	2,2	6,18	0,18	12	1953

To sum up, numerical data point to an exceptional situation by showing serious declines, considering both the previous incident and the severe polarization period after

Davutpaşa. In this exceptional case, the closest newspaper to their general attitude was DM-2, while the furthest newspaper was RNM-1.

4.2.10.1. Application of CDA

When the themes are examined, it is seen that there is a significant decrease in all newspaper groups compare to OSTİM, which took place only a week ago and whose effect continued, in this incident, in which a total of 399 themes were covered. The first thing that draws attention in this context is that the newspaper group with the least themes was RNM instead of PGM for the first time after Gediz. Another point is that the proportion of incident themes in total themes is 54% in PGM and 48% in RNM. Given that the incident themes average of 15 incidents is 32% and the common themes average is 22%, the high rates become even more apparent. Also, considering the post-Davutpaşa period, it is the highest rates of PGM and RNM among 11 incidents.

When incident themes are examined, the most frequently processed sub-group is common themes, while interesting data are observed in the subgroups of background and search and rescue. In the RNM group, which frequently handles background themes, only one theme has been handled in this context. This theme is simply reporting on the premise of the incident that occurred four days ago. In other words, it is not a background for analysis as it usually does within the framework of RNM's general attitude. Therefore, no background theme actually handled with this incident. The same is true for PGM, but this is normal for these newspapers as this group mostly avoids the background theme. On the other hand, it is seen that all three newspaper groups handle the search and rescue themes both numerically and proportionally more than normal. However, considering the serious difficulties observed in search and rescue efforts, it is understood that this situation is not unusual.

When Actors is examined, it is seen that the DM group includes all six main actors, while PGM does not include dissidents and companies, and RNM does not include dissidents. While DM mostly featured unions/worker groups and experts, PGM and RNM mostly benefited from Victims & Victims' Relatives actors.

In terms of factors, it is seen that only the DM group maintains its general attitude, despite DM-3. RNM not only reached the lowest statistics in 11 incidents post-Davutpaşa period but also presented the only example in 15 cases where factors themes were processed less than PGM. In the light of systemic/structural issues, all of the four themes on which they

have worked constitute analysis news in the form of desperation and against the interpretation of the isolated incident. Similarly, PGM operates despair and a solution proposal theme, while the final one is the anti-privatization theme, which is handled indirectly. DM, on the other hand, dealt with the theme of *'link between government and the company/business wolds'* in the context of political context and the theme of *'lack of unionization rights'* in the context of weak and/or politicized trade unions, while frequently processing other subgroups. However, DM mostly focused on Neoliberalism and systemic/structural issues themes.

When the attribution themes are examined, 'the company's negligence/fault' theme stands out as the most processed theme in all three groups (DM: 10, PGM and RNM: 4). However, while the name Ciner is mentioned 5 times in DM and 3 times in PGM, it is not mentioned in RNM. DM also explicitly holds the government responsible for the incident by handling the 'negligence/lack of inspection' theme 9 times, while it also holds both the company and the government responsible for the incident through the seven themes of 'the incident is absolutely no surprise, the symptoms/warnings were ignored!'. All themes except the company's negligence/fault theme were used once and randomly in the other two groups.

In terms of polarization themes, the general attitude remains the same: DM and RNM mainly dealt with de-legitimization of government while PGM, on the other hand, concentrated mostly on government legitimisation.

It is also seen as one of the lowest rates in terms of de-naturalization themes. Only the indirect processing of the "not a work accident / not fate but a murder/massacre" theme is seen only once in PGM and RNM. This theme is handled in the context of the victim relatives' statements in RNM and the context of the statements of General Mining Workers Union (GMİS) President Ramis Muslu in PGM. While DM also mostly processes this theme, it is seen that all of them are in direct use. DM framed its harshest criticism of de-naturalization on Minister Taner Yıldız's statements in the context of the "normalization of work accidents" theme. When Minister Yıldız claimed that the earthquake could cause the incident, the newspaper asked the following question: While there was no problem at the other mine operated by the state in the same zone, did the earthquake only affect this private company's area? In this way, the newspaper accuses Minister Yıldız of manipulating the incident and naturalizing work accidents.

Table 4. 42: The theme distribution of Elbistan

10. Elbistan (10.02.2011)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	9	34	28	71	0,18
	1.2	Background	8	1	1	10	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	12	15	13	40	
	1.4	Other	0	1	0	1	
		Incident total	29	51	42	122	0,31
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	6	0	0	6	
	2.2	Government	6	6	5	17	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	5	0	3	8	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	7	9	7	23	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	10	2	5	17	
	2.6	Expert	9	1	3	13	
	2.7	All Other Actors	0	0	0	0	
		Actors Total	43	18	23	84	0,21
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	1	0	0	1	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	34	1	0	35	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	1	0	0	1	
	3.4	Legal Matters	6	0	0	6	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	19	2	3	24	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	6	2	1	9	
		Factors Total	67	5	4	76	0,19
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	16	5	4	25	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	19	2	2	23	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	10	2	2	14	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	0	0	0	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
		Attribution Total	45	9	8	62	0,16
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	3	3	1	7	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	15	0	5	20	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	0	0	0	0	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	1	8	2	11	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	6	0	2	8	
		Polarization Total	25	11	10	46	0,12
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	("Fatalism" vs Not Fate!)	0	0	0	0	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	1	0	0	1	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	1	0	0	1	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	5	1	1	7	
		De-Naturalization Total	7	1	1	9	0,02
Themes total			216	95	88	399	1

Considering other thematic structure elements, there is no exceptional against the general attitudes and features in terms of lead. The photos are also in line with the general attitudes: In the DM group, except for incident photos, two photos belong to police barricades and MMO officials, while in PGM, seven photos other than the incident belong

to the ministers. In RNM, two of the 4 photographs except the incident belong to EÜAŞ General Manager, one to Taner Yıldız and the last one to the soldiers.

When the schematic structure is examined, it is seen that the episodes are completely shaped according to the attitudes determined in the general evaluation in all three newspaper groups. However, in terms of background, there are quite different attitudes in newspapers other than DM. While DM is the group that shares the most and detailed background information, it is seen that there is no background information in the other two groups. While PGM has an attitude that typically does not deal with background information, the same occurrence just four days before the actual event creates a high level of background information anticipation. RNM, on the other hand, has not handled direct and clear background info, just like PGM, in contrast to its typical attitude that often processes background info. It is worth noting that RNM newspapers specifically avoid associations with Ciner Holding, the incident's main company.

It is also seen as one of the lowest rates in terms of de-naturalization themes. Only the indirect processing of the "not a work accident / not fate but a murder/massacre" theme is seen only once in PGM and RNM. This theme is handled in the context of the victim relatives' statements in RNM and the context of the statements of GMİS President Ramis Muslu in PGM. While DM also mostly processes this theme, it is seen that all of them are in direct use. DM framed its harshest criticism of de-naturalization on Minister Taner Yıldız's statements in the context of the "normalization of work accidents" theme. When Minister Yıldız claimed that the earthquake could cause the incident, the newspaper asked the following question: While there was no problem at the other mine operated by the state in the same zone, did the earthquake only affect this private company's area? In this way, the newspaper accuses Minister Yıldız of manipulating the incident and naturalizing work accidents.

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In the comment analysis, it is seen that a presentation was made in line with the actor themes both as news sources and as interested parties. Although the DM group has the most balanced distribution, it is seen that experts and union representatives are used more as news sources. However, the strategy implemented by DM-2 is the primary source of this balanced distribution and increased referral to relevant actors. This attitude is less evident in the other two newspapers, especially the DM-3.

The approach that has become very apparent during Karadon continues in terms of syntactic analysis. It has been observed that PGM newspapers, in particular, highlight or hide information using passive-active structured sentences and straightforward-complicated sentence structures. RNM has a very similar attitude to PGM, specific to this particular incident. However, while PGM tries to emphasize the positive side of government or de-emphasize its negativities, RNM uses the same tactics for the company.

While no significant difference is observed in terms of local coherence, each group maintains its own general attitude regarding news rhetoric. However, there are quite different situations in terms of lexical style.

First of all, in the AKP-Ak Party dichotomy, in any of the nine events so far, the term Ak Party had not been used more than AKP. However, this incident, along with the next one, is also an exception in this context. While the term AKP was clearly used more and often in the Ostim incident that took place just a week ago, AKP was used only once in DM and Ak Party twice in PGM in this incident.

Only these two keyword groups are used in the Accident vs Murder dichotomy. When all events are considered, this scenario is only seen in Ermenek-I and this incident. Moreover, considering the general average, it is noteworthy that Accident/Disaster keywords are also used very little in PGM and RNM groups. Unlike the previous Ostim event, an obvious Accident/Disaster usage is seen in terms of the dichotomy. So much so that while the Murder/work murder/massacre keywords were only used once in PGM, they were never used in RNM.

In the last protest vs provocation dichotomy, it is seen that these keywords are not used at all. This means that, even though people protested several times the OSTIM incident that happened a week ago, there was no protest action related to Elbistan.

4.2.10.2 Keywords and Government Officials

In this incident, all statements made by the government authorities belong to Energy Minister Taner Yıldız. However, the Minister of Labour is often mentioned in reference to the incident that took place in Chile in August 2010 and where workers trapped under the ground were rescued alive 69 days later. The following words of the Minister of Labour Ömer Dinçer about the mining accident in Chile are frequently given in DM newspapers in connection with this incident: "If the accident in Chile had happened here, we would have saved it in three days." Since the workers in Elbistan could not be found, critical news started to be made frequently in many newspapers. This situation is reflected in some titles and headlines:

[DM2-3.1: TITLE]	Three days have passed, no voice from the Minister!
[DM2-3.4: TITLE]	The Minister of Labour would have rescued the workers in 3 days!
[DM2-6.4: HEADLINE]	‘What happened to your rescuing in 3 days’

It is possible to evaluate Taner Yıldız’s statements in two main groups. While the first is his statements directly related to the event itself (1 and 2), the second is his statements based on the dissidents’ criticism (3 and 4).

1. This graben is unique in the world.
2. Since then, a landslide had occurred in an area of 2.5-3 kilometres in the place we call an open pit. I sent our General Manager and Undersecretary there. It was an activity belonging to the private sector. **There was currently no coal production activity going on there. Whether an earthquake or a ground shift triggers the current event, we will confirm with the information we will get from the observatory.** As a result, there was

a landslide in a place without coal activity; a large amount was knocked over to the empty field next to it. It would not be correct to associate this with coal. We can say it as a landslide in a coalfield. It is said that a vehicle doing topography and a passing vehicle were also under the collapse. It would not be right for us to say anything about the exact figures without confirming it.

3. This issue is a supra-politics matter. It is wrong to do politics over this. All institutions related to landslides are doing research. Water is currently being drawn from 200 wells by pumps to remove the water accumulated on the coal mine ground. If we can dry the ground, we will prevent new landslides. Then, it will be easier to take out our brothers from under the ground.
4. I have heard that some political party representatives and deputies are trying to use the issue in politics with their statements. I am very saddened by that.

The minister deliberately uses the word "graben" in the first sentence to make the incident appear to be a natural catastrophe, and thus there is an obvious manipulation through the lexicon. Considering Taner Yıldız's first two sentences, the minister attempts to prevent the incident from being associated with coal; on the other hand, he associates the cause of the event with the earthquake. Furthermore, he does so as the information of the incident. This brings in a slew of inconsistencies: First, the incident definitely happened in the coalfield and hence is directly related to the coal. Also, as has been the subject of many news, linking the event to the earthquake is an obvious example of manipulation. As a matter of fact, the minister used the word graben instead of collapse when describing the event. The minister's lexical style and justification, along with his explanations' syntactic use, show that he does them intentionally. Furthermore, while there are two separate businesses in the same area, one is TTK and the other is Ciner Park, the earthquake and graben cannot affect just one of them. As a matter of fact, the observatory declared that there was no earthquake that could have affected the incident area on the day of the incident. In summary, it can be argued that the Minister made such a statement, especially because of the abundance of incidents in the coal mines and the public reaction.

The two statements he made later draw attention as a method frequently used by the minister. It is observed that when he made such a statement in the first days of the incident, he did not talk about it afterwards. In other words, such explanations are merely a reflection strategy used to reduce the reaction of the incident in the early days. As a matter of fact, the minister, whose tactic is understood by the DM newspapers, is harshly criticized and is accused of evading responsibility (e.g., *Title: Government matter is to avoid responsibility*).

Table 4. 43: Keywords of Elbistan

10. Elbistan (10.02.2011)					
Total word count			5751	6800	5024
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Govern- ment- related	AKP	AKP	1	0	0
	AK Parti	AK Party	0	2	0
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	44	19	8
Dissiden- t-related	CHP	CHP	5	0	0
	MHP	MHP			
	Muhalefet	The opposition			
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	2	0	0
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş			
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	3	0	3
	Sendika / 1	Union (labour)	13	4	5
	Sendikasız	Non-union/ nonunionised			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	29	7	3
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God			
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom			
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katlîam	Murder/work murder/massacre	8	1	0
Inspection vs Lack of	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katlîam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre			
	Katil	Murderer/killer			
	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	6	0	0
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	3	0	0
	İhmal	Negligence	7	6	8
Law- related	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	8	0	2
	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	9	0	0
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	3	0	0
	ILO	ILO			
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödöfans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	10	0	3
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	15	0	3
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	2	0	0
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector	2	4	0
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	33	25	13
	İstihdam	Employment			
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	5	0	0
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded			
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier			
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery			
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	1	0	0
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)			
Protest vs Provocation	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
	Medya	Media			
	Direnış/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest			
	Gösteri	Demonstration			
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
	Polis	Police	2	0	0
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords			211	68	48
Total keywords / Total words (%)			3,67	1,00	0,96

When the keywords are examined, it is seen that the total word count decreased by half compared to the OSTIM event that occurred a week ago, while the number of keywords decreased much more, especially in PGM and RNM groups. Furthermore, keywords have the second-lowest rate (1.87%) after Ermenek-I, which is the first event when all events are considered. The main reason for these decreases is due to the PGM and RNM groups. While

the average keywords in PGM are the second-lowest after Ermenek-I, it is in the third place in RNM after the first two events, Ermenek-I and Küre. As in the CDA, the difference in RNM is remarkable.

When the keyword groups are examined, the lowest figures of the post-Davutpaşa period are seen in government-related keywords. While these keywords, which are used only eight times in RNM, constitute the lowest figures after the first two incidents, both AKP-AK Party keywords are also not used in this group.

Dissident related keywords are more interesting. Only the term CHP appears 5 times in this keywords group, and it is only in the DM group. Also, it is seen that the MHP, which made a statement in all the events after Davutpaşa, had no explanation, and therefore this keyword was never used.

There is a parallel decrease in the number of words in union-related keywords. However, it is noteworthy that 18 of the 30 uses are in DM, and three confederations are not included in PGM.

In the accident/disaster vs murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy, it is seen that only these two groups of words are used, and the number of uses has decreased sharply. While four of the six subgroups in this group were used 167 times in the Ostim incident a week ago, 48 uses were observed in only two subgroups in this incident. Murder keywords also refer to the lowest figures after Davutpaşa.

In the inspection vs lack of inspection dichotomy, the keywords count dropped from 177 to 40, while law-related keywords dropped from 63 to 12. While the smallest decrease is seen in neoliberalist keywords, there is an increase in the two special keywords: Subcontractor/Subcontracting/Royalty and Privatization. In the Systemic/Structural issues keywords where the sharpest decrease is seen, it is seen that only the "Slavery - Exploitation order" keywords are used and only once. In the last keyword group, protest vs provocation dichotomy, it is seen that only the police keyword is used only twice. These keywords, both of which are used in DM and for criticism, have also been the subject of the title:

[DM2-7.1: TITLE]

There is a police barricade, no one to rescue workers

4.2.11. Gökdere

On 24 February 2012, due to the explosion of the Gökdere Bridge Dam and Hydroelectric Power Plant's tunnel cover on the Göksu River in Adana Kozan, 10 workers were caught in the water and disappeared. Two of the 10 workers were found on the second day, one on the fourth day, one on the eighth day and one on the 20th day, but the remaining five workers were never found. Although the situation is horrifying, it is worth noting that news coverage is scarce. In other words, like the previous Elbistan incident, this incident is also an outlier in quantitative and qualitative data. Since the related companies are among Turkey's biggest conglomerates, this exemption's most rational explanation was interpreted as coming from them.

Several changes closely related to this work in this particular incident should be mentioned: First of all, it draws attention as the first incident in the third term of the AKP, which won the general elections on 12 June 2011. Then, the RNM-3 newspaper had to change when Doğan Media sold Milliyet newspaper to the Karacan-Demirören consortium in April 2011. During this period, Radikal Newspaper, another newspaper of Doğan Media, was requested to be added to the system instead of Milliyet but could not be added due to serious deficiencies in this newspaper archive. As a result, the new RNM-3 has been determined to be HaberTürk from Ciner Group due to working and positioning in a similar mindset.

When the news pages of the newspapers are examined, it is seen that all the news in the first two weeks is made in the first 11 days. 78 pages of my news, which were presented in 85 pages in the 90-day period, were made in the first two weeks, more precisely in the first 11 days.

While a more balanced distribution is observed between days in newspapers other than DM-3, PGM-3 and RNM-1, it is observed that the news in these three newspapers concentrated on certain days. Even though one of the workers' body was found on the eighth day and another on the 20th day, the RNM-1 provided quite remarkable data by not reporting even these days and presenting all its news in the first five days.

The DM-2 newspaper dated February 25, which was the first day of the incident, was not even found in its own archive, and therefore it could not be determined whether it made news on this day. However, despite this, it is the only newspaper covering the entire second-eleventh day and reports the most news with 15 pages. RNM-1, on the other hand, which

takes a very different stance from its general attitude in this incident, reported the least pages of news. Moreover, the newspaper with the highest average page number is RNM-1 along with PGM-3. While the newspapers with an average number of 44 pages have very little coverage of the relevant news, the more amount of relevant news in the newspaper with the lowest number of pages is directly related to the importance the newspapers attribute to the event.

Table 4. 44: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (9/11)	DM-2 (15/15)	DM-3 (7/7)	PGM-1 (9/11)	PGM-2 (9/9)	PGM-3 (7/7)	RNM-1 (6/6)	RNM-2 (8/9)	RNM-3 (8/10)
1	1 & 8	ID*	12	1 & 22	17	1 & 28	1 & 4	1 & 23	1 & 6
2	3	1 & 4	1 & 15	1 & 3	17	1 & 6	5	1 & 19	3
3	3	1 & 4	7	3	17	14	4	18	14
4	3	4			17		5		
5	3	3 & 4	12	1 & 3	19		4	18	16
6	3	4							14
7	3	1 & 4			18				6
8	3	4	3	3	9			19	
9		1 & 4		9	17	1 & 24		19	
10		4	3		19				5
11		3							

*ID: Inaccessible day

DM-2 is not only the newspaper with the highest amount of news on the first page but also very large from other newspapers regarding the average area size of the news. It is noteworthy that PGM-2 does not report on the first page, even for a day.

Table 4. 45: Quantitative data of Gökdere for 90-days screening period

11. GÖKDERE (24 Feb. 2012)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	The area (%) on the first page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1750	19	10	11	1	11,16	0,12	9	1601
DM-2	1396	16	11	15	4	17,99	0,81	18	4502
DM-3	1924	21	6	7	1	1,04	0,01	7	958
PGM-1	2244	25	8	11	3	2,87	0,10	12	1883
PGM-2	2520	28	9	9	0	0,00	0,00	10	1226
PGM-3	3920	44	4	7	3	7,21	0,24	9	2153
RNM-1	3954	44	5	6	1	2,19	0,02	12	1273
RNM-2	3236	36	7	9	2	6,36	0,14	10	2192
RNM-3	2882	32	9	10	1	18,52	0,21	10	1747
Averages	2647	29	7,7	9,4	1,8	7,48	0,18	10,78	1948

It can be seen that DM-2 has the highest statistics for this incident in every respect, with 18 separate news stories comprising 4502 words (~ 26% of the total number of words). As seen frequently in recent incidents, DM-3 shows the lowest figures with its seven news

and 958-word count. Although it is understood that low numbers are seen in some newspapers because they are out of their general attitude, it is clear that DM-3 is not one of them because this newspaper makes little news about occupational accidents due to its general attitude. It should be noted that it is quite difficult to say what the general attitude of RNM-3 is since it is a new newspaper for the study.

4.2.11.1. Application of CDA

In this incident, where a total of 462 themes are covered, it is seen that DM newspapers handle 54% of the themes. In this context, considering the first 11 events, the DM group reached the highest rate in terms of the total theme ratio in the total number of news (7,32). In other words, an average of 7.32 different themes was discussed under each heading in the DM group. These rates are 2.97 in PGM and 3.78 in RNM. As Hasselgard (2004) stated, one of the important functions of multiple themes is to explicitly link a topic to the previous context. Besides, the processing of multiple themes under one heading is an important indicator of news density and interest in the subject. When our sample is examined, the fact that DM-2, which attaches the most importance to work accidents, is the newspaper that covers the most multiple themes supports this. It is seen that the frequency of multiple themes increases in parallel with the importance attributed to the news, both in number and density, and it is always based on the context of the newspaper's own background.

When the sub-groups are examined, it is noteworthy that the weight of incident themes in the total theme is 29%, but this rate is still 53% in PGM. The most striking data in this group is that the background subgroup was not handled at all in all three newspaper groups. This situation is seen only in this event after the first two events, and hence, it attracts attention. Moreover, although there is a lot of background information in the DM-2 newspaper, it is seen that they are not thematized at all.

In terms of actors, DM was the only group that included all the main actors, while PGM included only three of the six main actors. While RNM includes five main actors other than dissident actors, it is clearly seen that the government and victims' relatives as actors are predominant. Finally, there is a majority of expert actors in DM and government actors in PGM.

When factors is examined, it is seen that these themes are handled very little in newspapers other than DM. In fact, it was processed only once in PGM. It is seen that trade union issues are not addressed in DM, and system-based background & analysis is only

examined once, while the other four factors are heavily processed. In RNM, only legal matters and systemic/structural issues are limitedly handled. Here, it is noteworthy that Minister Eroğlu’s statements about the Council of State, causing a discussion in the context of factors, are given by shearing in PGM.

Table 4. 46: The theme distribution of Gökdere

11. Gökdere (24.02.2012)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	31	43	33	107	0,23
	1.2	Background	0	0	0	0	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	10	6	5	21	
	1.4	Other	1	0	3	4	
		Incident total	42	49	41	132	0,29
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	2	0	0	2	
	2.2	Government	5	7	11	23	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	1	2	2	5	
	2.4	Victims & Victims’ Relatives	9	6	12	27	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	5	0	1	6	
	2.6	Expert	12	0	5	17	
	2.7	All Other Actors	1	1	0	2	
		Actors Total	35	16	31	82	0,18
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	13	0	0	13	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	14	0	0	14	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	0	0	0	0	
	3.4	Legal Matters	13	0	2	15	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	25	1	3	29	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	1	0	0	1	
		Factors Total	66	1	5	72	0,16
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	17	9	14	40	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	22	3	8	33	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	12	5	9	26	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	0	0	0	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
		Attribution Total	51	17	31	99	0,21
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION /MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	0	0	0	0	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	29	1	4	34	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	0	0	0	0	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	0	6	4	10	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	19	0	3	22	
		Polarization Total	48	7	11	66	0,14
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	(“Fatalism” vs Not Fate!)	1	0	0	1	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	0	0	0	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	1	0	0	1	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	5	2	2	9	
		De-Naturalization Total	7	2	2	11	0,02
Themes total			249	92	121	462	1

In the PGM group, it has become widespread that such discussions, especially factors, have been framed through clipping, reconstructing or completely ignoring them to de-emphasize. In this context, PGM-1 and -2 mostly ignore such issues and do not make them the subject of their news, while PGM-3 mostly clips some parts and reconstructs some other parts and creates its own news fiction.

There is a significant increase in attribution compared to the previous incident, especially in the RNM group. In all three groups, the company is often the most relevant party responsible for the incident, while DM once again identifies the government as the primary responsible. Here, it is seen that the main argument of DM is the issue of privatization of the inspection authority moved to the Council of State and annulled by it. PGM, on the other hand, clearly expresses the non-inspection of the dam by attributing it to the cancellation of the Council of State, with the following words:

[PGM-3-9.24: SUB-TITLE] UNCONTROLLED DAM

10. After the Council of State suspended execution of the Audit Regulation, Su Yapı Company, which I inspects the dam's construction, was told "No more auditing is required" at the end of 2011.
11. During the accident, the dam was left uncontrolled.

As can be seen in the sample text, in terms of PGM newspapers, the only reason for not inspecting the dam is that the Council of State suspended the regulation. However, the fact that this is not the case will be exposed in the following section while examining Minister Eroğlu's claims. Finally, RNM has quite different attitudes on this issue: While RNM-1 handles the issue in tandem with Minister Eroğlu and PGM, RNM-1 criticises Minister Eroğlu and treats the issues in dissident's manner; RNM-3 ignores the issue entirely.

One of the striking points in terms of attribution is that eight newspapers, except DM-2, do not use the name of Sabancı Holding, the main company, in any way. It is seen that the names of its subsidiary EnerjiSa and contractor companies Cengiz-Özaltın partners either present neutral or positive. In other words, according to newspapers other than DM-2, there are many negligence of the relevant companies, and the responsibility belongs to these companies. However, where their names are mentioned, these companies are given without being negatively associated with the incident. More precisely, in terms of attribution, PGMs, but especially PGM-3, also often manipulate the incident by creating ambiguity. The news fiction of PGM-3 on the first day begins with the news that although they immediately opened the covers as soon as they noticed the cracks, the authorities could not prevent it in

time. From the second day on, the company starts to be presented negatively with the emergence of the company's negligence in the incident. However, while all the negative elements about the companies are presented in a blurry way (e.g., Eroğlu: it is obvious that there is a mistake but whose mistake is not known), positive issues are presented very clearly and, in all details, (e.g., although EnerjiSa is not compulsory, they arranged a special delegation from METU to investigate the incident). The main argument at this stage is that there is some negligence in the company, but they are due to some irresponsible local authorities. As a matter of fact, they were also arrested. It reports the news titled Chain of negligence but does not make the slightest reference to who is responsible for this negligence chain. In this respect, it is noteworthy that PGM-3 is the most fictional newspaper. On the contrary, DM-2 clearly mentions all relevant companies' names but attributes less of the responsibility to EnerjiSa and the majority to Cengiz and Özaltın companies, which are directly associated with AKP. It is especially noteworthy that it defines Cengiz İnşaat as follows: "Cengiz İnşaat, one of the contractors of the dam, is a firm that shines with the state tenders it won during the AKP period". It is also seen that the name of Cengiz İnşaat was mentioned as the contractor firm in the Küre incident before.

Although each newspaper group maintains its own typical attitude in terms of polarisation, it is seen that PGM and RNM handle very few themes in this context. In the post-Davutpaşa period, while the least number of themes handled by PGM is observed in this incident, legitimising government themes is also very low. It is observed that the new RNM-3 newspaper, which started to be examined with this incident, adopts a more centralized and softer attitude compared to the other two RNM newspapers in terms of both government and company-related themes. Considering the de-naturalization themes, it is seen that the DM group mainly deals with these themes and processes directly and harshly compared to other groups. This newspaper group used three of the four themes in this context, and all of them directly targeted the government. It even reported news of analysis in this context, as it often does in major events (e.g., DM2-11.3: Sub-Title; It is presented as if it is fate). RNM and PGM, on the other hand, processed only one theme twice, and both without direct targeting.

When Schematic Structures is examined, there is a story in terms of the episode, parallel to the general evaluation and the main themes. In terms of background, it is seen that DM-2 processes a lot of background info, but all of them are handled under other themes. Especially in expert opinion themes, a lot of background info is given. Context is often taken

in the context of government bad intentions or weaknesses. Similarly, RNM and PGM processed relatively more background info than their general attitude. According to the context framed by PGM, although the government has made the necessary regulations, it could not fulfil its function due to the obstructions originated from institutions such as the Council of State. The comment is also tailored to this context. News sources and parties are formed within the framework of the main actors. However, the function of news sources is different. For example, the experts most consulted in DM mostly reveal what kind of negligence DSI and the government have done or aim to de-legitimize the criticisms made by Minister Eroğlu to the Council of State. Nevertheless, while experts in RNM-1 and victims' relatives in PGM work the other way around and try to legitimize the Government and Eroğlu, they inculpate the Council of State.

When the microstructure analysis is taken into account, it is seen that the findings stated in the general evaluation are not exceeded in any sub-dimension. However, the abundance of manipulative referrals, which are mentioned in the general evaluation and cause local coherence incompatibility with conjunctions such as meanwhile, on the other hand, is striking. Apart from that, three dichotomies compared in each case will be examined in terms of lexical style. In the first dichotomy, AKP vs AK Party, there is an unusual circumstance, as in the previous incident, and the use of the Ak Party is more than the AKP. The term AKP is used twice and only in DM, while the term Ak Party is used four times, one of which is in RNM.

In the Accident/Disaster vs Murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy, there is a clear density of Accident / Disaster keywords, as this is the usual. However, it is seen that the terms of Murder/work murder/massacre are used more in all three newspaper groups compared to the previous incident.

Finally, in the Protest vs provocation dichotomy, while Protest keywords were used six times, it is seen that provocation was never used. While 5 of the 6 protest keywords are used in DM, and one is used in RNM, both keywords are not seen in PGM.

4.2.11.2 Keywords and Government Officials

In this incident, it is seen that only the statements of the Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs, Veysel Eroğlu, were included in the three newspaper groups on behalf of the government. The relevant statements of Minister Eroğlu are as follows:

- 1- That investment does not belong to our ministry; it belongs to the private sector. It may be caused by the opening of the covers due to weight calculation or any error. **DSI [State Hydraulic Works] should inspect it. But unfortunately, the Council of State cancelled the audit regulation. Nobody asks them when there is an accident.**
- 2- When this regulation was cancelled, I gave instructions to my friends with lightning speed. **They are currently investigating why it was cancelled. Without control, these things are not possible. The Council of State does not have the right to conduct such an audit. No one asks them when there is an accident, "Who did not inspect it?"**
- 3- We said on this matter; these constructions need to be inspected by DSI by preparing a supervision instruction or allow inspection by engineering and consultancy firms. Because in recent years, 2 workers lost their lives when the valve exploded due to the use of a wrong valve in Kahramanmaraş. That was also the private sector. We said that they must be audited absolutely, but **I do not know for what reason the Council of State cancelled** this regulation. Therefore, I think that these water structures must be inspected. Thank God there has not been such an accident in DSI so far. Because it is very tightly inspected. There are control engineers, consultants, regional directorates, general directorates, so **there is a triple control mechanism. But such accidents can also happen**; get well soon.
- 4- Our thought was this; We made a study so that the company that makes a HEPP, dam, pond or irrigation facility should work with an engineering and architectural inspection company, and we should audit it. But unfortunately, an association objected, filed a lawsuit with the Administrative Court, was seen at the Council of State, and the regulation was annulled.
- 5- I have the report. According to the report, lids had closed to keep water in the tunnel. However, when the water rose, the valves could not withstand the pressure. Of course, it's obvious that there is a mistake here. It is being investigated whether the technical error is in the cover, joints, or concrete areas.
- 6- **The Council of State took away our right to inspect private dams.** We prepared a law proposal on inspections. We will give a motion to the Assembly. We will do our best to avoid such pain. We will inspect it better. **We will continue our inspections until the law is passed.**

As stated clearly and many times in his statements, minister Eroğlu connects DSI's non-inspection to the Council of State's decision to stop the "Regulation on Water Structures Inspection Services". However, two issues are concealed and de-emphasized here: First, Minister Eroğlu does not mention why the Council of State annulled the regulation in his statements. More precisely, he claims that he does not know why it was cancelled. Since the Council of State has notified its reasoned decision, he actually needs to know this. Furthermore, the basic principle of the separation of powers between the legislative-executive-judicial powers is that the other force can correct a mistake made by one party. In other words, the Council of State can annul a regulation only because it is against the law or

it is necessary to prevent malicious regulations by making use of a gap in the law. Thus, there is a situation against the law here that has been cancelled. As a matter of fact, TMMOB, which carries the regulation to the Council of State, expresses this situation with the following words:

- Can the Ministry, which abandoned its audit duty to market conditions contrary to the Constitution and the law, say "TMMOB filed a lawsuit, therefore it was left without control"? Such an accusation cannot be made against those who exercise their right to sue.

Moreover, Minister Eroğlu says, “We will continue our inspections until the law is passed” in the last sentence of his last statement. In other words, he clearly states that he has the control authority. The second point that is hidden is precisely about this. In fact, what was cancelled is tried to be hidden: The regulation in question is not related to DSI’s exercise of its control authority; on the contrary, it cancels its entrustment to private companies. It ensures that DSI continues to audit, as it has already done. This situation is clearly understood with the following statement sent to all press representatives by TMMOB, which published only in DM-2:

- *The aforementioned Regulation regulates the conditions for the transfer of the control mechanism to the private sector, and this still contradicts Article 2 of Law No. 6200 on the Organization and Duties of the General Directorate of State Hydraulic Works, which defines the essential duties of DSI. The control duty given exclusively to DSI by law is intended to be transferred to private audit firms with the aforementioned Regulation. The most fundamental reason of TMMOB, which filed an objection lawsuit to the Council of State, is the risks that may arise from private companies’ authorisation to inspect investments on public resources. In the Regulation, whose execution has been suspended, the producer company has been given the right to determine the authorized audit firm to work with. If a producer firm receives services from an auditing firm paid by itself, it will pave the way for "inspection on paper" in practice (Şeklen denetim _De-coupling). It is clear that the financial dependence of the audit firm will conflict with the public nature of the audit. **Suspension of the regulation’s execution does not prevent DSI from exercising its supervisory power granted by law. As long as Law No. 6200 is in effect, DSI is responsible for inspecting the water structures. The reason for such a disaster today is not a legal gap arising from the annulment of the regulation in question, but the fact that DSI has not fulfilled its "inspection" task, which is among its main duties.***

When the explanations and the relevant law are examined, it is understood that TMMOB is right, and as a matter of fact, the Council of State has confirmed this by cancelling it. Therefore, the minister actually conceals his own negligence with his explanations which he also uses many manipulation strategies. Besides, the minister stated

in his statement number five that although he clearly stated that there was negligence in the incident, they did not know who the negligent was. However, the minister does not mention the expert preliminary report and protects the companies whose negligence is clearly stated.

Table 4. 47: Keywords of Gökdere

11. Gökdere (24.02.2012)					
Total word count			7061	5262	5212
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Government-related	AKP	AKP	2	0	0
	AK Parti	AK Party	0	3	1
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	41	3	13
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP			
	MHP	MHP			
	Muhalefet	The opposition			
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	1	0	1
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş			
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	0	0	1
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)	5	0	1
	Sendikası	Non-union/ nonunionised			
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	51	35	29
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God			
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom	1	0	1
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	16	4	1
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	4	1	1
	Katil	Murderer/killer	0	0	1
Inspection vs Lack of	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	49	7	15
	Denetimsizlik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	8	4	1
	İhmal	Negligence	8	8	4
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	26	1	6
Law-related	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	15	0	4
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	24	0	3
	ILO	ILO	1	0	0
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödövens	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	2	0	0
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	8	0	0
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	5	0	0
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company- Private Sector	13	1	8
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	2	1	1
	İstihdam	Employment			
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	4	0	0
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded			
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier			
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery			
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order			
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality			
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)	1	0	0
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
Protest vs Provocation	Medya	Media			
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest	5	0	1
	Gösteri	Demonstration	0	0	1
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
	Polis	Police	5	4	6
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords			297	72	100
Total keywords / Total words (%)			4,21	1,37	1,92

When keywords are examined, the use of keywords has increased both proportionally and numerically in all groups compared to the previous incident. However, there is less usage

in all three actor groups: government-related keywords have fallen from 74 to 63, dissident-related keywords from five to zero, and union-related keywords from 30 to nine.

In the Accident vs Murder dichotomy, a total of 48 uses were seen in 2 keyword groups in the previous case. In contrast, only one of the word groups was not used in this case, and 145 keywords were used in five groups in total. In the Inspection vs Lack of Inspection dichotomy, where all keyword groups are used, there is an increase from 40 to 137. The most notable change in law-related keywords, which increased from 12 to 47, is the use of the term ILO in a non-mining incident for the first time.

The most striking decrease compared to the previous incident is undoubtedly observed in the neoliberalism keywords. These keywords, which were used 115 times in the Elbistan incident and 45 times in this one, are particularly intriguing since the incident involves both the subcontractor system and privatization. Regarding their general attitudes, it is assumed that the usage of these two special keywords will increase in this incident, but it actually decreased from 31 to 10.

Systemic/Structural issues are used only once, and this circumstance proves one more that this incident is also one of the exceptions. While the only usage was slavery order in the previous incident, here, it is partisan.

Protest vs provocation dichotomy keywords, which were almost never used in all three newspaper groups in the previous incident, were used 22 times in this one. The increase in police keyword usage is particularly noteworthy here.

4.2.12. Esenyurt AVM

The fire that occurred in the workers' shelter of the Marmara Park shopping centre, which is being built in Esenyurt, Istanbul, on 11 March 2012, caused 11 workers to die by burning. In this period, it is seen that the main agendas of the newspapers were the war started in Syria, the evacuation of the Sivas Massacre defendants from the statute of limitations and the 4+4+4 education system. However, this incident also found some rooms in the headlines of newspapers, especially in the first five days.

This incident, which took place only 15 days after the previous Gökdere incident, indicates that it will attract attention in terms of news value, both because of the way the incident occurred and it took place in Istanbul. As a matter of fact, this expectation has been realized during the first four days. However, the news was cut off suddenly after the fourth

day in RNM, after the fifth day in PGM and after the sixth day in DM, and became rare, few and small. No news has been reported in the last three days.

Table 4. 48: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (10/14)	DM-2 (10/15)	DM-3 (7/7)	PGM-1 (8/10)	PGM-2 (11/13)	PGM-3 (13/15)	RNM-1 (7/7)	RNM-2 (6/6)	RNM-3 (12/13)
1				1 & 3	1 & 19	1 & 5	1 & 21	1	1 & 3
2	1 & 3	1 & 4	1 & 10	1 & 14	1 & 17	1 & 20-21	1 & 6	1 & 18	1, 14-15 & 17
3	1 & 8	1 & 4	1, 3 & 12	1 & 11	1, 15 & 19	1, 7* & 20	4	3	1 & 17
4	1 & 7	4		1 & 12	1 & 19	1 & 7	1 & 7	1 & 20	14 & 21
5	9	4	17		19	1, 9 & 18			
6	1 & 6	4	12						27
7		4							
8					8				
11	3	1 & 4							25

*Inaccessible page

As can be seen in the 90-day screening of newspapers conducted after the incident occurred, this tragic incident, in which 11 workers died, could only be reported for more than 10 days in two of the DM newspapers during the 90-day period. On the first page, which is regarded as the most important page of the newspapers and called the showcase or headline, the incident could find itself a maximum of 6 days in only PGM-3.

Table 4. 49: Quantitative data of Esenyurt for 90-days screening period

12. ESEN YURT AVM (11 March 2012)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	The area (%) on the first page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1780	20	10	14	4	11,78	0,52	18	4380
DM-2	1404	16	12	15	3	11,25	0,38	24	5207
DM-3	1912	21	4	7	2	2,18	0,05	11	1642
PGM-1	2290	25	6	10	4	9,13	0,41	19	2923
PGM-2	2520	28	8	13	4	6,92	0,31	11	2022
PGM-3	4034	45	6	15	6	18,53	1,24	30	5294
RNM-1	3968	44	4	7	3	3,26	0,11	14	1667
RNM-2	3288	36	4	6	3	9,81	0,33	15	2488
RNM-3	2862	32	7	13	3	14,54	0,48	26	3163
Averages	2673	30	6,8	11,1	3,6	9,71	0,42	18,67	3198

The average area on the first page on the days of the news was only 9.7% in all newspapers, and this rate was 0.4%, that is, four per thousand, considering the 90-day screening period. Considering the total number of pages where the news was found in 90 days, the news was found most frequently in DM-2 and PGM-3 (15 pages), followed by DM-1 (14 pages). While PGM-3 has the most covered area in the first page with 18.53%,

the same newspaper differs significantly from the other eight newspapers with 1.24% in the 90-day period.

Although PGM-3, which made 30 news in total, had the highest figures by using 5294 words in this news, it was only third in terms of average news size with 184 words, behind DM-1 (243) and DM-2 (217). While the newspapers with the least amount of news with 11 news are DM-3 and PGM-2, the least number of words belongs to DM-3. Regarding the average word count in the news, the lowest figure is seen in RNM-1 with 119 words.

The DM-3 newspaper differs from other newspapers, including the DM group, by making less news in every sense, while the excess of Savaş Ay's incident-specific news in PGM-3 also differs this newspaper. After the two exceptional incidents, it is seen that all newspapers except PGM-1 in the Esenyurt AVM incident have returned to their normal attitude, but PGM-1 still exhibits significant differences.

It is seen that 84% of the news on 100 pages during the 90-day screening period were reported in the first two weeks, even in the first 11 days. Moreover, 80% of the total news is presented in the first week.

4.2.12.1. Application of CDA

This incident dealt with a total of 962 themes, which is the second-highest number after Karadon when the first 12 incidents are considered. While 52% (503) of the total theme processed is in the DM group, this ratio is 25% in PGM and 23% in RNM. Considering the total theme ratio to the total number of news, this incident has the highest rate among 15 events, with 5.73. In other words, it is even higher than Soma in terms of the average number of themes per news. This ratio is as follows in newspaper groups: DM- 9.49, PGM- 3.93, RNM-4.05.

It was stated that the Elbistan and Gökdere incidents caused all three newspaper groups to exhibit behaviours other than their general attitudes. With this incident, it can be said that the newspapers returned to news processing within the framework of their general attitudes. When incident themes are examined, although numerically there is an increase in all three newspaper groups compared to the previous event, when the first 12 events are considered, the ratio of incident themes to total themes shows the lowest rate in DM and RNM while it is the second-lowest rate in PGM after Küre. As previously noted, a decline in the rate of incident themes implies an increase in the value assigned to news, in addition to polarisation.

In Incident subgroups, while DM processes the highest background theme with 14 themes so far, it is seen that PGM does not handle these themes at all, as in most cases. Although RNM processes these themes four times, considering the background info it shares, a meagre rate emerges. PGM also draws attention by handling the "correct/early intervention by the authorities prevented a greater disaster" theme in this incident, which does not have search & rescue activity. It is seen that all three newspaper groups under the other sub-group only deal with the theme of "the gravity/severity/seriousness of the incident". Finally, while common themes, especially mutual mourning, are almost always constructed as the main theme in the PGM group, it is seen that they are generally treated as a secondary theme in DM newspapers. RNM newspapers, on the other hand, show both attitudes according to the subject of the news.

In terms of actors, it is seen that each group operates within the framework of their general attitudes. While DM again most appealed to specialist themed actors, PGM and RNM most themed government officials as actors. In parallel with the general attitude, while DM and RNM have thematized all actors, it is observed that no dissidents or company officials are themed as actors in PGM.

The first theme group in which a return to essence can be clearly observed is Factors. It is seen here that all newspapers except RM-3 reported in a similar manner to the Ostim and Karadon incidents. While DM and RNM groups dealt with themes in all subgroups of Factors themes, PGM handled four sub-groups except political context and Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions. While the Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions theme is the least handled issue in all three groups, the most popular issue is the systemic/structural issue's themes. Neoliberalism and its Turkey-context characteristics stand out as the second Factors theme group in which all three groups show the most interest. However, the difference between the number of processing is striking. While DM is the group that deals with the most Factors theme, it is seen that it has reached the highest number ever by processing the political context sub-group 30 times. Although System-based Background & Analysis themes are processed only four times in PGM, it is seen that the highest number of the first 12 incidents was reached in all three groups. While DM deals with these themes 19 times, the RNM group equalize the highest number it reached in the OSTIM incident with 11.

When the attribution themes are examined, the highest number of themes of the 12-incident period has been reached with 157 themes. The most striking theme group here is emphasizing the positive sides/issues of the company. Until now, these themes had only been

used for the same firm and boss in Dursunbey-I and Dursunbey-II due to the boss's constructive attitude and behaviour regarding occupational safety. In this situation, PGM portrayed the related firms, both the contractor and the main firms, as positive on the first day of the incident because they received awards from the Prime Minister. Therefore, while PGM presented the company positively on the first day, DM treated it negatively in the context of clientelism. Afterwards, when situations such as employing uninsured workers emerged, PGM newspapers started to target the contractor firm but only target the contractor firm without associating the arguments with the political context in any way. On the other hand, the first and most fundamental responsibility belongs to the company according to all newspaper groups, but many themes also hold the government responsible for the incident in DM and RNM newspapers. In this sense, although there seem to be only two themes in DM and RNM that deal with the business and the government together, themes addressing the government independently of the organisation are often addressed.

Although there has been a significant increase in polarization themes compared to previous incidents, it is observed that there are still differences from the typical attitude in the RNM group. In this context, RNM-1, where the most different attitude is seen, avoided an attitude that is controversial and politically polarized. While the most processed themes in the DM group are 'De-Legitimize government' with 49 themes, PGM stands out with 42 of 'Legitimize government' themes. In RNM, on the other hand, the most studied theme is "Legitimize government" with 12, while the second most studied theme is "De-Legitimize government", with 9 themes in a balanced manner. In this context, the 'direct criticism and accusation of the government [policies]' theme, which is processed exactly 23 times in the DM group, is the most striking issue. On the other hand, in terms of legitimizing government, in PGM, the theme of 'punishment of those responsible regardless of who is responsible', which has become a slogan especially with Taner Yıldız, is used 10 times. Lastly, in RNM, it is not seen that any theme stands out more than the others in this context.

In de-naturalization themes handled 40 times in total, the only theme handled in all three groups is the 'not a work accident/not fate but a murder/massacre' theme, which is processed 26 times, and 21 of these are handled in DM. In the second place, the theme of 'fatalism vs not fate!', processed four times in DM and RNM, is coming. While it is seen that the theme of normalization of work accidents is not covered in PGM, the style of RNM-2, which is even harsher than the DM group, draws attention.

Table 4. 50: The theme distribution of Esenyurt

12. Esenyurt AVM (11.03.2012)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	31	71	46	148	0,15
	1.2	Background	14	0	4	18	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	0	1	0	1	
	1.4	Other	3	3	1	7	
		Incident total	48	75	51	174	0,18
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	10	0	7	17	
	2.2	Government	12	15	10	37	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	2	0	2	4	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	6	2	4	12	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	6	1	3	10	
	2.6	Expert	14	6	4	24	
	2.7	All Other Actors	10	13	7	30	
		Actors Total	60	37	37	134	0,14
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	30	0	3	33	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	43	10	13	66	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	3	0	3	6	
	3.4	Legal Matters	37	8	8	53	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	84	10	19	113	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	19	4	11	34	
		Factors Total	216	32	57	305	0,32
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	48	33	30	111	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	30	2	9	41	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	2	0	2	4	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	0	1	0	1	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
		Attribution Total	80	36	41	157	0,16
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION /MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	0	6	1	7	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	49	3	9	61	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	2	0	4	6	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	1	42	12	55	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	18	3	2	23	
		Polarization Total	70	54	28	152	0,16
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	("Fatalism" vs Not Fate!)	4	0	4	8	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	0	0	0	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	4	0	2	6	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	21	2	3	26	
		De-Naturalization Total	29	2	9	40	0,04
Themes total			503	236	223	962	1

The most significant points of the DM and RNM newspapers in associating the government in the context of both attribution and polarisation themes are job security law, which has been consistently voiced by the government for a long time but could not be

implemented. Especially with the increase of political polarization, while the government puts into effect almost all the laws or changes it wishes, the failure to pass the job security has been questioned frequently. In the previous Gökdere incident, it was seen that the Council of State prevented the transfer of controls to private companies because it was against the law. When a retrospective examination is made, it will be seen that this is actually a milestone because the AKP has somehow ensured to overcome the legislative-executive-judiciary with its third term. For example, the regulation cancelled by the Council of State because it was against the law was surpassed by an amendment to the law after a short time. In other words, the AKP now has the power to do whatever it intends. As such, the discussions on the laws that passed immediately vs cannot be passed ever became frequent. Since it would be much more understandable to explain this through a news report, the following news made by the DM-1 on the second day of the event will be examined:

[DM-1-2.1: SUPER-TITLE] **Occupational Safety Law has been waiting for 8 years**
[TITLE] **MINISTER'S STATEMENT THAT TOOK THE BISCUIT**

1. **Labour and Social Security Minister Faruk Çelik**, by stating that there was negligence in the incident in which 11 workers lost their lives, said **Turkey needs to job security law.**
2. In contrast to Çelik's words, **the AKP government**, which brought **regulations such as the MIT (national intelligence organization) and 4 + 4 + 4** to the parliament's agenda **with a jet speed**, **has not been able to enact occupational health and safety law since 2004.**

[DM-1-2.3: TITLE] **INSPECTION IS ON PAPER, AGAIN**

1. The death of 11 workers working in the construction of the shopping centre in Esenyurt, Istanbul, once again reminded **the painful truth** in the field of occupational safety.
2. **The AKP government**, which brought legal regulations such as the MIT and 4 + 4 + 4 to the agenda of the Parliament with a jet speed, **has not been able to enact the occupational health and safety law since 2004.**
3. Today 600 inspectors across Turkey, while attempting to perform inspection, it is drawn attention that the inspections **remain "on paper".**
4. **On the other hand, the prepared draft opens the field of occupational health and safety to the "market" while weakening the control of the state even more.**
5. **There is no separate occupational health and safety law in Turkey today.**

As can be seen in the sample text, this newspaper has compared various regulation on the first day of its reporting on the incident. Moreover, it analyses this in conjunction with the controls remaining on paper, namely decoupling. Although the term decoupling, as defined by Meyer and Rowan (1977), often refers to a gap between policy and practice, this news points out that decoupling is also used as a manipulation strategy. Since it is evident

that the government, which has already passed the majority of the legislation it desires, deliberately uses the promises that it would enforce a work security law solely to defuse the incident's tension. Indeed, when analysing the words of the Minister of Labour below, it will be seen that the minister somehow confessed this situation. While lots of similar news is seen in the DM group, it is seen that occupational accidents are no longer limited to the incident itself and have become a platform for discussing general structural problems.

In terms of Lead, which is the other elements of the thematic structure, the framework specified in the general evaluation is not exceeded. Still, the increase in questioning content in parallel with the main themes draws attention. When the photographs, which are the last element of the thematic structure, are examined, it is seen that the main theme or incident photographs are used within the framework of the general attitudes of newspapers. One of the interesting points here is that newspapers now go to various elections highlighting their ideological production in the photographs they use for government officials. Labour Minister Faruk Çelik, for example, is featured in all PGM newspapers with his sad stance on the incident. In DM, on the other hand, he is portrayed by photos taken in a laughing or amusing moment. Besides, PGM-3 now uses photos according to the specially designed page layout on almost all of the main news pages and uses a different strategy in manipulating the incident. In the DM group, the increase in the use of caricatures and the hardness dosage draws attention, while it is seen that PGM newspapers use much more photographs.

When Schematic Structures is analysed, in all newspapers, the situation is mostly and directly related to the incident, and the consequences emerge in this manner. However, apart from this general situation that focuses on the incident, PGM newspapers highlight the firm negatively and the government positively. At the same time, DM newspapers highlight the firm and the government together negatively are also common. While two attitudes are observed in RMM newspapers, the softer attitude is evident in the criticism of the government. The attitudes of the newspapers become most clear in their consequences. To illustrate these consequences;

PGM: It is true that some firms risk their workers' lives and neglect their responsibilities in an ambition to earn more money, *but the authorities will ask to account for this.*

DM: Although the company and its negligence are responsible for the incident, this situation cannot be reduced to the incident/company *since the main responsibility belongs to the government that prepares the ground for such massacres.*

RNM: In this incident, RNM-1 and RNM-3 are on the PGM line, and RNM-2 is on the DM line. However, PGM-2 presents its criticisms in a softer tone than DM: Although the company and its negligence are responsible for the incident, this situation cannot be reduced to the incident/firm, and *the policies of the government should also be questioned.*

In terms of background, very limited background information is observed in PGM, where the incident is separated from the background and context through a reductionist approach. In DM, Background information is presented with an anti-reductionist (holistic) approach enriching also with other past incidents, including the negligence of the company and especially the government. On the other hand, while PGM newspapers specifically avoid background information, DM, on the contrary, gives a lot of and rich background information. RNM-1 and 3 also provide Background information similar to PGM, while RNM-2 gives background information like DM but less. In most cases, the main argument of holding the government directly responsible is that it is seen as the entity responsible for the system's functioning and, therefore, for the failures that occur. However, the fact that both associated firms received awards from Erdogan in this incident prompted sharper criticism of the government and clientelism discussions. By failing to note that the related companies received awards from Erdogan, all PGM and RNM newspapers obscure and de-emphasize the subject.

Furthermore, PGM-3 employs an intriguing legitimization method in this instance. As DM newspapers tighten the clientelism theme over the award issue, PGM-3 also reports a construction belonging to a business person who stands out with its closeness to the government as an exemplary construction and provides detailed information. PGM-3 highlights the following message as consequences; on the other hand, such accidents have nothing to do with being partisan; there is no flaw in the construction site of a business person close to the government as seen, and thus this is an isolated incident. In other words, dual-legitimization is done. Both the perception of an isolated incident and clientelism are legitimized. Furthermore, when it comes to the construction industry, it is often seen in PGM and RNM newspapers that this sector is legitimized by emphasizing its importance for the economy. As a matter of fact, the systematization of this legitimization has become one of

the main criticism arguments of the DM group. In many news trying to delegitimize this legitimization, the following and many similar explanations have started to appear:

[DM2-2.4]: *"It has been revealed that the construction sector, which the AKP government and capital call the locomotive of the economy, has grown with the blood of the workers ..."*

When comment is examined, it is seen that all newspapers use news sources within the framework of their actors. However, two issues draw attention here. First, the statements of the Minister of Labour Faruk Çelik on labour law and systemic problems are given in full detail in DM newspapers, while it is not mentioned in PGM and RNM newspapers. This subject will be discussed in full detail in the next section. The second is Hak-İş's statement on the subject which is reported only in RNM-2. Hak-İş made statements that could be described as "harsh" only twice in 15 incidents. And the common denominator of these two 'harsh' statements is that while criticizing the issue, it targeted government, unions and the parliament together to blur the main responsible, the government. For example;

[RNM2-2.18: TITLE] 'THEY BUILD A POMPOUS HOTEL AND HOST IT IN A TENT.'

51. It is a sign of embarrassment that workers have to live in tents in winter conditions in the heart of Istanbul.
52. Arslan stated that many institutions had responsibilities in this incident and said, "The employer, who does not take occupational health and safety measures, appeal to subcontracting, acts with excessive profit ambition, is responsible. Labour and employer unions, governments and parliament are responsible for preventing the change of laws that will pave the way for unionization."

Although he seems to hold everyone responsible except themselves with his statement, he does not show anyone directly responsible by generalizing the event. That is, he manipulates with the macro speech act. To be more precise, Hak-İş's highly political statements are for manipulation purposes and do not actually bring criticism.

When microstructure is examined, in terms of Syntactic Analysis, almost all sentences of PGM regarding the cause of the event and negligence and especially the introductory sentences summarizing the event in the presentation of the main event are active, and this shows that the event is presented as a natural process that occurs due to company-induced negligence. This situation is handled as an unnatural process by targeting the government and the firm in the DM group.

The abundance of samples that create incompatibility in terms of local coherence is remarkable in terms of PGM. Semantic icebergs are created and left without further continuation and emphasize or de-emphasize the subject within the frame of their choice. Apart from that, newspapers continue their presentations within the framework of their general attitudes.

While in terms of news rhetoric, photographs are the most preferred news rhetoric for PGM and RNM newspapers, DM uses the opinions of news sources, especially experts, in this context.

Considering the three dichotomies examined in Lexical style, the AKP is used 19 times, while the Ak party is not used at all in the AKP vs Ak Party dichotomy. All 19 uses are in the DM group. In Accident/Disaster vs Murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy, it is seen that 187-61 Accident / Disaster is used more and all three newspaper groups use both keyword groups. Finally, only the use of Resistance/Protest is seen in the Protest vs provocation dichotomy. While this keyword is not included in PGM, it has been used 2 times in RNM and 13 times in DM.

4.2.12.2. Keywords and Government Officials

In this incident, the statements of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Labour as government officials are seen. While the prime minister's statements are in PGM and RNM newspapers, they are not included in the DM group. However, the DM group made a lot of critical news regarding the prime minister's words. Another remarkable point is that while the information given by the Minister of Labour about the incident is included in all newspapers, his criticism and explanations about the system and labour law are only included in the DM. The most important factor in this is that there is a group against Minister Çelik from within the government, which becomes the news subject. The other issue is that the Minister made these statements in the special interview he gave to DM-1. Minister Çelik's statement to DM-1 is also provided in full text in DM-2, with reference to DM-1.

First, the statements of the prime minister will be examined. The prime minister made two statements on the subject, one at the group meeting of his party (1 and 2) and one at the Competition Authority event (3 and 4).

1. *We do not accept, we can never accept, that those who make billions of lira investments, make billions of lira profits disregard the safety of the workers who live on their sweat*

and see the lives of the workers so cheap and worthless. We do not leave orphans', widows', and puppies' sighs on the ground, hoping for three cents in pocket money at the end of the month. We will bring those responsible to justice.

2. *I also gave the necessary instructions to my Minister of Labour. We will take more decisive measures to minimize occupational accidents and diseases and to establish work and worker safety in the most ideal way.*
3. One company makes all kinds of expenses while investing; the other cuts down on security measures and does not take out the worker's insurance. ***The company employing illegal workers who did not take measures led to unfair competition and stole from the company that took security measures and employing insured workers. There is not only murder but theft, fraud and cheating.***
4. *Saying that the root cause of the crisis in the world is brutal competition and unlimited ambition to consume, Erdogan said: "This is not sustainable. The world cannot sustain such an unlimited consumption frenzy for a long time. Let me recall the famous Native American proverb: 'When the last river dries up when the last tree is destroyed when the last fish dies, the white man will realize that money is something that cannot be eaten'".*

When the prime minister's statements are examined, it is seen that the relevant subjects frequently expressed in DM and RNM newspapers are almost said in the same way. However, the prime minister reflects these arguments, which are often used to criticize himself, to some malicious employers.

In his first statement on the subject at his party's group meeting (1 and 2), the prime minister emphasizes that they are the protectors of the workers' rights and will prevent similar disasters by implementing much more decisive measures. It is clear that these words are classic but meaningless rhetoric, and a detailed explanation of this issue will be made in the last part of this chapter. As a matter of fact, all data show that there has been a sharp increase in work accidents since 2012. Although it is seen that similar statements were also made more critically by Minister Çelik, the occupational accident data clearly show that these statements made by the government are only on the speech.

In his second declaration, the prime minister's key point, which seems to have taken his previous remarks to a higher level, becomes clearer. It is seen that the Prime Minister also associates the issue with the issue of competition since he made the statement at the Competition Authority. According to the Prime Minister, although there seen a systemic problem due to some malicious and greedy bosses, it is a problem that is caused by their "consumption frenzy" and cannot be generalized. By associating these malicious bosses with terms such as theft, cheating and murder, he tries to prevent it from being associated with

the business world in general. This also draws attention as the first and last example in which he uses the concept of murder.

On the other hand, when the statements of Minister Çelik are examined, the statements about the company's negligence, fate issue and deficiencies in the labour law come to the fore. It should be clearly stated one more time that these statements were made during the third term of AKP and its tenth years in power. Because all his explanations are presented as if they had just come to power and immediately identified the problems.

1. *Occupational safety law is a need: The new law is a regulation that includes all employees. **This law has a preventive spirit. Workers have the right to say, 'I will not work if you do not take measures'.***
2. *The first deficiency is not a single exit area in a tent with 40 workers; it must have a mutual exit area. We saw that this was not. Materials are susceptible to burning. We will receive a report regarding this workplace from the license to the inspection, and we will make the necessary explanations in more detail. **Where there is negligence or defect? It is quickly evaluated from the moment of the incident.***
3. *Measures should be taken regarding the place they stay as well as the places they work. **The labour Law stipulates this.** It is stated that there are 3 heaters in the tents. Why are the containers not used? Why did the workers stay in the tent? 'Why did the tents have only one exit? All of these are under review.*
4. **IT COULD HAVE BEEN PREVENTED, BUT IT IS FATE ...** On CHP member Mevlüt Aslanoğlu's question of "Was this the fate of the workers?", Çelik said, "The incident is not an accident. If precautions were taken, it would not have happened. But is it fate? Yes, it is fate..."
5. [**Interview given to DM-1**] In fact, I submitted the draft in 2008 during my first labour ministry. In October last year, we reconciled with the social partners and sent it to the prime ministry again. In January this year, a presentation was made to the Council of Ministers and opened for signature. The signing process was completed this week. It will come to Parliament today (yesterday [16.03.2012]) or at the beginning of next week at the latest.
6. We are currently discussing the Trade Union Law in the parliamentary committees. We will start to discuss the Occupational Health and Safety draft at the commission quickly. We want it to pass very quickly.
7. Especially friends responsible for the economy and their bureaucrats had reservations. There is a cost that the draft will bring to the public and private sector. Of course, the Treasury see it in a different view. They wanted to examine it in detail, and the process started on this. Of course, it took time for the bureaucracy to examine it.
8. If the law were enacted and in place, that company would have to hire or arrange occupational health professional. **Since a joint liability would be of that expert for this work, s/he would definitely have to have those tents inspected.** The men would not be able to work without saying that the conditions are suitable. **It would not be any**

- clientelism, favouritism.** If even the slightest precaution were taken, if the door were open, if the tent were not nylon, that accident would not have happened.
9. The draft requires workplaces employing more than 50 workers to have an occupational health specialist. Their number is around 28 thousand. It obliges the remaining 1 million 400 thousand workplaces to take the necessary occupational health and safety measures. So they will consult from somewhere, they will get expertise. The state will bear the cost of workplaces employing between 1 and 9 workers. In others, the employer will take over.
 10. These costs are not figures that will be exaggerated, in fact. There is a cost of 100-200 lira per month for workplaces. In fact, the cost to be spent for this will come out in a short time thanks to the work accidents that will decrease. It is not right to look at it as a loss.

The statements of the Minister of Labour contain very interesting data. First of all, the minister said, "Occupational safety law is a need" and claims that with the enactment of the law, work accidents will be prevented, and workers will be able to defend their rights more easily. Then, he explains the negligence in the relevant incident and emphasizes that the company should take the necessary precautions in the accommodation, with the words "*The labour Law stipulates this*". In other words, the minister claims such incidents arising from the failure to fulfil an application prescribed in the labour law will be prevented by the new law. But if the issue is not about the deficiency in the law, he does not explain how to prevent this with the new law. If the main reason for such events is the gaps between regulation and its practice, which are created consciously or unconsciously, what needs to be solved is to establish an order in which existing rules are absolutely enforced rather than enacting a new law.

He then states that the incident was not an accident, but a fate. With this contradictory statement, the minister gives the impression that he is trying to manipulate it through the lexicon. As a matter of fact, KESK Chairman Lami Özgen criticized this statement of the Minister of Labour Faruk Çelik as follows: "*We live in a country where murders and massacres are justified. The Minister of Labour says it's not murder, it's incautiousness, and this is fate. They have repeated this over and over. For us, this is not fate but a murder. It is incautiousness. Measures are not developed consciously. This is the measure of the value given to working relations, working life and the health of employees.*"

Finally, in his private interview, he admits that he gave the relevant law proposal in 2008, but that progress has only been achieved in four years, especially due to the reservations of his friends in charge of the economy and their bureaucrats. And, in his final

statement, he claims that the costs that trigger hesitation are simply insignificant. In this scenario, he acknowledges that his reluctant friends stopped the reform that will prevent the workers' deaths. However, he emphasizes that the responsibility has belonged to these friends responsible for the economy but not himself.

Even worse, he says, "Actually, the cost to be spent for this will take out itself in a short time thanks to the work accidents that will decrease. It is not right to look at it as a loss". Because he emphasizes that unreal reservations actually cause these obstacles and that he knows this as well. Thus, the question still valid: Why was this law blocked then?

Minister Çelik highlights the obligation to employ an occupational health specialist, which will be implemented with the new legal regulation as the main preventive factor. He especially emphasizes that this factor will definitely be preventive in his statement number eight.

Moreover, he admits that if this law had come into force, patronage problems such as clientelism and favouritism would not have existed, and hence that they have already existed. However, if we consider these words together with the first statements of the minister, it is understood that the law to be enacted will not change anything because the problem is already not the absence of the rule but its impracticability and the clientelism. In other words, the main issue here is decoupling. Indeed, time will show that this law increases accidents, as the unions have repeatedly warned.

Finally, after the Soma massacre, when asked why Turkey has not signed ILO 176, Minister Çelik responded as follows: ILO 176 was not signed as our laws appear to contain more comprehensive provisions. Could the key reason be a desire to maintain structural problems such as decoupling, clientelism, and so on, which prevent institutions from maturing and cause them to become extractive institutions to generate rent? Because all these explanations once again show that the problem is de-coupling, which has turned into a structural problem due to reasons such as clientelism rather than the law itself. Furthermore, it is observed that the minister consciously uses manipulation strategies such as overall interaction strategies, macro speech act, semantic macrostructures, local meanings, and lexicon in his explanations.

Considering keywords, it is seen that a total of 1040 keywords are used and 605 of them are in DM newspapers. While there was both a proportional and numerical increase in

all three groups, the total keyword ratio in the overall word count was 3.46%. After the two exceptional events, it is seen that normal attitudes have been returned in this context as well.

Table 4. 51: Keywords of Esenyurt

12. Esenyurt AVM (11.03.2012)					
Total word count			11229	10239	7318
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Government-related	AKP	AKP	19	0	0
	AK Parti	AK Party			
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	123	59	20
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP	14	1	12
	MHP	MHP	0	0	1
	Muhalefet	The opposition			
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	4	1	2
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş	0	0	2
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	4	0	1
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)	12	2	3
	Sendikası	Non-union/ nonunionised			
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	70	62	55
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	7	2	2
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom			
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	55	3	3
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	6	0	3
	Katil	Murderer/killer	4	0	0
Inspection vs Lack of	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	44	21	8
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	10	3	6
	İhmal	Negligence	17	6	11
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	30	17	13
Law-related	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	56	13	8
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	63	13	7
	ILO	ILO	1	0	0
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödövens	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	16	9	14
	Özelleştirme	Privatization			
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	13	22	8
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector	7	0	0
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)			
	İstihdam	Employment	0	1	0
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	10	1	5
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded	1	3	0
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier			
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery			
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	3	0	0
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality	1	1	0
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)			
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media			
Protest vs Provocation	Medya	Media	1	1	0
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest	13	0	2
	Gösteri	Demonstration			
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation			
	Polis	Police	1	5	3
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence			
Total Keywords			605	246	189
Total keywords / Total words (%)			5,39	2,40	2,58

While government-related keywords have the highest number after Karadon, 142 of the total 221 uses are in DM. While a significant increase is observed in dissident-related

keywords, 14 of the 28 uses here are used by DM for CHP, while a single use is observed in PGM. RNM used 13 dissident-related keywords, including one MHP and 12 CHP. Although there is an increase in union-related keywords, it is still far from the typical use. While RNM includes all three confederations, Hak-İş, which stands out with its closeness to the government, is mentioned only in RNM.

In the accident/disaster vs murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy keywords, which almost doubled compared to the previous event, 187 of the 272 uses are accident/disaster keywords. Opposing keywords in this group are used 74 times in total, indicating the highest number after Karadon. While 65 of these opposing keywords are used by DM, 3 are by PGM, and 6 are by RNM. The most striking point is that the Prime Minister uses the word "murder" for the first and only time when all incidents are considered.

The keywords related to inspection vs lack of inspection dichotomy, which are used 186 times in total, also have the second-highest usage after Karadon. However, the increase in the words negligence and lack of inspection draws attention here.

Law-related keywords, which are used 161 times, reach the highest number considering the first 12 incidents. While 120 of these 161 uses are in DM, the term ILO from these keywords is mentioned for the first time in an incident other than mining. PGM group also shows the highest usage in these keywords with 26 uses, considering the first 12 incidents. Therefore, the minister's statements are the most important element in this context.

Despite a large rise in neoliberalism and systemic/structuralist issues keywords relative to previous incidents, they are still far from attitudes shown in Karadon and its aftermath. Lastly, the keywords of protest vs provocation dichotomy, which has an insignificant increase compared to the previous incident, shows an increase in resistance / protest and a decrease in the term police.

4.2.13. Soma

13 May 2014 is the date of the biggest work murder not only in this work but also in the history of Turkey. According to official figures, 301 miners lost their lives, and 162 miners were injured due to the fire that occurred in the Eynez Mine, which was privatized by TKI with the royalty method and operated by Soma Holding. The number of dead workers, which was announced as 157 on the first day of the incident, 274 on the second,

283 on the third, 292 on the fourth, became clear as 301 as a result of the rescue efforts that could be completed on the fifth day.

While the magnitude of the incident has already caused rebellions and protests, Prime Minister Erdogan's attempt to naturalize the incident by giving examples from 100 years ago in his statements during his visit to Soma on 14 May increased the anger even more. Thus, it led to protests in almost every part of the country, especially in Soma. As if that were not enough, the Prime Minister's advisor Yusuf Yerkel kicking a defenceless miner lying on the ground, and the claim that the prime minister, who sought shelter in a grocery during the protests, slapped another miner heightened the tense atmosphere and the violence. As a result, it is observed that the harsh intervention of the police in the protests and the related news have gained importance. However, the news about the Prime Minister's visit to Soma in PGM newspapers has been completely censored since the first day, and not a single photo of the Prime Minister's visit has been published in any PGM newspaper. Since it would be more accurate to look at all these details together with the themes, it would be appropriate to process the numerical data first.

Like the other 14 incidents, the Soma incident was subjected to 90-day scanning, and all of the data presented here were generated over a 90-day span. However, the effects of the Soma incident can also be clearly seen in the Torunlar incident that took place 116 days after this incident and the Ermenek-II incident that occurred exactly 5.5 months later. Therefore, it becomes possible to examine the entire period of 14 May 2014 - 26 January 2015 for the Soma incident and to examine the news of about 8,5 months. The fact that this 8.5-month period can be examined completely and that the total data of the three incidents in this period (2014) constituted 73% of the total data in terms of both the news and word count has been the basis for determining the themes and keywords. However, to make a standard comparison in all 15 cases, the data were created 90-day quantitative and 14-day qualitative basis, and several analyses confirmed that these data were sufficient.

When the data of this period are examined, Soma news was presented in a total of 1479 pages in a 90-day period, and 819 pages of this were given to the first 14-day period. It is observed that the news, 55% of which are observed in the first two weeks, is mostly between the second and eighth days and has decreased sharply after the 11th day. The chart below shows the daily news coverage ratio in the 90-day total news coverage for the first four weeks (second column) and the daily per centage of the news coverage on the first page (first column).

As can be seen from the graph (Figure 4.2), both data show parallelism and the first 10 or 11-day period stands out as the most important period for both. When the newspaper pages are examined, it is discovered that the news pages are decreased by about half per week relative to the previous week within the first four weeks. Then it continues at a minimum level but stably.

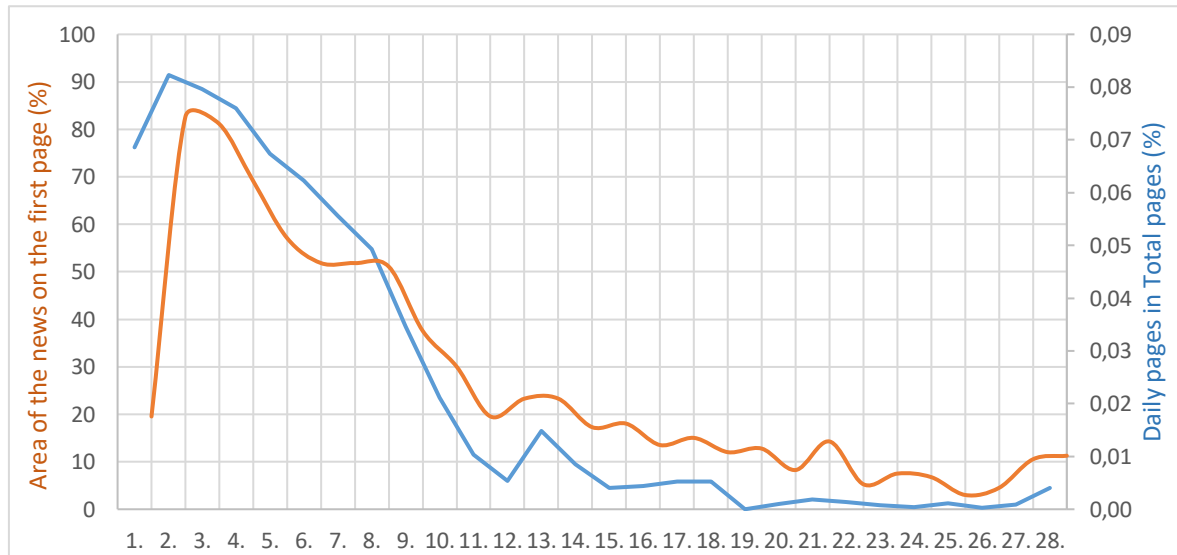


Figure 4. 2: News density of Soma in the first four weeks

When newspapers are examined individually, there are only two newspapers that report uninterruptedly every day in the first 28-day period: DM-1 and DM-2. In other newspapers, related news reported uninterruptedly in DM-3 until day 17, PGM-1 until day 25, PGM-2 and PGM-3 until day 19, RNM-1 until day 22, RNM-2 until day 11, and finally RNM-3 until the 18th day.

The three newspapers with the highest number of pages in the 90-day screening period are in order: DM-2, DM-1 and PGM-1. The three newspapers with the least news of pages are PGM-3, RNM-3 and RNM-2, respectively. In the first 14-day period, the newspapers with the highest page number of news were PGM-1, DM-2 and RNM-1, while those with the minimal page number of news were RNM-2, PGM-3 and RNM-3/PGM-2, respectively.

Considering the 90-day period, while the news of the Soma incident was about 51 days on average, there was no news in any newspaper for only two days (days 74 and 81). Considering the number of news days, the DM-1 is the highest with 75 days, followed by the DM-2 with 69 days and RNM-1 with 55 days. The least days are in PGM-3 with 39 days

and DM-3 & PGM-1 with 40 days each. The average number of days in terms of groups is 61 days in DM, 40 days in PGM and 51 days in RNM.

Table 4. 52: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (93/238)	DM-2 (109/243)	DM-3 (94/146)	PGM-1 (111/158)	PGM-2 (88/122)	PGM-3 (82/126)	RNM-1 (99/191)	RNM-2 (55/128)	RNM-3 (88/127)
1	1 & 10-11	1 & 4	1 & 10-11	1 & 14-15	1 & 12-13	1 & 26-27	1-2 & 24-25	1 & 22	1 & 16-18
2	1-8 & 12	1-10 & 13-16	1-12, 14 & 20	1, 3 & 6-19	1-3, 6, 8-10, 12-18 & 30	1, 8-9 & 22-26	1-3, 6-13, 22-24 & 27	1, 3, 6-7 & 15-18	1-3, 7-9, 14-17, 20 & 30
3	1-7 & 11-13	1-9, 11 & 13-16	1-4, 6-11, 13 & 20	1-11, 13-16 & 18-19	1, 6-7 & 9-14	1, 9, 11-12 & 20-24	1-3, 5-6, 8-13 & 24-26	1, 3-5, 7-8 & 14-15	1-10, 14-16, 19 & 30
4	1-8 & 14	1-4 & 7-8	1-2, 4-14 & 24	1, 3-10, 12, 14-17 & 19-20	1, 3, 5-6 & 12-15	1, 8-10 & 22-26	1, 8-10, 12, 14, 16 & 24-27	1, 3, 5, 7, 9 & 16-17	1-3, 5-6, 8-9, 14-16 & 19
5	1-7 & 11-12	1-2, 4-7 & 12	1-2, 4, 6-8, 10-13 & 20	1, 4-7, 10, 12 & 14-16	1, 3, 5-6 & 11-13	1, 8-9 & 20-24	1, 8-9, 12, 14 & 20-21	1, 3 & 16-17	1-4, 8-9, 16 & 20
6	1, 3-7, 9-11 & 13-14	1-9 & 11	1, 5, 7, 10-11 & 20	1, 4-7, 11-13 & 15-16	1, 3 & 11-16	1 & 17-21	1, 8-10, 20 & 23-25	1, 9 & 14-15	1, 6 & 14-15
7	1, 3-7, 10 & 16	1-11 & 16	1, 2, 7 & 10-11	1, 4, 6-7, 9, & 12-17	1-3, 5 & 12-15	1, 8-9 & 18-20	1-2, 8-9, 11, 20-22 & 24	1, 8 & 14-15	1, 8, 14, 16-17 & 28
8	1, 3-7 & 11	1-9 & 13	1, 4-8 & 10-12	1-2, 6-9, 14-15 & 19	1, 6 & 11-13	1, 8-9 & 18-21	1, 8-11 & 22-25	1, 3, 11, 13 & 16-17	1, 8 & 14-17
9	1, 3-4, 6-7 & 10	1, 3-6, 8 & 16	1-2, 5, 7-8 & 10-11	1, 14-15, 17 & 19	1, 6, 13-14 & 21	1, 11 & 26-29	1, 10, 13 & 28-29	1, 7 & 16-17	1, 8 & 18-20
10	1-2 & 4-7	1-2, 4-9 & 16	1, 9 & 13	1, 4 & 6	1, 5, 12-13 & 16-17	1, 8 & 24-26	1, 29 & 31	1 & 19	1, 8 & 20
11	1-2 & 8	1, 4 & 8	1	8	1, 3 & 11-13	1, 17 & 26-29	1, 11, 13 & 29		1, 8 & 20
12	1, 4, 7, 10 & 14-15	1, 4 & 6-7	1, 5 & 18	1, 4 & 19	1, 6 & 20	1, 7 & 23	1, 10-11 & 26	1 & 8	1 & 5-6
13	1-2 & 6-7	1, 4-5, 7-8 & 13	1 & 10	1, 4 & 14	1, 6, 11, 13 & 16	1, 8 & 24	1, 9 & 23	1 & 8	ID*
14	1 & 7	1, 4 & 9	1 & 10	1 & 6	1 & 15	1, 8 & 21	1, 8 & 31	1 & 18	1, 6, 12 & 20

ID*: Inaccessible day

In terms of reporting the news on the first page, DM-1 with 41 days and DM-2 with 39 days have the highest numbers, while PGM-1, PGM-3, and RNM-2 have the lowest with 25 days. Considering the area allocated to the news on the first page, considering the days when the news is only reported, the highest average was seen in DM-3 (31.81%), PGM-2 (31.65%) and PGM-1 (30.84%) newspapers, considering the 90-day period, it is seen that three DM newspapers have the highest average: DM-2 (10.58%), DM-1 (10.31%) and DM-3 (9.54%).

In not only 90 days but also 14 days data, the statistics show much higher figures than the other 14 incidents. As a matter of fact, while a total of 1028716 words were used in 15 incidents, 53% of them, namely the 544908 words, belonged to the Soma incident alone. Again, out of 6495 total news reports, 3380 (52%) were related to the Soma incident.

The newspaper that reports the most news is PGM-1, with 525 news. This is remarkable data because this newspaper, which ranks fourth in terms of page counts, ranks

second from the last after PGM-3 in terms of the number of days covered. This indicates that a large number of small and slight news has been made. As a matter of fact, the total word count is lower than the DM-1 and DM-2, which report much less than PGM-1, and it is in the fourth place with 146 words in terms of the average number of words per news. Following PGM-1, the highest number of news is seen in DM-1 with 472 news and DM-2 with 422 news. The least number of news is seen in RNM-3, RNM-2 and PGM-2, respectively.

Table 4. 53: Quantitative data of Soma for 90-days screening period

13. SOMA (13 May 2014)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	The area (%) on the first page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1718	19	75	238	41	22,63	10,31	472	89152
DM-2	1402	16	69	243	37	25,74	10,58	422	86817
DM-3	1940	22	40	146	27	31,81	9,54	339	47771
PGM-1	2430	27	40	158	25	30,84	8,57	525	77269
PGM-2	2440	27	42	122	27	31,65	9,49	338	59391
PGM-3	3860	43	39	126	25	29,87	8,30	409	55595
RNM-1	4230	47	55	191	32	24,23	8,62	400	66521
RNM-2	3322	37	54	128	25	28,76	7,99	284	32441
RNM-3	2900	32	44	127	26	25,48	7,36	191	29951
Averages	2694	30	50,9	164,3	29,4	27,89	8,97	375,56	60545

When the word count is examined, the highest figures are seen in DM-1, DM-2 and PGM-1, respectively, while the lowest figures are seen in RNM-3, RNM-2 and DM-3. In terms of the average words per the news, the highest average belongs to DM-2 with about 206 words, while the lowest average belongs to RNM-2 with about 114 words.

4.2.13.1. Application of CDA

The Soma incident, which differs from all other incidents in the CDA analysis, is also a milestone for the relevant newspapers. PGM newspapers made 45 full pages of news in the first two days, and they only covered the incident themes and positively emphasizing the government. There has been no questioning news about the company or the government, nor has there been any critical news. From the third day on, PGM-1 and PGM-2 targeted the foreign press, especially the German media, while PGM-3 directly targeted the Doğan Media group, especially RNM-1, with the description of ‘rent-seekers of mourning (exploiters)’ on the first page. Again, without the slightest criticism of the government, the first signal of a step back related to the firm is given. Still, the issue of somebody protecting the firm is handled in a very ambiguous way, but the legal system is implicitly associated. As of the

fourth day, the main actor of evil is the firm and its officials. If it is necessary to summarize the government's statements and therefore the attitude of PGM in this period, it would be appropriate to express as follows:

- Day one: The mining company is a very serious organization. The mine has passed all the necessary inspections, and no deficiencies were seen.
- The second day: In addition to the statements protecting and favouring the company, Prime Minister Erdogan's statements trying to show the incident as natural and ordinary. *"These kinds of accidents are in the nature of mining ..."*
- The third day: While there was no statement from the government, the following statement made by the prosecutor's office attracted great attention: "We could not detain anyone because the responsible people also died in the mine accident."
- The fourth day: The firm is being targeted on the government side, even if it is weak, and senior officials make statements like "if there is negligence, of course, we will ask for an account".
- The fifth day: In the press conference held by the firm boss and officials on the fourth day, they had to admit that it was not a rescue chamber in the mine, and officials shared various contradictory information. Upon this, the company has become the main target without exception by a full U-turn in the attitude of PGM. The basic question has turned into "who is protecting this company and Alp Gürkan". There is no such statement from the government today.
- The sixth day: After PGM, government officials also start tough anti-company rhetoric and the same day, the prosecution announces that they detained "those responsible who were not dead". As of today, PGM's main argument is that the malicious and greedy boss and company caused the incident. Furthermore, with the news constructed on the manipulable statements of some authors, especially Yılmaz Özdil, anyone who criticises the government in the country or abroad is portrayed negatively as a provocateur.

On the other hand, in the early days, although the main focus of the news was the search and rescue efforts, Soma Holding's connections with the government, the fact that the energy minister Taner Yıldız had praised the company before and his protective statements were the main arguments of DM and RNM newspapers. In addition to events such as the protests in Soma and the Yusuf Yerkel cases, the government has become the main target with the emergence that the government recently rejected the CHP's proposal to investigate the Soma mines. It is clearly observed here that the DM group, RNM-1 and RNM-2 newspapers see the government as the first responsible, and then the company. However, it is seen that RNM-3 is much softer and avoids associating the issue with the government in this context. In this context, it is thought that situations such as Ciner Holding,

the owner of RNM-3, being the former owner of the mine where the accident took place and still having mining activities within its structure, were effective in the relevant newspaper adopting a different attitude. Because this newspaper also exhibits a very different attitude from the attitude shown in previous incidents.

While 17235 themes were processed in this incident, this corresponds to approximately 58% of the total theme of 15 incidents. Of the 17235 themes processed, 51% was processed by DM, 27% by PGM and 21% by RNM group. In terms of theme groups, it is seen that polarisation themes are mainly treated (29%) accompanied by factors themes (28%). In terms of polarization themes, it is seen that all three newspaper groups reached the highest percentage in terms of 15 incidents, while the related theme percentages are as follows: PGM 38%, DM 26% and RNM 24%. While the highest figures of 15-incidents are seen in all subgroups without exception, it is seen that only RNM deals with all sub-theme groups. In DM and PGM groups, it is seen that only one sub-theme group is not covered, which are 'de-emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company & government' in DM and 'normalization of work accidents' in PGM.

When the theme groups are examined one by one, both incident and common themes, as in most cases, are mostly processed in PGM. It is seen that PGM differs from other groups, especially in terms of common themes. When the background themes are examined, it is seen that they are frequently processed in the DM group, and almost all of them are combined with analyses and used to prove the existence of a systemic problem. The primary function of background themes in the DM group is to prove that the incident is caused by structural problems that cannot be reduced to an isolated incident. On the other hand, the PGM group, whose discourse of "isolated incident" was refuted, focused on the background themes that de-emphasize the government by separating from the systemic problem. It would make more sense to discuss this with an example:

[PGM-1-2.6: TITLE]- 2 THOUSAND 500 PEOPLE DIED IN AN ACCIDENT IN 19 YEARS

- 1) According to the data included in the TEPAV report, *a total of 2 thousand 554 people died in the coal sector in Turkey during the 1991-2008 period due to work accidents and occupational diseases.*
- 2) In these accidents, the number of people injured and permanently disabled **exceeded 13 thousand.**
- 3) **The number of people who lost their lives as a result of hard coal mining accidents between 2000-2008** in Turkey **was 135.**

In this news published on 15 May 2014, the relevant newspaper consciously and deliberately presents a report focusing on the period between 6 years and 25 years before the event. It did this intentionally because the same institution had at least three up-to-date reports after this report until the Soma incident. Still, this report, which can be associated with the AKP government at a minimum level, is selected. It then applies the following tactics that are even more manipulative and clarifies that this is done deliberately: The news presentation is constructed as a particular selection of a relatively small period (2000-2008) in a less problematic sub-sector (hard coal sub-sector) from a relatively large period (1991-2008) in a more problematic sector (coal sector): While there were 2554 deaths in the coal sector between 1991 and 2008, only 135 people died as a result of "hard coal" mine accidents between 2000 and 2008, (which can be directly linked to the government). Thus, by creating a relationship of contrast, the negative aspects of the government are de-emphasized, and as if there are also positive aspects of government in the issue, the positive aspects are emphasized. In other words, a niche area and a limited date range that will be directly associated with the government has been carefully selected from the negative picture over a wide period. The aim here is obviously to emphasize the government as a positive. When PGM newspapers see that they can no longer construct or frame the incident as an isolated issue, they start to construct that the incident is caused by a structural problem that is not related to the government. In all the background themes processed, it is framed either as a common issue in which the government is de-emphasised in this way or as a restricted issue entirely caused by the concerned firm and similar greedy firms.

In RNM newspapers, RNM-1 and RNM-2 deal with all aspects of the incident and cover whoever it is related to. However, RNM-3 avoids associating the incident with the government by showing a structure similar to PGM newspapers.

In the Search & Rescue sub-theme group, the 'correct/early intervention by the authorities prevented a greater disaster' theme draws attention due to processing 23 times by PGM newspapers. This theme is not handled in DM at all and processed three times in RNM. The more interesting point here is that PGM also handles the 'wrong/late intervention by the authorities caused a greater disaster' theme, paradoxically, 45 times. This theme has been processed exactly 69 times in DM and 9 times in RNM. While DM already processes one of these two opposite themes, 3 positive uses are seen in RNM-3, and 9 negative uses are seen in RNM-1 and 2. While the three newspapers in the PGM covered both themes, no pattern was observed about the processing of their themes.

In other sub-themes of incidents, while the ‘invitation to charity campaign’ theme is mostly processed in RNM and PGM, it is seen that the ‘claims drawing attention to different dimensions of incident’ theme, which is used for query purposes, is mostly handled in DM.

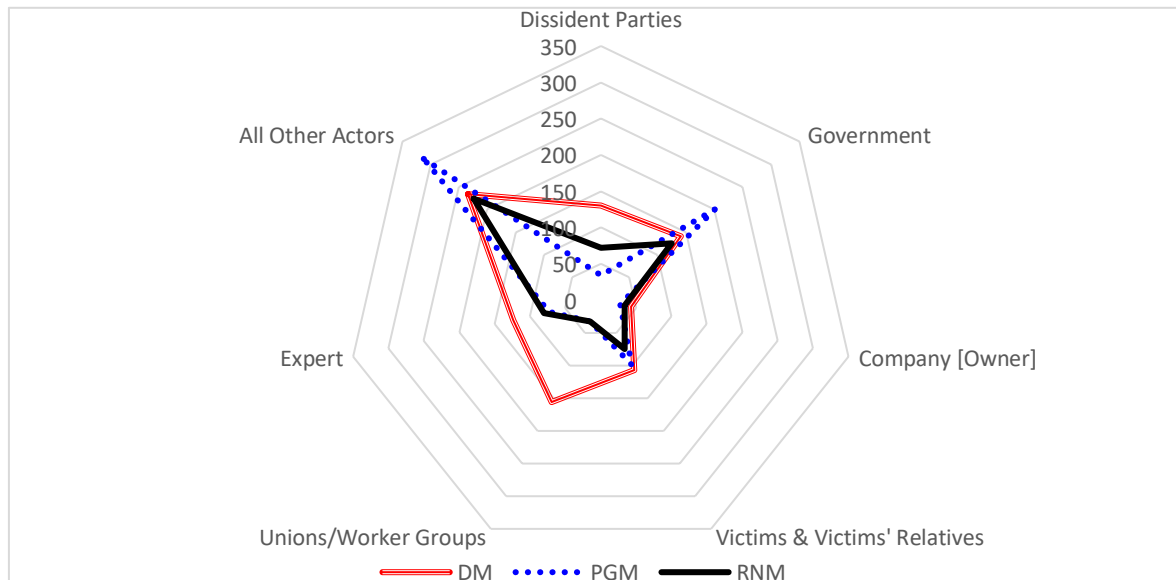


Figure 4. 3: Distribution of actors included in newspaper groups in Soma

When Actors themes are examined, it is seen that the most actor use and the most balanced distribution are in DM, and the most unbalanced distribution is in PGM (Figure 4. 3). All three newspaper groups included the least company representative actors and at most ‘all other actors other than the six main actors. In this context, all three newspaper groups mostly themed third-person actors under the theme of ‘attitudes/explanations of third parties: army/soldiers; worlds of sports, art, business, NGOs, students, etc.’. Again, in this context, it is seen that many themes of ‘attitudes/explanations of other countries/world press’ are handled in three groups. The magnitude of the Soma incident led to many local and foreign individuals and institutions’ statements and actions, which was reflected in the actors. While the condolences messages of the actors from various backgrounds are the most processed situation in this context, it is noteworthy that the reactions of the foreign press are presented very differently among the newspaper groups.

As explained in the introduction to this incident, the main axis of this case is the legitimization vs de-legitimization of the government. In this context, the statements of the foreign press are presented by PGM newspapers as an injustice to the government and as victimhood. On the other hand, all DM newspapers and RNM-1 and RNM-2 have emphasized that the incident is absolutely unnatural and used to refute the prime minister’s

discourse of "*happening in every country*" by combining the statements of the foreign press with expert opinions and analyses. Moreover, it is seen that some actors specific to this case are also highlighted for different purposes. For example, CHP Manisa Deputy Özgür Özel and Prime Ministry Counselor Yusuf Yerkel have frequently featured in DM and RNM newspapers to de-legitimize the government, and Yılmaz Özdil, a columnist of RNM-1 newspaper, in PGM newspapers to de-legitimize the opponents.

When six main actors are examined, while DM mostly benefits from Unions / Worker Groups actors, government-related actors are mostly included in PGM and RNM groups. In addition, while CHP Manisa Deputy Özgür Özel is highlighted as dissident actors in DM and RNM groups, Prime Minister, and Ministers Taner Yıldız and Faruk Çelik stand out as government actors. On the other hand, Taner Yıldız, Minister of Energy and Prime Minister Erdoğan were highlighted as government officials in PGM. At the same time, it is noteworthy that Minister of Labour Faruk Çelik was de-emphasized. This issue will be discussed in detail in the analysis of government officials. As the dissident actor, MHP and MHP Leader Bahçeli praising the state and Minister Taner Yıldız are highlighted.

Factors themes stand out as the second most processed theme group after polarization themes. 3211 (67%) of the total 4797 factors themes are used in DM newspapers, and the harshest style and great variety to date draw attention. While the processing rate of these themes in PGM is approximately 12%, it is approximately 21% in RNM. In DM, it is seen that the sub-theme groups of neoliberalism and its Turkey-context characteristics (849) and systemic/structural issues (843) are handled much more with a distinct difference. It is seen that even the least processed sub-theme group, weak and/or politicized trade unions, has been processed 223 times.

While the most processed sub-theme groups in PGM are system-based background & analysis and systemic / structural issues, the least processed is weak and/or politicized trade unions. This is very interesting because although PGM seems to handle mostly the themes of the systemic issues, almost all of them have been processed to manipulate them. Although the least and most processed sub-theme groups in the RNM group are the same as the PGM, the way they are processed and their purposes are definitely different.

Lastly, all sub-theme groups were covered in all three newspaper groups, and DM has always handled the most themes in each subgroup, and PGM was the least active in all subgroups without exception.

Table 4. 54: The theme distribution of Soma

13. Soma (13.05.2014)							
MAIN GROUP S	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	355	704	436	1495	0,09
	1.2	Background	165	59	72	296	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	177	185	70	432	
	1.4	Other	45	51	59	155	
	Incident total			742	999	637	2378
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	130	34	72	236	
	2.2	Government	141	201	125	467	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	43	27	34	104	
	2.4	Victims & Victims’ Relatives	107	99	75	281	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	156	33	33	222	
	2.6	Expert	124	73	80	277	
	2.7	All Other Actors	234	312	224	770	
	Actors Total			935	779	643	2357
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	519	50	89	658	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	849	136	206	1191	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	223	41	46	310	
	3.4	Legal Matters	463	71	150	684	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	843	142	327	1312	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	314	151	177	642	
	Factors Total			3211	591	995	4797
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	408	251	164	823	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	409	66	185	660	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY & GOVERNMENT	142	48	68	258	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	6	18	13	37	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	3	43	6	52	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY & GOVERNMENT	0	4	3	7	
	Attribution Total			968	430	439	1837
5. POLARIZATION (IDE)-LEGITIMIZATION /MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	91	273	49	413	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	1541	145	482	2168	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	11	5	8	24	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	107	895	172	1174	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	559	442	207	1208	
	Polarization Total			2309	1760	918	4987
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	(“Fatalism” vs Not Fate!)	120	5	42	167	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	81	36	44	161	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	116	0	30	146	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	351	13	41	405	
	De-Naturalization Total			668	54	157	879
Themes total			8833	4613	3789	17235	1

When the sub-theme classes of factors are discussed separately, the two most used themes in RNM and DM in the first sub-group (political context) are links between government & the company/business wolds (DM: 138 - RNM-39) and clientelism (DM: 87

- RNM: 20) themes - which are closely linked to each other. In PGM, it is partisan media / newspaper theme used 38 times. This theme, which emerged for the first time in this incident, is critical in terms of directly targeting each other in the context of work accidents among media groups, which have not only rival but hostile relationship. Furthermore, this theme, which features 11 times in RNM and 54 times in DM, is much softer and more respectful than PGM, regardless of the fact that both groups directly mentioned rivals. However, PGM, especially PGM-3, processes it in a callous, offensive, and inconsistent manner that shows no sign of respect. It is seen that RNM-1 is attacked mostly by PGM-3.

Table 4. 55: How were the newspapers mentioned in other newspapers in Soma incident

Newspapers which report	Newspaper which are mentioned									
		DM-1	DM-2	DM-3	PGM-1	PGM-2	PGM-3	RNM-1	RNM-2	RNM-3
	DM-1		n/m	n/m	1-negative	n/m	n/m	8-neutral	1-neutral	4-neutral
	DM2	2-neutral		n/m	8-negative	24-negative	13-negative	23-neutral	3-neutral	1-neutral
	DM3	1-neutral	n/m		n/m	n/m	1-negative	5-neutral	2-neutral	1-neutral 1-positive
	PGM-1	n/m	n/m	n/m		n/m	n/m	1- neutral 6-negative	3-negative	n/m
	PGM2	n/m	3-negative	1-negative	n/m		n/m	25-negative	2-negative	n/m
	PGM-3	n/m	n/m	n/m	n/m	n/m		29-negative	1-negative	1-negative
	RNM-1	n/m	1-neutral	n/m	n/m	1-negative	2-negative		n/m	1-neutral
	RNM2	2-neutral	n/m	n/m	n/m	1-negative	n/m	2-neutral		n/m
	RNM3	n/m	n/m	n/m	n/m	n/m	n/m	n/m	1-negative	

When the table above is examined, the DM group referred 99 times to other newspapers, and most of the 47 negative citations were made by DM-2 to PGM newspapers. When the table below is examined, the DM group referred 99 times to other newspapers, and most of the 47 negative citations were made by DM-2 for the PGM newspapers. DM newspapers made a neutral presentation for DM and RNM newspapers and made the only positive citation for RNM-3. PGM newspapers made 72 referring to other newspapers in total; while only one was neutral, the remaining 71 citations were negatively contextual. PGM newspapers used only four of 71 negative-context citations for DM newspapers, while 67 used them for RNM newspapers, 60 of which were RNM-1.

RNM newspapers, which is the only newspaper group presenting a newspaper in its group in a negative context, referred to other newspapers 11 times. The weight of negative context usage is for PGM newspapers. One of the interesting data here is that the RNM-1

newspaper, accused directly 60 times by PGM newspapers, directly targeted these newspapers only three times.

Finally, some descriptions used by newspaper groups when referring to other newspaper groups should be mentioned in this context. DM newspapers used the following descriptions for PGM newspapers: pro-government media, partisan media, central media, the media that brainwash the public, mainstream media, the ruling party media, the government media, the AKP media, the dictator's media, the AKP's spokesmen newspaper, and the Prime Minister and the media close to him. RNM newspapers also used the description of pro-government and partisan media for PGM. On the other hand, PGM newspapers use only "known media (*malum medya*)" for DM and RNM newspapers.

In the second factor subgroup, Neoliberalism and its Turkey-context characteristics, it is seen that DM mostly focuses on the themes of '[anti]subcontracting/ royalty & temporary employment', 'changing characteristics of working-class' and 'more money/profit-orientation'. 'Importance of industry/private sectors' theme, which is the second most handled theme in PGM and RNM groups, is the only theme that DM does not handle in this subgroup. In other words, the DM group did not deal with only this theme among 11 themes related to neoliberalism, while the other ten themes frequently discussed. So that, in this subgroup, it has addressed even the least theme it covers 43 times. It is clear that the DM group does not address the legitimization efforts of the industry and private sector against the frequent work accidents with the theme of "importance of industry/private sectors" for ideological reasons. Again, the more money/profit-orientation theme, which the PGM group features most, stands out with a similar legitimization effort in relation to this issue. The main argument here is that the entire business world should not be blamed and that the problem stems from some malicious and greedy employers. As an interesting footnote, the first example of this theme being handled with the importance of industry/private sectors as protecting employers started with the statements of MHP leader Devlet Bahçeli in the OSTİM incident. RNM also support this use due to its private sector context. The most processed themes in the RNM group are "[anti] subcontracting / royalty & temporary employment", "importance of industry / private sectors", and "changing characteristics of working-class", respectively. As seen, in RNM, the first and third most processed ones are common with DM, and the second most processed theme is common with PGM. Finally, while PGM newspapers focused on only four themes out of 11 in this sub-theme group, the RNM focused on six ones.

In the third factors sub-group, Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions subgroup, DM, which handles 223 of 310 themes, mostly focused on “yellow (company) unions” theme. This theme, which was handled very little in the previous Karadon and Ostim incidents (only once in each), is covered 91 times in this incident: DM: 70, PGM: 15 and RNM: 6. When the complex relations of the Maden-İş Union, which is affiliated with Türk-İş and organized union in Soma, with the company emerged; the entire union-management had to resign as a result of the protests of the workers. It was revealed that the relevant union protected the boss’s interests rather than the workers’ and behaved under the boss’s orders. So much so that even the first to announce the fire in the mine to the boss is the Soma officer of the union. The most processed theme in PGM is ‘direct criticism & accusation of the unions’, while the most processed theme in RNM is ‘importance of [effective] unionization’. It is seen that all three newspaper groups handle all five themes in this sub-theme group. However, while DM handles all themes very intensively, it is seen that only two themes are frequently discussed in PGM and RNM groups.

Legal matters sub-theme of factors, which consists of four different themes, was processed 684 times in total, and all four themes were discussed in three newspaper groups. While this sub-group was also mostly processed in the DM group (463 times), 71 related themes were seen in the PGM group, which is the least functioning. In DM, while the theme of "absence of deterrent laws [in practice]" was handled mostly 136 times, the theme that DM handles the least is "legal deficiencies/ problems/ unlawfulness" with 101 times. In RNM, the "actions, rules & discourses which remain only on paper / in speech ‘theme (64) is the most processed theme, while the ‘arbitrary/malicious interpretation of the law or legal gap’ theme (20) is the least handled. In PGM, the most and least processed themes in this context are the same, but their number is 34 to 8.

In the legal matters, DM and RNM-1 and RNM-2 newspapers discussed the themes of ‘actions, rules & discourses which remain only on paper/in speech’ and ‘arbitrary/ malicious interpretation of the law or legal gap’ in the context of decoupling, and the target is mostly the government. In this context, the trade union and the company were also attacked, albeit in a limited number. While RNM-3 does not cover these themes, other PGM newspapers deal with the issue only in the context of the firm and the relevant union. One of the most criticized issues here by DM and PGM newspapers is that deterrent laws, especially ILO conventions, could not be enacted, despite the government’s statement that more deterrent sanctions will be imposed after each incident. In this sense, the claim that the government

allegedly gave labour inspectors the following instruction at the coordinators' conference, sparked a heated debate: "Do not take action when you see a deficiency, give the employer 1 month to complete the deficiencies. Do not bother us during the election period (Presidential election on 10 August 2014)." If this claim is true, since the issue of occupational safety has been made an element of the policy, even if there is a law, the failure to fulfil the rules in practice, that is, decoupling has been applied deliberately.

In terms of all factors, the systemic/structural issues, in which at least two factors are handled together and point out that systemic problems are the main issue, and the system-based background & analysis themes, which offer structural analyses or solutions, stand out as the most studied sub-theme groups. In this context, while systemic/ structural issues are processed 1312 times, this data alone indicates that the system causes the issue. Therefore, the system cannot be corrected unless the related factors are resolved. While all of the 11 themes in this group are densely handled in DM, it is seen that all of them are also handled in RNM but with less intensity. In PGM, two themes were not addressed, while five of the other 9 themes were handled very low intensity and rarely. The other four themes were handled with completely manipulative strategies, and they were used to suppress the reaction to the event and deflect the criticisms against the government. The handling of the 'despair / no alternative chance' theme, which has been encountered in many cases before, is precisely an example of this manipulative use. This theme, which is normally used in criticism of the government for condemning people to this helplessness, is constructed in PGM newspapers as framing that the government is the only "chance" to solve this desperation. If this government were not in charge, these people would not even find this job and starve to death, and it is often used, especially in conjunction with mutual mourning themes. Furthermore, it presents this theme as if there were many alternatives and workers made such a choice for some compelling reasons. It also processes it by embedding into issues such as its importance for the economy. In the case of Karadon, the prime minister's statement that "workers become miners knowing that such accidents will happen in mining" is an example of this. However, it is more adequate to examine the following examples to demonstrate the different functioning of this theme among newspaper groups:

DM: Even though the risk of death is high, they have no other choice; they have no choice but to be coal workers. For the capital to earn more, to favour the partisans. Although Prime Minister Erdogan tries to make the deaths ordinary by saying, "*It is in the nature of this work*", it is in vain. Yes, some of those who lost their relatives say

"fate", but immediately after that, they accuse the company, which the government praised for job security, for failing to take the necessary precautions. Well, for 40 lira daily wages, why do people go under the ground, coal-black, blind darkness? They always say, not from fate: "There is no other work! We're desperate ... We have to ..."

RNM: [TITLE] Wrong agricultural policy made this

İbrahim Yetkin said that when farmers had no other choice, they turned to mining which has just begun to emerge in the region: "***The only way for the farmers now seemed to mines. The family origin of many of those who lost their lives there is farming. As a result of the wrong agricultural policies that started 34 years ago, the region became non-agricultural. Olive cultivation has also shifted towards Balıkesir. Only mines remained in hand.***"

PGM: The Soma district of Manisa, where the mining accident that strangled Turkey, has an important share in the country's energy production and future plans. In Soma, with a population of 102 thousand, which has the largest coal reserves after Zonguldak, 15 thousand workers are working in 8 mining companies. While those over the age of 40 retire, young people who have completed their military service sweat at 300 to 2 thousand meters under the ground in mines every day to dig their bread money. Although the miners said, "We have debts, nothing to do, I have to work. Either I find another job or go into the mine.", they generally prefer mining.

As can be seen from the examples, the theme of "*despair/no alternative chance*" is framed as a critique of a systemic problem in DM and RNM groups and is often addressed with other important issues such as changing workforce structure. In PGM, it has been embedded into the importance of mining, and hence it is manipulated. This situation is not specific to 'despair/no alternative chance' only; it can be observed in all themes, including 'systemic/structural deficiencies'. As the Prime Minister said in the Karadon incident (*they enter the profession knowing that such things can happen*), PGM manipulates the situation with specific word choices such as "option/prefer/choice" or "knowingly," as if workers had a choice (Lexicon). However, the statements of both the workers and the workers' relatives reveal that this has nothing to do with the choice and that they are working in these jobs out of desperation. Moreover, this is not specific to Soma; In the case of RNM, agriculture has been weakened in the last 34 years, that is, from 24 January 1980, when neoliberal policies were initiated, as İbrahim Yetkin's highlight. In general, agriculture has been killed with wrong or conscious agricultural policies, and the workforce here has been turned into a cheap and unqualified labour force for various fields, especially mines and constructions. One of the main denominators of the 15 incidents here is that in all of these collective work

massacres, mostly workers who are unqualified and have no class-conscious die more. In other words, workers whose main job is not labour but cannot find any other jobs are sent to death without training in mines and construction. When we consider the previous Esenyurt AVM and the subsequent Torunlar and Ermenek-II events together with this incident, the same story is always encountered. To survive, workers around the country are forced to consent to work in deadly conditions (Buğra, 2015b). Unfortunately, the main motive that legitimizes these massacres is employment, as seen in the PGM text example above and Thebaun-Mony (2017:290) emphasised.

Finally, one of the most critical themes to be addressed in terms of the subgroup of systemic/structural issues is crony capitalism. This theme, which has never been handled until this event, is actually taking the clientelism theme to the next level by taking it together with systemic notions. It is also observed in the next two incidents. After the term "crony capitalism" was used in the news of the British Guardian newspaper that analysed the Soma incident, DM-1 and RNM-2 newspapers also highlighted this news and deepened the subject with various analysis news. Subsequently, it has become a theme frequently discussed in other representatives of the foreign press and dissident newspapers: DM: 45, PGM: 0 and RNM: 4. In addition to the notions that reveal a systemic problem within this theme, it is also important for being attacked by PGM. After this term and theme was frequently mentioned in the foreign press and mentioned in RNM newspapers after DM, PGM newspapers started to de-legitimize these newspapers as false and deliberate news of "foreign power groups and the known media in the axis of these power groups". In this context, finally, the following words should be discussed as they were highlighted in the news of the German Frankfurter Rundschau newspaper and reprinted in DM newspapers:

"If the accusations against the companies operating the collieries are confirmed, the consequences will put Erdogan under greater pressure than corruption scandals. Since it is known that nobody in Turkey can win the tender without the approval of the highest authority, every violation on this issue will return and find the chief himself. Corruptions did not concern Erdogan's voters much, but it would not be the case in the deaths of the workers."

The newspapers that cover the relationship between the government and the business world (and tenders) along the axis of crony capitalism state unequivocally that the government, as the system's builder, is to blame for the system's problems and that the voters will react. The claim that the government is primarily responsible for systemic problems is

voiced in many newspapers and constitutes the main argument for criticism of the government. However, it is seen that the newspaper did not understand the share of crony capitalism in Turkish reality. Otherwise, it could not claim that these deaths woke even Erdogan's voters. Indeed, Erdogan's victory in the Presidential elections held on the 89th day of the Soma incident refuted this claim.

System-Based Background & Analysis themes, the last factors subgroup, were also processed 642 times. The most striking situation here is that various solution proposals, processed 340 times, are presented with more concrete suggestions than analyses. In this context, the theme of 'economic cost of work accidents', which emerged for the first time and aims to warn the business world and the government about work accidents differently, draws attention. The fact that PGM is the group that most worked on this theme, combined with the statements of Minister Çelik (the subcontracting system that has turned into exploitation), led to comments that the government could not control some bosses who thought nothing but gaining much more. Moreover, not only this theme but also following themes are also frequently discussed for similar purposes: 'how should it be / how should it have been (130) ', 'the safest workplace is the most efficient workplace (26) ' and ' different perspective/suggestion/solution (122) '.

Before moving on to other theme groups, it will be useful to summarize Factors, one of the most important matters in terms of study. However, it would be more useful to summarize by giving some Headlines/Titles examples from newspapers rather than a classic summary. Some relevant headings in the newspapers are as follows:

i. Political Context

- [TITLE] AKP has chosen the workers who went to death [*Ölüme giden işçileri AKP seçmiş*]
- [SUB-TITLE] Crony-Capitalism [*Eş-dost kapitalizmi*]
- [HEADLINE] AKP-linked PR [*AKP bağlantılı PR*]
- [SUB-TITLE] BOTH SUBCONTRACTOR AND AKP PARTISAN [*HEM TAŞERON HEM DE AKP YANDAŞI*]
- [TITLE] 'Skills' of AKP friendly company [*AKP dostu şirketin 'marifetleri'*]
- [SUB-TITLE] AN AKP COMPANY [*BİR AKP ŞİRKETİ*]
- [HEADLINE] The company has strong ties with AKP [*Şirketin AKP ile bağları güçlü*]
- [HEADLINE] BILL OF HEALTH FROM THE BROTHER-IN-LAW [*SAĞLAM RAPORU ENİŞTEDEN*]
- [HEADLINE] BROTHER-IN-LAW INSPECTED THAT MINE [*O MADENİ ENİŞTE DENETLEMİŞ*]
- [TITLE] 'Crony disaster' [*'Eş-dost faciası'*]
- [TITLE] Partisanship under every stone [*Her taşın altında yandaşlık*]

ii. Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics

- [HEADLINE] T.R. (Subcontractor Republic) [*T.C. (Taşeron Cumhuriyeti)*]
- [SUB-TITLE] 'Subcontractor swamp' [*'Taşeron bataklık'*]
- [TITLE] Aygün: The reason for the massacre is AKP privatizations [*Aygün: Katliamın nedeni AKP özelleştirmeleri*]
- [SUB-TITLE] PRIVATIZATION KILLS [*ÖZELLEŞTİRME ÖLDÜRÜYOR*]
- [HEADLINE] Not accident but Neoliberal murder [*Kaza değil neoliberal cinayet*]
- [TITLE] 'Private sector is not safe' [*'Özel sektör güvenli değil'*]

- [HEADLINE] Profit pressure brings massacre [*Kâr baskısı, katliam getiriyor*]
- [SUPER-HEADLINE] IN IZMIR WORKERS CRY OUT TO THE SUBCONTRACTOR
[*İZMİR'DE İŞÇİLER TAŞERONA KARŞI HAYKIRIYOR*]
- [HEADLINE] They take to the streets against the slavery law
[*Kölelik yasasına karşı alanlara çıkıyorlar*]
- [SUPER-HEADLINE] FROM AGRICULTURE TO MINING [*TARIMDAN MADENCİLİĞE*]
- [HEADLINE] Soma's death cycle [*Soma'nın ölüm döngüsü*]
- [HEADLINE] Another name for the massacre is the subcontractor [*Katliamın bir adı da taşeron*]
- [TITLE] With the draft law, the 'gangmaster' system will be legalized
[*Yasa tasarısıyla 'dayıbaşı' sistemi yasallaşmış olacak*]
- [SUB-TITLE] WHEN THE 'TOBACCO' IS FINISHED ... [*'TÜTÜN' BİTİRİLİNCE...*]
- [TITLE] RESISTANT WORKERS: Subcontracted slavery order responsible for the massacre
[*DİRENEN İŞÇİLER: Katliamın sorumlusu taşeron kölelik düzeni*]

iii. Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions

- [HEADLINE] 80 per cent of 145 thousand miners are not unionized
[*145 bin madencinin yüzde 80'i sendikası*]
- [HEADLINE] Union and company share bank promotions [*Bankanın promosyonlarını sendika ve şirket paylaşıyor*]
- [TITLE] Worker's trick defeated YELLOW UNION [*İşçinin fendi SARI SENDİKAYI yendi*]
- [SUPER-HEADLINE] In Soma, the employer threatened the employees with dismissal if they did not vote for the union they agreed with!
[*Soma'da işveren, çalışanları, anlaştığı sendikaya oy atmamaları durumunda işten çıkarmakla tehdit etmiş!*]
- [HEADLINE] The union has only name [*Sendikanın adı var*]
- [TITLE] Unions Should also Question Themselves [*Sendikalar da Kendilerini Sorgulamalı*]
- [SUPER-HEADLINE] After the Soma disaster, Aegean management of Turkey Maden-İş that accused of 'yellow unionism' discharged
[*Soma faciası sonrası 'sarı sendikacılıkla' suçlanan Türkiye Maden-İş'in Ege yönetimi görevinden ayrıldı*]
- [HEADLINE] The rebellion forced resign [*İşyan istifa ettirdi*]
- [TITLE] Yellow unions are also responsible! [*'Sarı sendikalar da sorumlu!'*]

iv. Legal Matters

- [TITLE] No signature to ILO convention for 19 years [*ILO sözleşmesine 19 yıldır imza yok*]
- [TITLE] 'Supposedly, our mine regulation was much more advanced!'
[*'Bizdeki maden düzenlemesi çok daha ileri imiş!'*]
- [TITLE] Law accident in the massacre [*Katliamda hukuk kazası*]
- [HEADLINE] no security in the mine, nothing in the contract [*Güvenlik madende yok, sözleşmede hiç yok*]
- [HEADLINE] Right? What is that?! [*Hak mı? O da ne?!*]
- [TITLE] Scandal in the trial! ... [*Yargılamada skandal! ...*]
- [HEADLINE] There is unlawfulness in the nature of fascism [*Faşizmin fitratında hukuksuzluk var*]

v. Systemic/ Structural Issues - System-Based Background & Analysis

- [SUB-TITLE] System problem [*Sistem sorunu*]
- [TITLE] Exploitation, not fate ... [*Kader değil sömürü...*]
- [HEADLINE] "He sees our people as slaves" [*'İnsanımızı köle olarak görüyor'*]
- [TITLE] AKP expanded the ROYALTY [*RÖDÖVANSI AKP genişletti*]
- [HEADLINE] Working like a slave [*Köle gibi çalışma*]
- [TITLE] Modern slaves of outdated mines [*Çağdışı madenlerin modern köleleri*]
- [HEADLINE] 'The cost of election bribery is the miner's life' [*'Seçim rüşvetinin bedeli madencinin canı'*]
- [TITLE] Why do worker deaths occur? [*Neden işçi ölümleri gerçekleşiyor?*]
- [SUB-TITLE] 'I HAVE TO WORK' [*'ÇALIŞMAYA MECBURUM'*]
- [TITLE] "Occupational safety expert is the employer's worker!"
[*'İş güvenliği uzmanı işverenin işçisi!'*]
- [HEADLINE] 'What remains underground is the system itself, together with the workers'
[*'Yeraltında kalan, işçilerle birlikte sistemin kendisidir'*]
- [HEADLINE] Ban the Subcontractor, Resign the government! [*Taşeron yasaklansın, hükümet istifa!*]
- [TITLE] There is exploitation and death in the nature of the AKP
[*AKP'nin fitratında sömürü ve ölüm var*]
- [SUPER-HEADLINE] In Soma, the government that says "these are normal", employers who are eager forprofit and do not take measures and yellow unions are responsible for the deaths of hundreds of labourers [*Soma'da yüzlerce emekçinin ölümünden, 'bunlar olağan' diyen iktidar, kâr hırsı güden ve önlem almayan işverenler ile sarı sendikalar sorumlu*]

- [HEADLINE] Leave the tale, YOU SLAUGHTERED [*Masalı bırakın KATLETTİNİZ*]
- [SUPER-TITLE] PERFUNCTORILY PUNISHMENTS/ PUNISHMENTS ON PAPER
[*GÖSTERMELİK CEZALAR*] (DECOUPLING)
- [TITLE] 'A secret hand protects criminals' [*'Suçluları gizli bir el koruyor'*]
- [SUB-TITLE] NOT INSPECTION BUT TEA CHAT [*'DENETLEME DEĞİL ÇAY SOHBETİ'*] (DECOUPLING)
- [HEADLINE] 'Those who cover up are responsible' [*'Örtbas edenler sorumlu'*]
- [SUB-TITLE] A Laundering Commission will be established on Tuesday
[*Salı günü bir AK-lama⁶ komisyonu kurulacak*]

When the attribution themes are analysed, the company, which has been processed 823 times, is the first to be held accountable for the incident, and then the government that has been processed 660 times. In addition, in 458 themes, the company and the government are held jointly responsible.

When sub-theme groups are examined, 36 of 37 themes processed in Emphasizing the positive sides/issues of company subgroup are themes of 'no negligence/fault of the company: accident caused by an unpredictable cause despite all measures taken'. There is a situation here arising from the company's statements and refusal of the accusations, all of which are seen in the first days. The other theme is that 'the good reputation of the company' theme is processed in PGM. It is a piece of news about Taner Yıldız's statements that the company is an exemplary business and does not think the incident is caused by negligence. In *de-emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company & government subgroups*, it is seen that the government is also de-emphasized based on the statements made by third parties who are not a party to the incident, through the "not only the responsibility of the state/government: everyone, especially the employer, must fulfil their responsibilities" theme. This theme, which is addressed three times in DM and RNM, is generally built on the statements of the leading people of the business world or groups such as MUSIAD and is given in a very neutral language. On the other hand, this theme, which has been handled 41 times in PGM, is framed by the statements of very interesting people whose relation to the subject or who they are not known, for example, Mert Yıldızhan, Board Member of Elit Yapı and Emre Karıcı, one of the partners of LEMA Group. The way the theme is handled show that the aim is to prevent the government from being associated with the incident. In this sub-theme group, with the themes "possibility of sabotage [claim]" and "workers' negligence/mistakes", it is seen that the PGM and RNM groups report that the incident may have been caused by sabotage or the negligence of 'our worker brothers'. In particular, the

⁶ By emphasising that the term "AK" in the term "laundering the criminal" and the AK Party's term "AK" are the same in Turkish, a word game was developed. It is implied that the AK Party will establish a symbolic/ceremonial commission to protect criminals, as a type of decoupling.

following statement of Ali Kahyaoğlu, the President of the Istanbul Mineral Exporters Association, reported in PGM newspapers is quite remarkable:

[PGM-3- 4.24: TITLE] ‘THE POSSIBILITY OF SABOTAGE SHOULD BE INVESTIGATED’

1. Ali Kahyaoğlu, President of the Istanbul Mineral Exporters Association, said that the possibility of sabotage should be taken into account in the mining disaster in Soma.
2. Kahyaoğlu said, "All possibilities should be considered, including negligence, recklessness, abuse and sabotage. There are, of course, sick people who can think of such a terrible thing. The explosion of the transformer does not seem possible to me. When Soma is being discussed in the parliament, when two shift workers are together inside the mine, if such an accident occurs *in Turkey's safest mine*, the possibility of sabotage should definitely be taken into consideration."

Kayhaoğlu may be making such a statement in good faith. Still, the manner in which the relevant newspaper reports this, the themes it is handled together, and its positioning point to the government's being de-emphasized. On the other hand, in PGM and RNM-3 newspapers, while fate, sabotage or workers negligence is responsible for the first 3-4 days, then the responsibility of the greedy firm emerges.

Polarization themes become the most handled theme group, not just in this incident but also when all events were considered. In this group, where exactly 4987 themes are handled, the most handled subgroup with 2168 themes was the De-Legitimize government, while the least discussed subgroup was Legitimize dissident parties with 24 themes. Approximately 71% of the De-Legitimize government themes, mostly processed, were covered by the DM group, while RNM newspapers covered 22%. While most of the 7% themes processed by PGM are for indirect or manipulative purposes, it is seen that Minister Çelik and the Ministry of Labour are targeted in a small number of normally processed themes.

In the first subgroup, De-legitimize dissidents/claims, 66% of the relevant themes are handled in the PGM group, while PGM has processed the theme of "Yilmaz Özdil and others: unacceptable, malicious statements of dissident authors" at most (84 times). The second most worked theme of PGM is "incident is manipulated with information pollution / malicious statements, be careful!", which is handled 54 times, and this theme is the most handled one also on DM (37) and PGM (24). PGM has extensively processed all seven themes in this group. PGM has extensively processed all seven themes in this group. On the other hand, it is seen that DM is concentrated on two and RNM has only one theme. It is

seen that the issues of Yusuf Yerkel and Yılmaz Özdil are the most prominent here. PGM newspapers are attempting to delegitimize DM and RNM newspapers with a lot of news, but it is recognized that among these, there are comments made in such serious and precise language that the reader is attempting to be convinced as soon as they read them. For instance:

[PGM-3-3.23; TITLE]

Provocateurs at work

... In the photos of Prime Minister Erdogan's Principal Clerk assistant and counsel, Yusuf Yerkel, which were reflected in the media, it was alleged that he kicked a miner's relative. However, **it has understood that** this person was a protester directed by organized groups.

As shown in the sample text, an incident with even a photograph has been turned into an allegation. Then the expression "it is understood that the person kicked was a provocateur" was used, which was decisive but definitely a lie. As if it was normal for him to kick the provocateur. When it became clear that his news was false a few days later, it is seen that no statement or news was published. Moreover, it is understood that this is deliberate manipulative news, both from the abundance of other contradictory news on the relevant page and from the fact that they ignore it when it is revealed.

The second subgroup, De-Legitimize government, is the most processed subgroup and the most diverse theme group. In this group consisting of 14 different themes, DM and RNM processed 14 themes, while PGM did not process five themes at all and handled four themes at most twice. The most processed themes in the DM group are, in order: "direct criticism & accusation of the government [policies] (431)", "rebellion discourses and/or protest acts (324)", "police state/violence: disproportionate use of force by the police (162) and "unacceptable attitudes/behaviours and statements by senior government /state officials [slapping/kicking/swearing] (143).

The most worked themes in the RNM group are: "rebellion discourses and/or protest acts (118)", "direct criticism & accusation of the government [policies] (79)" and "unacceptable attitudes/behaviours and statements by senior government /state officials [slapping/kicking/swearing] (60)". Finally, the themes most worked on in the PGM group are: "rebellion discourses and/or protest acts (59)", "judge / punish those responsible (38)" and "moving the issue to the parliament (21)".

A theme (*use of religion & religious groups/communities by the government to reduce indignation/rebellion*) seen in the de-legitimize government subgroup contains some

important notions that should be specifically addressed. This theme, which was not addressed at all in the PGM group, is significantly addressed in DM (44) and RNM (11) newspapers in the context of both fatalism and the government's naturalization of work accidents. This theme is important not only in terms of naturalization and fatalism but also because it tries to reveal the manipulative actions of the government by associating it with provocation themes. Since, although there is much discussion about the government's use of religion as a weapon of manipulation in various issues, including work accidents, the examples that can be provided in concrete form only because they are discursive (e.g., fatalism) were extremely rare. However, in this incident, some sects and congregations came to Soma personally and met with Minister Yıldız and then gave the indoctrination to the people as they should not rebel, should not oppose fate. Moreover, they have turned this into an advertisement on many platforms, especially their own websites, and set the most concrete example in this context. This situation was so effective that both incidents were used after the Soma through the reference to Soma. This situation of the congregations has also been the subject of many news and news headlines. Some of these titles are as follow:

- [TITLE] 'Pray not rebel' [*'İsyan değil dua edin'*]
 [TITLE] The hometown of sheikhs, dervishes, disciples, delirious (meczip)...
 [*Şeyhler, dervişler, müritler, meczuplar memleketi...*]
 [TITLE] When the AKP has trouble, the sect runs to help!
 [*AKP düştü mü zora tarikat koşar yardıma!*]
 [SUPER-TITLE] The group that came together with Minister Yıldız will give the message
 'do not revolt' [BAKAN YILDIZ'LA BİR ARAYA GELEN GRUP 'İSYAN ETMEYİN' MESAJI VERECEK]
 [TITLE] 50 hodja to Soma! Soma'ya 50 hoca!
 [TITLE] Fatalists are working! *Kaderciler çalışıyor!*
 [TITLE] 'Don't rebel, pray' team is at work [*'İsyan etmeyin, dua edin' timi işbaşında*]
 [SUB-TITLE] AKP's "Anti-Insurgency" team has started to work.
 [*AKP'İN 'Anti-İsyan' timi adeta göreve başladı*]
 [TITLE] Minister's guest İsmailağa congregation
 [*Bakan'ın konduğu İsmailağa cemaati*]

Considering the most worked themes in polarization themes, it is seen that only the "rebellion discourses and/or protest acts" theme is common in all three groups. However, the way this theme is handled between groups is quite different. By processing 319 of 324 themes in this context together with factors and / or other polarization themes, DM criticizes the government very openly and heavily and invites them to resign. It is observed that the "police violence" theme is mostly handled with this theme. In the other five themes, the protest against the organized union in Soma is reported. In RNM, 102 of 118 themes target the government and 16 of them target the unions. In PGM, on the other hand, the government

is never targeted, it is mostly intertwined with provocation themes, and rare cases that can be associated with the government are given indirectly and softened.

In this subgroup, "unacceptable attitudes/behaviours and statements by senior government/state officials [slapping/kicking/swearing]" stands out as the most striking theme. During the Prime Minister's visit to Soma, Prime Minister Counselor Yusuf Yerkel kicked a miner lying defenceless on the ground and Prime Minister Erdogan's claim that he slapped another miner had a great impact. Therefore, this theme has been handled 143 times in DM and 60 times in RNM. Except for two of these themes, which are addressed ten times in the PGM group, they are all in the form of Yusuf Yerkel's laundering or denial of criticism despite photographs. The other two are Deputy Prime Minister Bülent Arınç's statements criticizing Yerkel on the ninth day of the event. While this incident was clearly transformed into a campaign against Prime Minister Erdogan, PGM's response was to highlight and manipulate the words of some columnists, especially Yılmaz Özdil. In this context, it should be noted that PGM newspapers continue to use different strategies within themselves. PGM-1 and 2 preferred to ignore Yerkel's kicking and Prime Minister's slap completely for the first eight days. Afterwards, they reported only about the dismissal of Yerkel after the words of Arınç, "the kicking incident has nothing to be defended". PGM-3, on the other hand, constructs the Prime Minister's slap incident from the beginning as "lies of a certain part," as well as portraying the miner kicked by Yerkel as a provocateur (i.e., as in the news titled *Provocateurs at work* above). As stated before, all claims of PGM-3's provocation and provocateur have been refuted, but despite this, no step back has been taken in the relevant newspaper.

Legitimize dissident parties subgroup themes, which are the least processed, are not covered differently in the three newspaper groups, but in terms of the approach to Özgür Özel, the other two groups approach quite positively, while PGM's displays a neutral or negative attitude.

In the legitimize government subgroup, 895 (76%) of the 1174 themes processed are in the PGM group. PGM has mostly covered the themes of "government/ authorities/ institutions [will] fulfil their responsibilities (158)" and "salary/relief to victims including aid, scholarship and so on (101)". It is seen that the theme 'Salary/relief to victims including aid, scholarship and so on' is the most frequently handled themes by DM (38) and RNM (51) in this theme subgroup. While this theme is about the aids of many individuals and institutions, including the government, for Soma victims in DM and RNM newspapers, it is

completely abused in PGM and used to legitimize the government. Although there have been cases where a similar situation has occurred before, this has never been done so much. To offer a specific example, the following news reported in all newspapers on the second day of the incident based on the same main event should be examined:



Picture 4. 3: Example of positioning and (de)emphasis of the same news in different newspaper groups

On the first day of the incident, SSI Vice President Mustafa Kuruca declared that, in response to a question raised to him at a separate event unrelated to the incident, the families of the deceased miners would be granted a death income of about 1000 TL, as per social security legislation. The reporting of this happened in newspapers, as in the image above (Picture 4.3). Although the news is tiny in terms of content and size, PGM constructs it at the centre of the page and as fairly large news covering 31.7% of the page. This ratio is 6.9% of the page in RNM and only 1.4% in DM. Moreover, PGM frames as a headline, with the theme of the "importance of industry / private sectors", and presents government support to the victims' families, without linking the event with the regulation. By placing another report titled "The mineworker cannot earn" right above it, a presentation is made that the miners earn very little, but the aids will not be like that.

On the other hand, in its tiny and critical-purposed news titled "1 death is 1000 lira!", DM criticised the SSI vice president for referring to the incident as a "work accident." On the page with the relevant news, the following news, all of which are aimed at criticism, are presented: (headline) "For 1500 lira!", (Titles) "Not destiny", "Turkey is the First Place in Mining Accidents", "There had to be foresight", "AKP expanded royalty", and "The ILO

convention has not been signed for 19 years" In summary, all the news on the page, including the salary issue, were covered to criticize the government.

Finally, RNM informs the payment of salaries in a very neutral language under the SSI regulation. In terms of size, it is again presented in the form of a title and as a piece of average-sized news. The headline news on the relevant page reports that Soma Holding has previously made false statements in an interview given to its own newspapers and questions the situation.

In this context, the theme "legitimization of nuclear energy: colliery / coal is dangerous, nuclear energy should be focused" should be mentioned lastly. In the face of widespread criticism following the repeated accidents in coal mines, the government and PGM newspapers began to use this event to legitimise debates on nuclear power plants, which were being held at the time. Their main argument is that we have already stated that coal mines should be closed and that nuclear energy should be used as soon as possible. On the other hand, DM newspapers responded with the theme "counter-discourse to the legitimization of nuclear energy". Their main argument is that this greedy government, which turns coal mines into mines of death, would be caused disaster with nuclear energy.

In the last subgroup, Legitimize US while Delegitimize THEM, 1208 themes were handled in three groups. In all three groups, it is seen that the themes of "manipulation/propaganda [claim] (DM: 184, PGM: 90, RNM: 43)", "falsified information/lying to the public (DM: 157, PGM: 63, RNM: 43)" and "de-emphasizing the responsibilities (DM: 79, PGM: 37, RNM: 56)" are heavily discussed. Also, "de-legitimization of rival media group/claims (DM: 35, PGM: 61, RNM: 17)" and "direct criticism & accusation of rival media groups (DM: 38, PGM: 66, RNM: 20)" themes are discussed 237 times in three groups, and they blame each other openly. As this subject is discussed in the comparative table under factors (Table 5.55) and in the themes related to Yılmaz Özdil, it is seen that attacks on rival newspaper groups are widely used in manipulating the event, especially in PGM newspapers. It is also understood that the issue's sensitivity has increased even more with the statements of Prime Minister Erdogan criticizing the clearly mentioned journalists and the owner of the newspaper. The theme "ugly protest/provocation/provocateur" has also been used extensively (136). Finally, in this context, it is seen that the PGM group uses some themes specific to Soma. These are 'link between "fetö" & judge/prosecutor/investigation', 'link between the company [owner] & big business groups, freemasonry, Judaism, secret agendas etc.', 'made peace with Yerkele; I

apologize to my prime minister!’ and ‘provocation deciphered: no slap, I apologize to my prime minister!’. With these themes, the PGM group tries to prevent a prosecutor and Soma Holding boss associated with the government in DM newspapers from being associated with the government by associating them with various "malicious" third parties like Fetö, Koç holding and İsrail. With the last two themes, the apologies of the "victims" from the prime minister in kicking and slap incidents are discussed. What is interesting here is that the person whom Yusuf Yerkel kicked also apologized to the prime minister. In this context, it is seen that the news that some victims’ families, whose names are not known, apologized to the Prime Minister for the events in Soma, are also discussed together with this news combined with provocation. These themes are also discussed in RNM-3, albeit in a small number, apart from PGM.

In the last theme group, [De] -Naturalization, 879 themes were processed, and 76% of them was processed by DM, while only 6% of them was processed in PGM. PGM performs Naturalization with the context of fatalism and martyrdom in 41 of the 54 [De] - Naturalisation themes it covers. Although the remaining 13 themes have a de-naturalization context, they are all handled indirectly. In RNM, while 13 themes are handled in the context of naturalization, it is seen that 144 themes have adhered to the context of [de] - naturalization. All of the 668 themes processed in DM are used for [de]-naturalization without exception. Here, it can be seen that the theme "not a work accident / not fate but a murder/massacre" has been handled quite a lot (405) and is now positioned as a counter-discourse beyond a slogan. Finally, one of the most important reasons why these themes are covered so much is the reaction to Prime Minister Erdoğan’s statements aimed at normalizing work accidents.

It will not be discussed again when the other elements of thematic analysis, -lead and photos- are considered, as this topic was mainly explored over the Soma case under the general framework. However, it should be noted that, unlike usual, third party photos are used excessively in photographs. The magnitude of the incident resulted in reactions from various groups regardless of being related. Some of them, such as some people from the sports, arts and business world, soldiers, leaders and representatives of other countries, religious groups, were presented with their photographs as they were also newsworthy. When the relative numerical increase is taken into account, it is seen that the protest photos are more than the average photo increase. The most striking difference between the newspaper groups is observed in the context of the photographs of Prime Minister Erdoğan

during his visit to Soma and the moment of Yerkel's kick. PGM newspapers do not have a single photo of these two, and it is particularly striking that there are no photos from the Prime Minister's visit to Soma. The same is also true for the RNM-3, which does not include these photos at all. However, in the following days, it is seen that the critical news increased since Yerkel received a health report after the kicking incident and that he was with the Prime Minister during his visits despite having a health report. During this period, RNM-3 differs from the PGM group and criticizes Yerkel, who received a fake medical report using related photographs. On the other hand, in DM and RNM-1 and -2, there is excessive use of photographs related to these two issues.

It would be useful to summarise the thematic structure in a few sentences, but this is more difficult to do than to say with this massive file of approximately 545 thousand words. For this reason, I think it would be more meaningful to summarize with cartoons, which incorporate all thematic elements and, in my opinion, accurately represent the overall message that newspapers wish to convey. Moreover, as Öztürk (2021) emphasised, political cartoons embody the ideological values of their creators and form a visual discourse in transmitting political meanings, just as different media outlets represent different political orientations in their news reporting. In the visuals consisting of the cartoons published below in three newspaper groups, all the relevant cartoons in the RNM and PGM groups were used, but due to the high number of them, it has become necessary to choose among the cartoons in the DM group. Cartoons from the same day were selected as much as possible.



Picture 4. 4: Some related caricatures of DM group

When the DM group's cartoons are investigated, it is clear that the majority are cartoons that target the government but are generally a system or mentality critique (Picture 4.4). While cartoons numbered 1, 2, 6, 7, 8, 10 and 11 directly criticize the words and actions of Prime Minister Erdoğan, cartoons numbered 3 and 4 are criticized for (can or do) not preventing the negligence of the company and the system as the ministers cannot (or do not) properly fulfil their duties and responsibilities. Caricature number 5 has criticized the minister's exploitation of the incident, and number 9 has criticized that the only concern of capital is money. Furthermore, all of them make systematic criticism through the prime minister and ministers with the context of abuse of their position. For example, number two targets the protection of criminals instead of being punished, number 4 targets child labour, and the number eight targets the "nature" mentality in the space age. In summary, as highlighted in the cartoons in the form of a summary of the thematic structure, DM emphasizes that occupational accidents are not isolated incidents and are caused by systemic/structural problems. Since the primary responsibility for the emergence of these structural problems lies with the government, the responsibility for worker deaths is on mostly the government.



Picture 4. 5: Related caricatures of PGM group

The cartoons in the PGM group (Picture 4.5), on the other hand, have a completely different perspective, just like their news. While there are no messages associated with the government, cartoons 1 and 8, which can be considered a systemic criticism, only point to the problem but not the responsible. Moreover, when the five cartoons drawn by Ahmet Keskin and published in PGM-2 are examined, it is seen that all four cartoons (2, 3, 4 and 5), apart from the first cartoons numbered 1, target the firm or malicious companies. The number one cartoon was published on the second day of the incident before the PGM group

started blaming the company and again only points to the problem. In other words, when an accident occurs in a company shown as an ideal one by the government, it had been represented a general mining problem, and then when the company's negligence has occurred, some bad companies are shown to be responsible. Caricature number 8, published on the ninth day of the incident, is an exception in that it reveals the problem of staying on paper, decoupling. While cartoon number six targets the dissidents and Doğan media group with the metaphor of carrion crows, cartoon number nine also shows the "in vain" metaphor in a similar but more sarcastic way. Caricature number nine blends the main arguments of the dissidents, which are the words of murder, resignation and accountability, with the word of comeuppance abused by PGM at every opportunity, and it manipulates both this incident and words, and conveys the message that it does not take the opposition seriously by saying "waste speech" in the title. Finally, cartoon number seven refers to the fact that the prosecutors investigating Soma found "negligence, lack of inspection, greed and primitiveness" as the cause of the incident. Three of the keywords here directly target the company, but it is thought that the words "lack of inspection" targets the minister of labour Faruk Çelik, who is also the target of some segments of the government, due to its context. Thus, it has revealed its own side in this internal conflict.



Picture 4. 6: Related caricatures of RNM group

Finally, when the cartoons of the RNM group are examined (Picture 4.6), while the slap and kick incidents are targeted in numbers 1 and 4, it is criticized to manipulate the incident and change the agenda in numbers 2 and 3. The first four cartoons have one thing

in common: government officials are the primary focus. The cartoons numbered five and six target those responsible, especially the company, through the metaphor of the "rescue chamber" and are criticized for saving themselves only under all circumstances. While cartoon seven makes a critique of the subcontractor system that equates to death, using the metaphor of "the angel of death", which subcontracted its work, the last cartoon, number eight, focuses on the mutual mourning of the miners. In sum, cartoons are summaries of the thematic structure presented as a compact form and they are framed in each newspaper according to its own ideological context.

When the Schematic structure is examined, it is remarkable that they go to more than one main event presentations and consequences under a headline or title when there are issues that each newspaper groups want to frame in terms of the episode. In other subjects, one main event and one consequence are observed. Therefore, it can be argued that in cases where there are multiple main events, the relevant news is relatively more important and is in the density of more ideological elements.

In terms of Background, which is the other dimension of the Situation, although more background information is seen in PGM compared to other events, no functional change is observed. Background info in PGM is only related to the firm or specific to some firms, and the context of general work accidents is specifically avoided.

Rich background information is seen in the RNM group, and the only difference observed in this respect is the context difference between RNM-1 and RNM-2, with RNM-3. RNM-3 softens the news in this context or reflects it to another person or organization to not face the government in the context formation. Other RNM newspapers share whatever is necessary within the framework of the main event and theme of the news, without showing any reservations about the context and background. DM newspapers, on the other hand, share a lot of background information. Here, too, it is seen that DM-3 differs from the other two newspapers, not in terms of background but context. It can be said that the DM-3's motivation for reporting the incident is to target only Prime Minister Erdogan. In other words, for the other two DM newspapers, worker rights, work accidents, systemic problems, the factors are ideological issues, and the aim is the concern for their improvement. However, in the DM-3, the anti-Erdogan context is stronger than this concern.

In terms of comment, which is the other element of schematic structure, it is seen that many people and institutions that have never been seen before as news sources take place on

the pages, as previously mentioned in actors and thematic structure. Their number and usage vary from newspaper to newspaper, but they all use almost the same source for different purposes. Apart from the six main actors in this particular event, some of the actors used as news sources are students, artists, athletes, religious groups, prominent figures or institutions of the business world, foreign press, other country leaders, miners in other countries, expatriate miners, ILO officials, EU officials, and unrelated characters for manipulation. As previously stated, newspapers, especially in PGM, use some meaningless news sources to support ideological arguments. For example, PGM newspapers report the statements of some construction company executives, who had nothing to do with the Soma incident, legitimizing the government and de-emphasizing its negativities.

The only difference in the microstructure from the general framework and previous incidents in terms of syntactic analysis and local coherence is the numerical increase in parallel with the file size. In terms of news rhetoric, besides the numerical increase, the use of third parties and cartoons draws attention. When the three dichotomies compared in the context of Lexical style are examined, it is seen that both terms are used in large numbers in the first dichotomy, AKP vs AK Party. While the term AKP is used 586 times in total, AK Party is used 221 times. While DM uses 561 of 586 usages, it is seen that the term AKP is used more only in this group. It is seen that Ak Party usage is higher, 124 vs 5 in the PGM group and 89 vs 20 in the RNM group. Although it is important to see the term AKP in PGM and RNM groups, it is seen that the five uses in PGM are indirect uses passing in the descriptions of news sources.

In Accident/Disaster vs Murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy, 5446 Accident / Disaster usage versus 832 Murder/work murder/massacre is seen. Although the terms Accident / Disaster are used more, it is clearly seen that there is weight in the Murder/work murder/massacre description of the incident. Too much official explanation has also led to much greater use of the terms Accident/Disaster. However, it should be stated here once again that it is already known that Accident / Disaster should be used more; what examined here is how powerful the terms Murder/work murder/massacre are as a counter-discourse. Therefore, it can easily be argued that the 832 usage in this event indicates a very strong counter-discourse.

Finally, in the protest vs provocation dichotomy, a total of 1343 Resistance / Protest usage versus 121 Provocateur / Provocation use is observed. The provocation keyword is used in every newspaper group. While all 11 uses in RNM are indirectly mentioned in the

statements of government officials, it is seen that they are not used in RNM-3 in any way. While all 36 uses in DM target the government, it is noteworthy that they are frequently used in headlines & titles (e.g. [DM-1-3.3: TITLE] Provocation from AKP members, [DM-1- 3.6: HEADLINE] Provocation and [DM-1- 3.6: HEADLINE] Not a provocateur, but a miner). All of the uses of PGM (74) are aimed at legitimizing the government and de-legitimizing the protests.

4.2.13.2. Keywords and government officials

“If you boo the country’s prime minister, you get slapped.”
P.M. Erdoğan

Various statements of many government officials in the Soma incident were reflected in the press. Since evaluating the whole of it is beyond the scope of this study, here some related statements of the Minister of Labour and Energy and the Prime Minister, whose explanations have been analysed since the first incident and who are only first-degree related and responsible, have been evaluated. First, the statements of Energy Minister Taner Yıldız will be examined.

1. 7 thousand 500 people work in this mine5 thousand 300 people work in another area right next to it. ***These (the owner) are well-meaning and quality friends.***
2. We looked among hundreds of thousands of records; there is no one with that name, no one of that age. Those hiding behind trees in Gezi Park, hiding behind electricity poles on December 17, have become very pitiful and have felt the need to take shelter behind the miners. ***Politics can be done in everything, not where there is a matter of life and death.***
3. We need to be more careful; **the intensity here should not turn into a demonstration.** Let’s get our worker brothers out; then whoever wants to do whatever will do it more comfortably.
4. The political dimension is me. I stand there with my political and technical identity. Whether his name is Taner or Hasan, or Mehmet, we will look at it. This is not a natural disaster, there is the flaw. If a disaster is not a natural disaster, of course, there is a flaw there. If the disaster there is a natural disaster, the fault there is discussed but the flaw here, precious friends, is definitely not discussed. **No matter who and what organization the stakeholders are, I would especially like you to *trust, believe* in the work we will do about it.**
5. We cannot say we have no fault and cover it up. ***We are all responsible.*** If a political responsible is sought, I take that responsibility. We cannot escape this. ***Not only the enterprises but also the Ministry of Energy, the Ministry of Labour and the relevant institutions are responsible for the accident occurring outside of natural disasters.***

6. In the focus of this work, there is the private sector engaged in royalty-related business. **But it is not alone in terms of responsibility, both legally and humanely. A responsibility including the license holder, the Ministry of Energy, the Ministry of Labour.** We see this accident as a very important threat. We have to bring a different dimension to the mining field, *the audits and investigations we have done so far*.
7. We receive a lot of support and also criticism. However, today there is a criticism, friends, that I cannot stand this part. One man says, "*Since they go to the AK Party rally, they are deserving of them.*" I said 76 million were injured, but subtract 1 person from this number. I can no longer say anything to that. How to work side-by-side with such a person and express an opinion with such a man.

On the first day of the incident, Energy Minister Yıldız's description of the mine owner as "well-meaning and quality friends" protects the boss and causes the naturalization. It is implied that these well-meaning and quality friends have done their best, but still, fate could not be prevented. Later, when the uncle of one of the workers stranded in the mine stated that his nephew was 15 years old, this has become a hot topic in social media and newspapers. Upon this, Minister Yıldız meaninglessly associates the incident with the Gezi and December 17 Events and tries to show the criticisms as deliberate actions by "malicious" people with the strategy of macro speech act. As in almost every event, he reinforces his claim by making semantic macrostructures with the words "no politics is done where there is a matter of life and death. In the same context, he portrays that they should prevent the occurrence of a social action or protests as a matter of timing, implying that they will not be prevented from being done when the rescue efforts are over. However, it is seen that he applies not only overall interaction but also lexicon strategies with the word "demonstration". In deed, after the bodies of all the workers were found, the entrance to Soma was blocked by the authorities, and the police have intervened very harshly in the protests that took place in various parts of Turkey. In other words, it is easy to argue that the minister's statement that "do not do it now, let's find the workers, then you can do whatever you want" is just a manipulative distraction.

With his statement numbered four on the fourth day of the incident, Minister Yıldız expresses the opposite of his statement in number one, accepting that the fault of the company and therefore its 'quality friends' caused the accident. Here, the minister, who accepts his responsibility partially, says that those responsible will be punished and especially asks the audience to believe it. Minister Yıldız's words that "I especially want you to trust and believe" indicates that he is not believed. So why does he think he is not believed? Because in the incidents so far, both he and other government officials have made

similar statements constantly, but nothing has changed. The minister does not only know this but also knows that the other people also know. For this reason, he emphasizes this in the two statements that follow and assumes responsibility by including the other ministry. In the last sentence of his statement number six, he again turns to persuasion efforts and claims this time will be different. In his last statement, targeting Yılmaz Özdil, he again manipulates and distorts the subject with overall interaction strategies and macro speech act.

Before moving on to the statements of the Minister of Labour Faruk Çelik, a point mentioned before should be emphasized again. In the Esenyurt incident, it was stated that there was an internal conflict situation arising from the presence of a group within the government against Faruk Çelik. When Minister Çelik could not go to Soma due to health problems in the first days of the Soma incident, this opposition group within the government took a clearer stance and even demanded the minister's resignation. Even while the existence of a Taner Yıldız vs Faruk Çelik situation has reflected in DM newspapers, PGM newspapers take a more cautious attitude. As a result of this situation, a portion of PGM turned against Faruk Çelik, and vice versa. This process is also reflected in Faruk Çelik's statements. The style and mode are not only sharper and harder but also include challenge notions. Moreover, the fact that the two special interviews he gave on the subject were in DM-1 and RNM-1 instead of PGM group newspapers indicates that the Minister also took an attitude. On the other hand, PGM is the group that gives the least coverage of Faruk Çelik's statements among the three newspaper groups. In addition, it is observed that his statements on matters other than informing about the incident and death allowance were either not given at all or only a minimal part was given in the PGM group.

The statements of Minister Çelik, compiled from nine newspapers and excluding the incident information, are as follows:

- 1) Occupational health safety should not be calculated financially. No financial concern is more valuable than human life. **In fact, we all say this in words, both our workers and our employers. But its implementation is important.**
- 2) On the question of "Are you going to resign?"; "I do not find it right to discuss this incident in terms of political and status dimensions these days"
- 3) On the question of why the international mining contract of the ILO was not signed in 2012 in Turkey, "Our regulations are more advanced".
- 4) The number of countries that have signed the ILO 176 contract in the world is 28. The understanding that the countries of the world have signed but Turkey has not signed is not correct. We will conclude the studies on 176 in a short time.

- 5) There is the hidden subcontractor matter the workers are telling about. **Some practices are not officially seen, with sub-employer dimension.** *This can no longer be ignored.* We are not saying in terms of eliminating service procurement of the subcontractor issue. There will be the procurement of services, but to which areas. We do not find a comparison such as production vs safety in hazardous workplaces correct. ***Of course, it will be security. There is no other way to do this.***
- 6) Stating that even a dozer was introduced into the mine in Soma despite the ban, Çelik said, "There is no subcontractor in sight, but in practice, they had given the gallery to the subcontractor."
- 7) Of course, royalty application in the mining system, the short duration and the absence of technological investments here, **the exploitation of labour called subcontractors - I clearly express** - and that we have mentioned here many times ... The implementations that we have brought to the final stage by the government, unfortunately, exist in this system.
- 8) If it puts production safety in trouble, that mine should not be kept alive. The subcontracting application, I hope we will abolish this in this legislative period. We will end the subcontractor exploitation order.
- 9) Our agenda is the Subcontractor Law, which we have been working on for two years for all dimensions. **I am a minister who says that subcontracting has turned into exploitation.** It is necessary to bring this out as soon as possible. ***Mistakes, shortcomings, unhealthy overworking conditions create new problems.*** This and similar studies must be completed as quickly as possible to prevent them.
- 10) I say the collieries should be closed. We felt the necessity to keep the occupational health and safety issue constantly on the agenda. **This law, which we enacted in EU and ILO standards, covers all employees, imposes risk assessment obligation, emergency plans, and all employees will receive occupational health assurance training.**
- 11) The physical conditions of our mines and mineral deposits in our country are geologically troublesome. In Germany, the man extracts coal as if on a highway. Here you go down 300 meters, you get 500 meters from there. ***If even one person is going to die, let's close the mines, but closing them does not solve the problem.***
- 12) Believe us; we are very meticulous in our duty. Was the inspection made in time? Made. Eight programmed inspections were made. In addition, we made an investigation on eight complaints, and it was resolved. Mines are living organism. An hour after the inspection is done, the situation may be different. ... ***There is no subcontractor in sight, but in practice, they had given the gallery to the subcontractor.***
- 13) On the question of "Is it your responsibility?"; Yes, it is mine; what will happen? (responsibility) In the government. If only a person had not died. The responsibilities of the Minister of Labour are certain; the responsibilities of the Minister of Labour begin after the workplace starts to work.
- 14) I am telling the works done. If someone doesn't, hell with that! Of course, they will give the account. These are what needs to be done in accordance with our legislation. There is no amnesty in these. We are here to ask for the account of this, if anyone does not, this account will be asked.

In his number one statement, it is seen that Minister Çelik started his speech with one of the classic discourses but then clearly stated in his own words that these classic wishes remain only in words, that is, decoupling. This statement of the minister is significant in terms of expressing the decoupling at the highest level. In his second explanation, another classic explanation is seen. However, as will be discussed in a moment in the matter of liability, all of these and similar descriptions are interpreted as manipulative since they are a reflection made with the avoidance of liability.

The statements numbered three and four about ILO 176, which has been on the agenda after every mining accident for a long time, contradict each other. Although the Minister stated that our legislation is more advanced as the reason for not signing the relevant contract, he causes a contradictory situation by saying that we will conclude the studies on 176 in a short time. Moreover, in his statement number 10, he states that the new legislation will be in line with ILO and EU norms. If our legislation is more advanced, why do we sign it now? If not, does not the responsibility of so many deaths bind all the will that did not sign the contract?

All of the statements 5-11 point to the systemic problems that the Minister implicitly or explicitly expressed in previous incidents. These statements are also considered to be one of the main reasons for the formation of an opposing group within the government against Minister Çelik. Since, after the time when Minister Çelik made these critiques public for the first time, various views within the government and PGM have emerged. Either there is a conflict of interest that is the cause of the internal conflict, or the minister's voicing of these systemic problems is seen as a problem. In any case, this situation cannot overshadow the fact that a minister clearly articulates the fundamental structural problems, and it makes it clear that they are known at the highest level and cannot be prevented. The fact that many structural problems, especially hidden subcontracting and royalty, have been ignored is also clearly stated by the minister's statement, "This cannot be ignored anymore". However, issues such as by whom they are ignored and how to prevent them from now on are left vague and manipulated by the strategies like local meanings, local syntax and expressions.

With statement number 12, the minister defends himself and his ministry and states that he has done everything necessary. Completing this statement with the secret subcontracting system indicates that he is not the culprit and is interpreted as the macro speech act strategy.

His last two statements turn into macro speech act upon the criticisms made against him. "Yes, it is mine; what will happen?" the minister says angrily and defiantly. However, he immediately after states that the whole government bears responsibility. Afterwards, he tries to convince and makes sincere statements, saying that If anyone has negligence, they will be asked to account for it. However, on the first day of the next Torunlar incident, it will be understood that Minister Çelik did not permit to investigate the inspectors whether they had negligence and hence protected them instead of asking them to account. Therefore, it can be argued in his last two statements that his purpose was to manipulate the issue.

Finally, when Prime Minister Erdogan's statements are evaluated, the common aspect of the statements divided into two as the statements he made on the first day and after is that the notions of manipulation and naturalization are dominant. First day in Soma:

1. To the question of "*How could an enterprise that did such dangerous work and not be prepared for such an accident be able to continue its activities*"; These types of incidents are ordinary and occur all over the world. Explosions like this in these mines happen all the time. It's not like these don't happen elsewhere in the world. For instance, I am going back to the past in England, a mine collapsed in 1862, 204 people died. 361 people died in England in 1866. 1894 explosion in England, 290 dead. I come to France; 1906 is the second deadliest accident in world history, with 1099 deaths. Let's come to more recent times; Japan was 687 in 1914. The number of deaths in China in 1942 was 1549. Again, in China, the methane gas explosion in 1960 was 684 dead. And in Japan, in 1963 coal dust explosion again 458. India 375. In 1975 methane gas caught fire, the mine roof collapsed and 372. Things that these types of collieries are constantly having these kinds of accidents at this point.
2. Please, do not interpret as if these events never happen here. **These are ordinary things.** In the literature, there is an event called the work accident. **There are these in the structure, nature of this.** There is no such thing as no accident will happen. Of course, the size of the work hurt us deeply.
3. With the controls made, this place is really considered as one of the coal mines that is at a good point in terms of both worker health and worker safety.
4. I just want everybody to know that the disaster will be investigated in every aspect and will continue to be investigated and we are not going to allow any negligence, or leave any stone unturned.
5. There are some extremist groups that want to take advantage of such an atmosphere and exploit it.
6. Don't behave rudely. ***What is done is done [in the Soma mine]. It's God's providence.*** If you boo the prime minister of this country, you get slapped.

Other days:

1. *The speech begins with acknowledgment to the officials actively involved in Soma.*

2. No one will be able to cover up this painful incident, nobody who has a responsibility can be hidden. All criminal and administrative investigations will be carried out and we will be strictly monitoring them. After this disaster, every part of society will learn the necessary lessons, and this crucial problem will be addressed more resolutely. We will be much more determined to tighten inspections, to complete the deficiencies in laws and regulations, and to take the necessary steps. I wholeheartedly believe that the private sector and unions will prevent these painful scenes from happening again.
3. As the Prime Minister of this country, I clearly state that even a sheep caught by the wolf on the banks of the Tigris is under my responsibility. As the ministers and deputies of this country, you have the same responsibility.
4. Before the bodies were taken out and were buried, those who lurk sneakily, those who are 'from lowest degree of inferiority'⁷ went out of their ambush and started to do what suits them. **In Soma, we understand very well the feelings of those who cry out since they cannot suppress their intolerable pain.** However, we never understand the opportunism of insidious and ambushed people who have no affectionate ties with Soma, who have never seen coal in his life, and who have not held the coal-black hand of a miner in his life.
5. From the very first moment, unimaginable lies began to spread in the media, especially social media. ... (Lots of examples of many issues he claims to be lies.) There were even those who wrote and spoke saying, "120 Syrian workers died inside and concrete was poured on them". Actually, concrete has been poured into your conscience. Could it be such cheapness, opportunism, dishonour?
6. There are all kinds of lies and slander. There are all kinds of despicable, treacherous, ruthless behaviour. Allegedly "the owner of the mine was an AK Party member, he was a relative of me ..." We gave that mine to him because he is a member of the AK Party. **Those known media organizations, those known politicians, known power groups rubbed their hands, looking for ways to benefit from the 301 martyrs.** You know, there were those who said "it would be very nice if there were a few deaths" in the Gezi events; They immorally wished for more martyrs to come out of the mine.
7. **(For columnists)** "They deserve it," says a human garbage, referencing the miners in Soma who showed up with their helmets at our Manisa rallies. Allegedly he only kneeled while playing zeybek (a local dance). First, tell how you kneel in front of your boss, in front of money, in front of worthlessness, in front of vulgarity. The reptile is a reptile, it cannot stand up, so it cannot kneel. Someone else came out, again one of the sycophants of the same boss says, "They are neither martyrs nor veterans". ... ***[insulting characterizations targeting relevant authors]*** ... Why? He sees the organisation leader in Pennsylvania not like a ringleader, but like a Mahdi, just like a messiah! ... He believes that the curse of his leader is holding! We do not let this opportunism, this immorality. In our culture, this is called grave robber (nebbaslık).
8. A group came there to meet with my Taner minister. Right now, these are in this parliament. Allegedly, there were Syrians at the mine, they would enter the mine and

⁷ Here, he refers to the 5th verse of the surah of Tin in the Quran with the phrase "esfel-i safilin".

- detect it. Look at the man. The Minister of Energy says, "There are no Syrians here." He does not believe what his minister is saying.
9. What have they said from the beginning? They said 'The boss is pro-AK Party.' [*the ruling Justice and Development Party or AKP*]. I saw him for the first time there on that day. I have not met him until that day. I do not know him. These slanderers will provide something from my nation in this country with these slanders; you cannot. Without shame, they miserably said, 'He makes benefits available to his proponents'.
 10. The nation with a conscience will of course have a government with a conscience. ... **[insulting characterizations targeting relevant authors]** ... Now I am asking; I wonder how the bosses of those who wrote this article keep these in their newspaper? I say that you, as a boss, also belong to the same mentality. If you could not fire them, you are part of the same mentality. You cannot say that they do not have this right. Those who host those who comment in this way do not have the right to say this. It means those who keep it are also thinking the same thing.
 11. Are we going to talk about those who have been terrorized? Are we going to defend those who use Molotov cocktails to break glass? However, this country's main opposition party defends them and stands by them. The known Tunceli Deputy is trying to terrorize the Okmeydanı SSK. Another one goes to Manisa. In an effort to terrorize there.
 12. I express with sorrow. There have been ruthless and non-conscientious statements saying 'Leave Somalia, look at Soma.' I will not put stress on these criticisms while our grievances are fresh and our hearts are still bleeding, but I have to say this one thing: With God's permission and our nation's support, we have reached out to Soma. We have healed wounds there at once, we have been healing and we will continue to help them heal. However, now, we are also a country capable of reaching out to Somalia, too.
 13. I gave an order for our workers who lost their lives in the mine to be deemed martyrs legally. We will evaluate this issue in the Council of Ministers tomorrow (today) and take our steps in this regard. We will do whatever it takes for the miners' parents, siblings, and children to benefit from our martyrs' relatives' opportunities.

It is seen that all of the statements made by Prime Minister Erdogan on the first day were made solely to naturalize the work accidents by manipulating it. Here, semantic macrostructures, local speech acts, local meanings, lexicon, rhetorical figures and expressions strategies are all implemented. Furthermore, the expressions that a) "These are ordinary things", b) "There are these in the structure, nature of this" and c) "What is done is done. It is God's providence" which stand out as evident and direct elements of naturalization, point to the clearest statements in the context of naturalization. In his last sentence, he does not only naturalize the incident but also threatens the public.

With his explanations on other days, it is observed that the manipulation made on the first day has been carried to a more advanced level. Here again, many manipulative strategies

have been applied together. The Prime Minister employs overall interaction strategies by portraying himself positively in certain parts of and all of his speeches and portraying all those who oppose him and hold opposing viewpoints negatively. Moreover, it manipulates in the lexicon context by using insulting specific words and expressions for those who put forward the views that he does not adopt. In many parts of his speech, he also implies the macro speech act by emphasizing their own positive actions (defence) and "their" negative actions (accusation). Similarly, throughout the entire description, through the implementation of de-emphasize negative topics about "Us" & emphasize positive topics about "Us" vs emphasize negative topics about "Them" / de-emphasize positive topics about "Them" and placing special topic selections among (e.g., Gezipark events), he clearly implements semantic macrostructures. With negative connotations (e.g., molotov cocktail, terrorism), the prime minister implements the *local meanings* by giving and repeating many details about the opponents (them). At the same time, he also applies LExicon with specially selected terms such as "Nature (*fitrat*), Act of God, esfel-i safilin, human garbage, grave robbery (*nebbaslık*) and Comeuppance (*müstahak*). In addition, many local syntax, rhetorical figures, and expressions applications are also seen.

Considering all the statements made by the Prime Minister in all the first 13 events, it is seen that naturalization notions and many manipulative strategies were clearly applied in all the statements he made, especially in Karadon and Soma. The fact that they are so many and frequent clearly indicates that it is done consciously.

In Soma, finally, when the comments of the three related government officials are analysed together, the common thread among all three is that they all stress that they bear responsibility. However, it is unclear how they will fulfil the necessities of this responsibility; there is not a single sentence or implication about this. In other words, there is no statement about whether they will resign or at least apologize.

In his statement number 13 of the Minister of Labour, Faruk Çelik says, "Yes, it is mine; what will happen?". This obviously indicates that they will be content with just saying even though the responsibility lies with them and everybody accepts it. Nobody seems to have the right to expect more. Indeed, it is seen that they have not been made in the past seven years. The Prime Minister sees himself as responsible for even a lost lamb but refrains from addressing the requirements of this responsibility because it is clear that he will not fulfil the requirements of this responsibility. The fact that the three relevant officials started

to distort the issue in the statements they made right after the responsibility issue shows that this was done deliberately.

Before finishing this section, I should mention the specific praise-purposed news for Taner Yıldız in PGM and RNM-3 newspapers. Similar reports were made in Karadon before, and it was clearly revealed that this news was manipulative in that particular incident. However, in this incident, it was done in a much more exaggerated way. Such that, it has been the subject of many cartoons in DM and RNM-1 newspapers. Contrary to Karadon, in this incident, he has been emphasized positively not through both his statements and praises but only through praise-purposed specific news. It is noteworthy that all newspapers praise Minister Yıldız in common, as there is no similar beautification for Minister Çelik, and a difference is observed in the attitudes of newspapers. Of course, special reports can be made about an official, full of praise. However, the issues emphasized are not such important issues to be dealt with from the very first days in the Soma incident, where there is such a dire picture. I also think the crisis management of Minister Yıldız is successful, but there is no point in talking about the festivities at the funeral home just because he has done his duty correctly. If it was made after a certain time interval, it could be interpreted this way, but doing in the most sensitive days and constructs indicate that it is done for manipulative purposes. Especially redundant (lexiphanicism) and exaggerated language make this clearer. Moreover, to understand this, it is enough to examine the headings solely:

- **Star of Fortitude** (referring his surname: Yıldız) [*Metanetin Yıldız'ı*]
- **A Meal in the Tent** [*ÇADIRDA BİR ÖĞÜN*]
- **Managed the crisis very well** [*KRİZİ ÇOK İYİ YÖNETTİ*]
- **Yıldız has managed the crisis well** [*Yıldız krizi iyi yönetti*]
- **Gave his jacket to the miner** [*CEKETİNİ MADENCİYE VERDİ*]
- **The Peak of Humaneness Taner Yıldız** [*Adamlığın Zirvesi Taner Yıldız*]
- **Bahçeli praised the work under the direction of Energy and Natural Resources Minister Taner Yıldız** [*Bahçeli, Enerji ve Tabii Kaynaklar Bakanı Taner Yıldız yönetimindeki çalışmaları övdü*]
- **Soma hero** [*Soma kahramanı*]
- **Half an hour of sleep in a chair:** Energy Minister Taner Yıldız, who rushed to Soma as soon as he got the disaster news, both gave morale and provided a healthy flow of information to the public [*Sandalyede yarım saat uyku: Facia haberini alır almaz Soma'ya koşan Enerji Bakanı Taner Yıldız hem halka moral verdi hem de kamuoyuna sağlıklı bilgi akışını sağladı*]
- **The state made great efforts** [*Devlet üstün gayret gösterdi*]
- **Minister Yıldız was appreciated** [*BAKAN YILDIZ TAKDİR TOPLADI*]
- **Organized, *Saved [lives? How?]*, Calmed it down: Yıldız almost did not sleep or eat while doing these** [*Organize etti *kurtardı* sakinleştirdi: Yıldız, bunları yaparken adeta uyumadı, yemedi*]
- **Soma will not forget Him** [*Soma O'nu unutmayacak*]
- **Gave his jacket to the miner who is getting cold** [*ÜŞÜYEN MADENCİYE CEKETİNİ VERDİ*]

- **Climbed Sleepless and hungry to The Peak of Humaneness** [Adamlığın Zirvesi 'ne uykusuz ve aç tırmandı]
- **Steady Minister of the disaster in Soma** [Soma 'daki facianın metanetli Bakanı]
- **The host of the mourning house: Yıldız** [YAS EVİNİN EV SAHİBİ: YILDIZ]
- **A host in the mourning house: Taner Yıldız** [Yas evinde bir ev sahibi: Taner Yıldız]

As can be easily understood from the headings, Minister Yıldız is represented as the hero of Soma in the PGM and RNM-3 newspapers. However, as emphasized above, the manner in which the news is made and their timing reveal that the news is made entirely for the manipulation purpose. To express this situation more clearly, it is sufficient to examine the news of PGM-2 made on the fourth day of the incident (17 May 2014), which consisting of eight pages. On the relevant day, the number of dead workers had not yet been clarified, the rescue operations had not been completed, the dead had not yet been handed over to their families, and the cause of the incident had not yet been determined, but the news praising Taner Yıldız was highlighted in three of the eight pages (pages one, six and fifteenth). Moreover, in the news titled "*Organized, Saved, Calmed it down*" on the first page and in the news headlined "*Soma will not forget Him*" on the sixth page, it is claimed that Yıldız also saved some workers. Nevertheless, the most important parts that should be highlighted are vague (*local meanings*). The related news is put in the most prominent location on the first page, in the left centre of the page, and on the sixth page as the main and only news. While the news on the 15th-page could be accepted in the normal flow, the news on the first and sixth pages are purely for manipulation. Furthermore, on that day, about 60% of the main themes are devoted to mutual mourning, 23% to positively emphasise Taner Yıldız and the government, and the remaining are devoted to all other themes. Therefore, all this news is used not only for manipulation but also for naturalization. As a result, this new strategy was interpreted as allowing someone else to praise you rather than self-praising.

Before starting the corpus analysis, the fact that Soma is the biggest incident in the history of Turkey and the use of a large number of manipulative actions and discourses specific to the Soma has led to the necessity to examine some specific keywords related to it. For this reason, in addition to the 45 keywords compared in each case, a total of 52 keywords, including six keywords that stand out for their manipulation purposes and a keyword that is believed to be meaningful in the event (Özel/Özgür Özel), have been examined. While these seven keywords specific to Soma have been used 1466 times in total, 812 (55%) are seen in the DM group, 337 in RNM and 317 in PGM. Details will be discussed below.

Table 4. 56: Keywords of Soma

13. Soma (13.05.2014)					
Total word count			223740	192255	128913
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Govern- ment- related	AKP	AKP	561	5	20
	AK Parti	AK Party	8	124	89
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	2803	1500	1024
Dissiden- t-related	CHP	CHP	380	100	112
	MHP	MHP	28	28	23
	Muhalefet	The opposition	50	31	11
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	111	8	21
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş	1	4	0
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	38	37	15
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)	437	228	104
	Sendikasıız	Non-union/ nonunionised	18	5	1
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union	9	1	0
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	1941	2177	1328
	Fitrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	189	40	91
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom	114	388	130
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katlîam	Murder/work murder/massacre	739	33	60
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katlîam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	129	8	27
	Katil	Murderer/killer	62	10	12
Inspection vs Lack of	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	391	282	185
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	26	1	11
	İhmal	Negligence	105	152	68
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	447	250	162
Law- related	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	235	258	103
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	423	360	200
	ILO	ILO	51	49	31
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödöfans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	595	176	292
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	101	9	19
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	348	284	136
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector	106	70	74
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	300	150	186
	İstihdam	Employment	34	36	21
	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	121	40	22
Systemic/Structural issues	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded	19	17	7
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier	17	29	3
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery	28	1	4
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	40	14	16
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality	65	12	7
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)	79	2	5
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media	42	0	3
	Medya	Media	147	121	53
	Protest vs Provocation	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest	837	191
Gösteri		Demonstration	60	37	56
Provokatör /Provokasyon		Provocateur / Provocation	36	74	11
Polis		Police	486	72	154
Polis devleti/şiddeti		Police state / violence	50	4	6
SOMA specific	Nükleer (Enerji)	Nuclear (Energy)	44	19	23
	Tekme (ci)	Kick (er)	223	33	127
	Tokat (SOMA)	Slap (per)	101	20	49
	Yerke / Yusuf Yerke	Yerke / Yusuf Yerke	230	45	104
	Müstahak	Comeuppance	14	66	10
	Özdil / Yılmaz Özdil	Özdil / Yılmaz Özdil	40	112	5
	Özel/Özgür Özel	Özel / Özgür Özel	160	22	19
	Total Keywords (Common)			12807	7418
Total Keywords (Common+SOMA Specific)			13619	7735	5555
Total keywords / Total words (%) (Common)			5,72	3,86	4,05
Total keywords / Total words (%) (Common + SOMA Specific)			6,09	4,02	4,31

In the Soma case, it was observed that the common 45 keywords were used 25443 times, while 12807, that is more than 50%, were used in DM, 7418 (29%) were PGM, and 5218 (21%) were used in RNM. The total number of keywords used in this incident was 26909, including those unique to Soma. When the keywords groups are examined individually, it is seen that all of the actors-related keywords, which constitute the first three, have increased above the average.

Compared to the previous incident, the first group, government-related keywords, has increased by approximately 28 times, while the overall keywords rate has increased by approximately 24.5 times. Therefore, it can be argued that the responsibility attributed to the government has also increased. As a matter of fact, it is seen that in the AKP-AK Party dichotomy, 586 to 221 AKP term are used much more often. The second group, dissidents-related, was used 763 times in total and increased more than 27 times compared to the previous event. Of these 763 words, 592 are CHP, 79 are MHP and 92 are the opposition. While these three keywords are mostly used in DM, they are used at least in RNM. Although the MHP keyword has increased a lot compared to previous incidents, it is seen that it is used very little. The MHP, whose positive words used for Taner Yıldız were mostly reported, and the statements criticizing the prime minister with harsh words were censored at PGM. Therefore, this might also affect the less use of the relevant keyword.

The third and final actor group, union-related keywords, has been used 1038 times and has increased 33.5 times. The most striking keyword here is the Yellow (company) Union, which is one of the main reasons for the increase in this keywords group. Although this issue has been handled in a few cases before, it is used for the first time as the term in this incident. To put it another way, it has now reached the point that it needs to be articulated in specific terms. Moreover, one of the clearest pieces of data supporting this is seen three lines above in the same keyword group: Hak-İş, one of the three big confederations, was mentioned only 5 times in the biggest massacre in history and presented one of the essential data in the context of yellow unionism. The other two confederations, Türk-İş is voiced 90 times, and DİSK is voiced 140 times. Considering the affiliated unions, the unions affiliated to these two confederations are frequently used. In contrast, the situation is the opposite in the unions affiliated with Hak-İş and does not exist. Even the Maden-İş union affiliated with Türk-İş, which is organized in Soma and is the subject of the most criticism, is used more than Hak-İş in a positive context.

When Accident/Disaster vs Murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy keywords was examined, they were used 7478 times and increased approximately 27.5 times compared to the previous incident. Here, the trend of using Accident / Disaster, which is one of the dichotomy keywords, continues. However, the most critical increases are seen in the keywords of Fate/Destiny/Act of God, Martyr/Martyrdom, Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre and Murderer/killer keyword. In addition, this keyword group has the highest rate, with a share of 29% among all keywords groups.

There is an 11-fold increase in inspection vs lack of inspection dichotomy with 2080 words. The most important increase seen in responsible(s)/responsibility words in this group. The other group that has increased below average is law-related keywords, and this group has also increased approximately 11 times. The most critical increase in this group is seen in the ILO term, which is one of the hottest issues on the agenda.

3120 uses are seen in neoliberalist keywords, and an increase above the average increase is observed with an increase of more than 29 times. The increase in subcontracting and privatization keywords, which are separated as specific words in neoliberal keywords, is close to 31 times. The increase in boss, production and profit/profit ambition keywords is noteworthy.

Although Systemic/Structural issues and Dissidents-related keywords have the lowest rates (3 per cent each), these keywords have increased by more than 66 times compared to the previous case, suggesting a significant increase pace. The most critical keywords in this group are media-related ones. While the term media, until this incident, was used only twice in solely the Esenyurt AVM incident, they were used 321 times in Soma. Furthermore, it is observed that the "AKP/Government/Partisan Media" terms, which were never used until this incident, were also used 45 times. As with themes, keywords also mark a media war.

On the other hand, the protest vs provocation dichotomy indicates a 100-fold rise compared to the previous incident using 2389 keywords, representing the most significant increase. It appears that the most critical keywords in this group are police and police state/violence. The disproportionate intervention of the police in the mass protests that started from the first days of the incident in Soma and took place in many cities has been reported widely both in the DM and RNM newspapers and in the foreign press. During the protests in Izmir, where thousands of people were attending, it was widely reported that a 13-year-old child was wanted to detain by the police, despite the governorship's denial of

the incident. Of course, the Yusuf Yerkel incident and the first-day protest of the Prime Minister in Soma are also important factors in increasing this group. Considering the five keywords here, it is seen that only Provocateur / Provocation words are used more in PGM, while the other four keywords are clearly used more in DM.

As mentioned above, there are keywords specific to Soma. There are 1466 uses in this special group consisting of 7 keywords / keyword groups. While DM and dissidents mostly used the words Kick(er), Slap(per), and Yerkel/Yusuf Yerkel in criticizing the government, the words Comeuppance and Özdil/Yılmaz Özdil were used to criticize Özdil and the dissidents by PGM and the government. Although they seem to be mostly manipulative in both directions, their aim is completely different. DM use manipulation to highlight a real problem in addition to analysis, background and so on. However, PGM uses manipulation to hide a real problem or to change the agenda. Such that, the 188 citations made to Yılmaz Özdil in PGM are 12 more than the subcontractor issues that even Minister Çelik has repeatedly listed, 29 more than the total number of references made to opposition parties, and 49 more than the total number of references made to the AKP/AK party. Moreover, considering that this situation is often referred to without pronouncing the name, this is clearly seen for manipulation purposes. It is seen that the kicking event was also cited 453 times in DM. In summary, the Soma incident is significant in terms of the manipulative actions and discourses of the government and PGM newspapers as much as the gravity of the incident.

4.2.14. Torunlar

On Saturday, 6 September 2014, the elevator carrying the workers at the Torun Center construction site owned by Torunlar GYO in Istanbul Mecidiyeköy crashed to the ground from the 32nd floor, killing ten people. Aside from the manner in which the incident took place and the number of workers killed to 10, the following triggers raised the news value even more:

- A significant fatal work accident took place even less than four months after the Soma incident,
- Occurrence in one of the most central and popular places in Istanbul,
- Even though construction workers' shifts end at 19.00, the accident occurs at 19.45,
- A recent fatal incident in the same construction area and also caused by the elevator again,
- The close relations between Torunlar REIT with AKP and President Erdoğan,

- Aziz Torun's statements that blame the dead workers,
- The large number of companies involved and each of them blaming other companies by not undertaking the responsibility,
- NCA firm, responsible for the occupational safety of Torunlar Construction, is also the auditor of Soma Holding's construction (Spine Tower).
- The discovery that the Minister of Labour Faruk Çelik did not give permission to investigate the inspectors who inspected Soma, and his statements revealing the systemic problems,
- It was the first event that took place after Erdogan was elected President and he has not even completed his first month in this office,
- Arguments that the title deed of the construction is in TOKI and therefore exempted from inspections,
- The fact that the Istanbul Medical Chamber had warned the company for worker deaths by putting the photo of the project on its Twitter account on 15 May 2014, with the following words; *"We are calling out today; unfortunately, tomorrow we will lose 8-10 worker brothers in these constructions."* and
- The "martyr" description of Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu.

It is observed that the news value of the incident, which was reported intensely and in almost all newspapers in the first seven days, decreased relatively between the eighth-tenth days. On the eleventh day, with the emergence of the expert report, the incident was reported intensely in all newspapers except DM-3. These pieces of news, published on the 11th day, were also the last news in the first two weeks for newspapers other than DM-1 and DM-2.

Table 4. 57: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (21/38)	DM-2 (30/43)	DM-3 (16/27)	PGM-1 (18/23)	PGM-2 (17/22)	PGM-3 (18/29)	RNM-1 (20/27)	RNM-2 (12/17)	RNM-3 (20/28)
1	1 & 6	4	1 & 3	1 & 19	1 & 9	1 & 3	1 & 17	1	1 & 4
2	1 & 10-11	1 & 3-5	1 & 10-11	1 & 11	1 & 9	1 & 18	1 & 8-10	1 & 14-15	1 & 14-17
3	1 & 3-5	1, 4-6 & 9	1 & 10-11	1, 11 & 13	1, 5, 9 & 15	1, 8 & 20-21	1, 8-9 & 20	1 & 15	1, 9 & 14-15
4	1 & 7	1 & 4-5	1 & 6	1 & 13	1, 7 & 19	1 & 23	1 & 8-9	17	1, 10 & 15
5	1-3 & 12-13	1, 5-6 & 8	1 & 11	1, 10 & 19	1 & 14	1 & 21	1 & 10	19	1 & 14
6	9	1, 4 & 7	1 & 14	1 & 10		1, 8 & 17	1 & 11	20	1 & 18
7	12	4	10	10 & 12		16	16	25	
8		1 & 6			1 & 8		11		
9									10
10								17	
11	1 & 7	4 & 10-11		1 & 6	1 & 18	1 & 17	12	19	1 & 13
12	8	1 & 10							
14		1 & 4							

During the 90-day review period, the incident, which was reported on 254 pages in total, was reported in 145 (57%) in the first week and in 172 pages (approximately 68%) in the first two weeks. In both 14-day and 90-day periods, DM-2 allocates the most pages for the incident, while RNM-2 allocates the least pages. In the first two weeks, DM-2 did not report the incident only on days 8 and 9, and made continuous news for the remaining 12 days. The newspapers that report at least are DM-3 and PGM-2.

Table 4. 58: Quantitative data of Torunlar for 90-days screening period

14. Torunlar (06 Sep 2014)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	The area (%) on the first page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1762	20	21	38	11	17,03	2,08	77	12607
DM-2	1404	16	21	43	11	24,38	2,98	83	17512
DM-3	2016	22	16	27	6	28,05	1,87	53	6503
PGM-1	2440	27	11	23	9	11,84	1,18	50	7335
PGM-2	2380	26	12	22	7	12,97	1,01	46	7095
PGM-3	3500	39	17	29	9	10,60	1,06	45	6349
RNM-1	3732	41	16	26	8	19,29	1,71	63	11837
RNM-2	3250	36	13	17	5	26,19	1,45	37	4675
RNM-3	2886	32	16	28	7	17,96	1,40	86	9413
Averages	2597	29	15,9	28,1	8,1	18,70	1,64	60	9258

When the statistics are examined, in a 90-day period, DM-1 and DM-2 report the incident the most with 21 days, while the newspapers that report the least are PGM-1 with 11 days and PGM-2 with 12 days. Considering the first pages, DM-1 and DM-2 reported the most news with 11 days in the 90-day period, while the newspapers with the least news were RNM-2 with 5 days, and DM-3 with 6 days. The newspapers with the least news on the first page were at the top of the average area ratio when the news was published on the first page: 28.05% in DM-3 and 26.26 in RNM-2. Considering the 90-day period, it is seen that DM-2 is in the first place with 2.98% and DM-1 is in the second place with 2.08, as in many other variables, in the area ratios on the first page.

While an average of 60 news per newspaper was seen in the first 14 days, it is seen that RNM-3 made the most news with 86 news and RNM-2 made the least the news with 37. In terms of newspaper groups, the highest amount of news with 213 news is DM, and the least with 141 news is in the PGM group. Considering the word count, the average word count per newspaper is 9268 and while DM-2 is the highest with 17512 words, and RNM-2 is the least words with 4675 words. When the average number of words per the news is examined, the highest rate is seen in DM-2 with 211 words, while the lowest rate is seen in

RNM-3 with 109.5 words. While the average word count per newspaper is 154.3, the averages per group are as follows: DM; 166, PGM; 147 and RNM; 141.

4.2.14.1. Application of CDA

In this incident in which the obvious effect of the Soma incident was observed, a total of 2599 themes were handled. This number indicates the third-highest number of themes after the Soma and Ermenek-II. As usual, most theme (1358 - 52%) processed by the DM group, then by RNM (767 - 30%), and lastly, PGM (474 - 18%). While the most processed theme group is Factors themes with 32% (839), the least processed theme group is de-naturalization themes with 6% (167). DM handled factor themes the most (522) and incident themes the least (115). In PGM, the most processed themes are polarization (109), while the least one is De-Naturalization (9). The most processed themes in RNM, on the other hand, are factors (214), although De-Naturalization is the least processed (32).

Finally, when the subgroup themes are examined, the following are the subgroups that DM handled the most: Systemic/Structural Issues (180) and De-Legitimize Government (175). Since there was no search and rescue work in the incident, this sub-theme group was not covered in any newspapers. Except that DM did not handle the sub-theme group de-emphasizing the negative sides/issues of government at all. While PGM handles 'Legitimize Government' with 87 themes and 'Common Themes' subgroups with 82 themes at most, the following subgroups have not been processed at all: Political Context, Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions, De-Legitimize Dissidents / Claims, Legitimize Dissident Parties, "Fatalism" vs Not Fate! and Normalization of Work Accidents. Finally, in the RNM group, the themes Systemic/Structural Issues processed 99 times and the Common Themes 82 times. In contrast, the themes that have not been handled are Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions and De-Emphasizing the negative sides/issues of government.

When the theme groups are examined individually, it is seen that incident themes are the lowest theme group with 12% not only in this incident but among 15 incidents. It is clear that the absence of search & rescue operations was effective in this low ratio, but the rates of common themes also show the lowest level with the rate of 9% (with Soma). In addition, compared to other incidents, all three newspaper groups are very close in terms of common themes and relatively close in terms of incident themes. Therefore, it can be argued that incident themes are generally less studied in this case. As mentioned before, the more sensitivity of the incident and the more news value attributed to the incident, the less incident

and common themes are covered. In this context, the Torunlar incident is seen as a highly sensitive incident. The reason for the differentiation between common and incident themes is undoubtedly the number of background themes that differ between groups. Torunlar is the third place after Soma and Ermenek-II incidents despite the low number of PGM in terms of background themes. In other words, unlike the DM and RNM groups, which were very interested in Background themes, PGM was not. A similar circumstance can also be seen in terms of background information. In the other sub-group of the incident theme group, all three newspaper groups focus on the theme of ‘the gravity/severity/seriousness of the incident’.

When actors are examined, it is seen that DM and RNM groups are close to each other, but much fewer actor themes are processed in PGM. Although all actor classes are covered in all newspaper groups, there are great differences between the distributions. While DM and RNM mostly featured Victims & Victims’ Relatives and Expert actors, PGM mostly featured expert and Government actors. The least processed actors are Government in DM, Unions/Worker Groups and Dissident Parties in PGM, and Unions/Worker Groups in RNM. The relative abundance of dissident actors in RNM and DM attracts attention in this sense, while the majority of experts in PGM attracts attention.

Factors themes have the highest average not only on this incident but also on all 15 incidents. The processed 839 factors themes correspond to 32% of the total theme (2599). 522 of these 839 factors themes are in the DM group that processes all six sub-theme groups. The RNM group, on the other hand, did not handle the Week and/or Politicized Trade unions sub-theme group at all and processed a total of 214 themes in the other five subgroups. This corresponds to a rate of 28% among the themes handled by RNM, indicating the highest rate in 15 incidents. In PGM, where Political Context and Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions subgroups are not processed, 103 Factors themes were processed in four subgroups. In terms of factors themes, PGM, which processes only 103 themes in total, reaches the highest rate in the Torunlar with 22% among 15 incidents.

All three newspaper groups mostly covered the Systemic/Structural Issues themes, which dealt with multiple factors, but they differ in quantitative and qualitative terms. While all 11 themes in this subgroup were processed by the DM group, two of them in RNM and 6 in PGM were not processed. All three groups mostly dealt with ‘systemic/structural deficiencies (DM; 53, RNM; 35, PGM; 14)’ and ‘not an isolated incident but a common problem (DM; 44, RNM; 32, PGM; 18)’. These two themes are always dealt with in DM

and mostly in RNM as systemic issues handled at the country level. On the other hand, PGM has been reduced to some groups with a reductionist approach.

Table 4. 59: The theme distribution of Torunlar

14. Torunlar (06.09.2014)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	76	82	82	240	0,09
	1.2	Background	38	8	21	67	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	0	0	0	0	
	1.4	Other	1	1	2	4	
	Incident total			115	91	105	311
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	29	3	16	48	
	2.2	Government	12	20	28	60	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	20	15	12	47	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	36	16	34	86	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	20	2	8	30	
	2.6	Expert	31	27	33	91	
	2.7	All Other Actors	16	13	23	52	
	Actors Total			164	96	154	414
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	73	0	16	89	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	113	24	31	168	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	12	0	0	12	
	3.4	Legal Matters	110	18	37	165	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	180	43	99	322	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	34	18	31	83	
	Factors Total			522	103	214	839
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	103	35	69	207	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	60	15	52	127	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY & GOVERNMENT	28	8	25	61	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	1	3	5	9	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	0	3	0	3	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY & GOVERNMENT	5	2	5	12	
	Attribution Total			197	66	156	419
5. POLARIZATION (IDE)-LEGITIMIZATION	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	4	0	1	5	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	175	11	46	232	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	4	0	1	5	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	10	87	29	126	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	41	11	29	81	
	Polarization Total			234	109	106	449
6. (IDE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	("Fatalism" vs Not Fate!)	9	0	5	14	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	6	6	8	20	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	12	0	8	20	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	99	3	11	113	
	De-Naturalization Total			126	9	32	167
Themes total			1358	474	767	2599	1

When the themes that attract attention in the subgroups are examined, the themes of 'clientelism', 'link between government & the company/business wolds', 'not punishing but

protecting those responsible', which are directly related to each other in the context of Political Context, draw attention in terms of being frequently processed in DM. In the neoliberalism and its Turkey-context characteristics group, it is seen that all three newspaper groups jointly highlight the themes of "more money/profit-orientation" and "performance-oriented working" in the context of anti-performativity. The theme of '[anti] subcontracting/royalty & temporary employment' is frequently handled in DM and RNM groups, while DM also emphasizes 'protection of the company/private sector' and 'wild capitalist system, capital that sees nothing but profit'. The themes of "importance of [effective] unionization" and "lack of unionization rights" are discussed in the subgroup of Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions, which are handled in DM only.

It was stressed in the Soma case that some factors have now become an unquestionable issue: The union factor is explained by dysfunctional trade unions introducing a term equivalent to "yellow union," and the minister's anti-subcontracting declaration clarifies the neoliberalist factor, "the subcontracting system is slavery." With the minister of labour expressing "production pressure," 'anti-performativity' has also become indisputable in this incident.

In the subgroup of legal matters, the three newspaper groups mostly handle the theme of "actions, rules & discourses" which remain only on paper/in speech, while the absence of deterrent laws [in practice] theme attracts great attention in DM and RNM groups. It is seen that the other two themes of legal matters are frequently discussed in the DM and RNM groups, and thus these two newspaper groups cover all the themes in this subgroup. In PGM, on the other hand, "legal deficiencies/problems/unlawfulness" was never handled, and the "arbitrary/malicious interpretation of the law or legal gap" theme was processed four times in total, only in the context of the company.

The Systemic/Structural Issues sub-theme group was discussed above. However, it is seen that the System-Based Background & Analysis themes, which support this sub-theme group with analysis, mostly include the 'analysis/report' theme in all three newspaper groups. Apart from that, the theme of comparison with other countries is also handled in all three newspaper groups, especially in the context of ILO 167. DM and RNM newspapers also covered this theme in the context of revealing systemic problems. Apart from these, the theme of 'economic cost of work accidents', which is used jointly and only once by three newspaper groups, draws attention. This theme is particularly noteworthy as it is common to three newspaper groups in terms of the manner it is handled: in all three, the purpose is to

persuade the business world. In this subgroup, while PGM handles only these three themes, DM and RM groups also handle three of the remaining four themes.

When the themes of the Attribution group are analysed, although it is seen that all six sub-themes are handled only in PGM, the least themes are also discussed in this group. All three newspaper groups target the related companies most as the first culprit of the event. However, while DM and RNM target all relevant companies, it is observed that PGM newspapers avoid targeting Torunlar REIT and mostly target subcontractor elevator and occupational safety companies.

Four of the five themes in the ‘Emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company’ theme group were addressed commonly in all newspaper groups. The most discussed theme is "exploitative & malevolent behaviour of the employer" in DM newspapers, while "the company's negligence/fault" theme in PGM and RNM.

In ‘Emphasizing the negative sides/issues of government’ sub-theme group, DM and RNM handled five of the six themes, while PGM handled only two themes. 11 of the 15 themes that PGM newspapers processed are ‘negligence/lack of inspection’ themes, while 4 are ‘authorities should take/have taken urgent measures / make necessary regulations’ themes. The ‘negligence / lack of inspection’ theme is also the most discussed theme in the other two newspaper groups.

In the ‘Emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company & government’ sub-theme group, both related themes are covered by three newspaper groups. The context is often criticism arising from ignoring warnings and symptoms. Of course, PGM has handled more softly and vaguely without directly associating it with the government.

In the ‘Emphasizing the positive sides/issues of company’ subgroup, only the theme ‘no negligence/fault of the company: accident caused by an unpredictable cause despite all measures taken’ is handled. It is seen that all of the relevant themes are in the form of reporting the statements of the relevant companies.

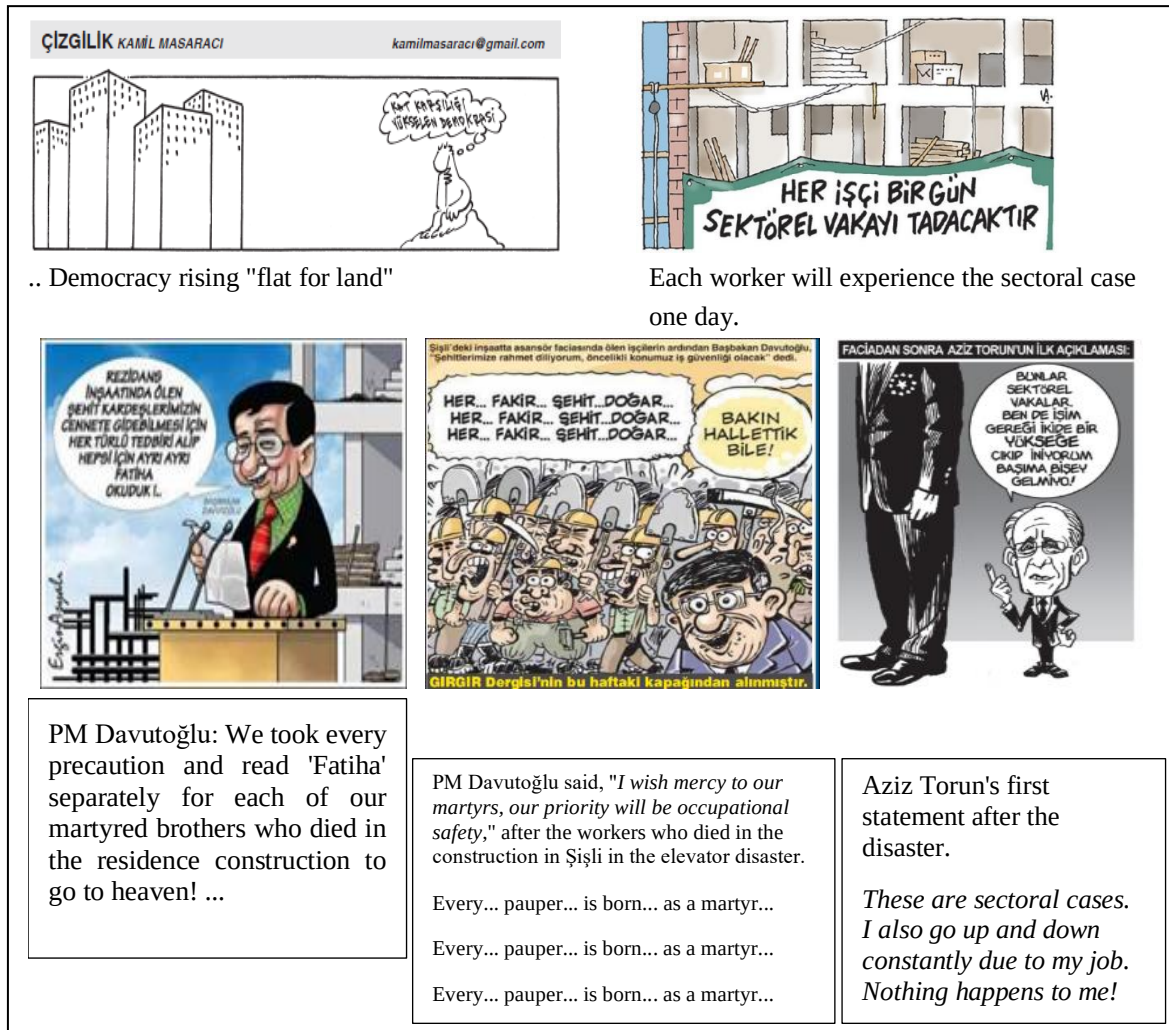
The theme of ‘not only the responsibility of the state/government: everyone, especially the employer, must fulfil their responsibilities’ is handled under the ‘De-Emphasizing the negative sides/issues of government’ sub-theme group, which is handled in a solely PGM group.

In the sub-theme group of De-Emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company & government, all three newspaper groups are seen to handle the theme of “workers’

negligence/mistakes” in line with the statements of Aziz Torun. This theme was presented relatively neutral in PGM and RNM, but has been subject to harsh criticism in the DM group. The other theme in this group, which PGM only handles, is the "possibility of sabotage" theme, in which the allegation of sabotage put forward by Hasan Girit, the lawyer of Torunlar REIT Project Manager Murat Aytimur, is reported.

In the Polarization theme group, which is the second most handled theme group after Factors, the DM group has a much higher number of themes and has a more balanced distribution than the other two newspaper groups. Although DM and RNM groups address all five subgroups, it is observed that De-Legitimize Dissidents / Claims and Legitimize Dissident Parties subgroups, where PGM does not work at all, are handled very little. While DM and RNM groups mostly dealt with De-Legitimize Government themes, PGM has mostly dealt with the opposite Legitimize Government subgroup.

Considering the polarization subgroups, the first group, the De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims, five themes discussed in DM and RNM are reporting the statements of government and company officials. After all of these, the processing of Legitimize Dissident Parties themes stands out as a remarkable defence tactic. In the De-Legitimize Government sub-theme group, while DM and RNM groups mostly handle the ‘direct criticism & accusation of the government [policies]’ and ‘rebellion discourses and/or protest acts’ themes, it is seen that no themes stand out significantly in the PGM group. Following these two themes, DM mostly dealt with the themes of ‘judge/punish those responsible’ and ‘sarcasm/satire through the comics, etc.’ In the context of ‘sarcasm/satire’, although the focus is Aziz Torun’s definition of the accident as "these are sectoral cases" in most of the cartoons, it is also frequently used in criticising the government and the system (see Picture 4.7). In addition to the cartoons, the government’s "New Turkey" discourse, Aziz Torun’s definition of "sectoral cases," and Prime Minister Davutoğlu’s declaration of "martyrdom" were all processed through sarcasm themes, which were processed through a variety of word games. While cartoons frequently support these topics, it is seen that they are mentioned in most of the analysis news, albeit between the lines.



Picture 4. 7: Cartoons of DM group

In the Legitimize Government subgroup, DM and RNM cover some of the 17 themes in this group (total is 10), but there is no prominent theme. In PGM, however, the themes 'authorities [will] take urgent measures/make necessary regulations', 'government/authorities /institutions [will] fulfil their responsibilities' and 'state/government will prevent similar disasters/problems' have been processed frequently (62).

Finally, in the Legitimize US, While Delegitimize THEM sub-theme group, DM and RNM groups handle intensely the following themes targeting the government: 'manipulation/propaganda [claim]', 'de-emphasizing the responsibilities' and 'falsified information/lying to the public.' On the other hand, PGM focuses on the 'de-emphasizing the responsibilities' theme, which mostly targets subcontractor companies and the 'ugly protest/provocation/provocateur' theme by targeting opponents.

In the [de]-naturalization theme group, while all relevant four themes are handled in DM and RNM groups, only ‘Martyr/Martyrdom’ and ‘Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre’ themes are handled in PGM. The themes of "Martyr/Martyrdom" are commonly based on Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu’s statements, as seen in all newspaper groups. However, while PGM uses it for naturalisation, DM and RNM use it for de-naturalization. Two of the ‘Not A Work Accident / Not Fate but A Murder / Massacre’ theme, processed three times in PGM, is indirectly in actor speeches. In the last use, it is presented in the form of "“ Accident or murder? Elevator accident that raises the question". This theme is clearly used under the context of de-naturalization as a counter-discourse in all 110 uses in DM and RNM. These two newspaper groups also directly focus on this context with the themes "Normalization of Work Accidents" and "Fatalism vs Not Fate!" In the typical use of these themes, it is seen that the government is mostly targeted, but in this incident, Aziz Torun’s "sectoral cases" description is primarily targeted.

Three examples taken from three different newspapers below are important in terms of showing how the counter-discourse against naturalization is formed with the de-naturalization theme. Furthermore, the third and comparatively long example is critical since it shows how the theme of systemic/structural issues is constructed as a counter-discourse and how those involved attempt to conceal systemic disinformation during the naturalization process.

[DM2-2.10-11; SUB-TITLE] Worker Hells

56. Now, a cover is being prepared for the minaret stolen with the demagogies of "nature (fitrat)", "sectoral case", and "martyr".
57. The political perpetrators of the ‘worker hells’ bestow martyrdom on the workers and promise them heaven.
58. However, if those responsible for the work murders committed in this world are not kept accountable in this world, these massacres will continue.

...

121. "Fate, nature (fitrat), martyr ..."

122. **None of the workers wants to consider this kind of statements!**

[DM3- 3.1; TITLE] AGAIN MARTYR-MOUTH (YİNE ŞEHİT EDEBİYATI)

1. AKP, who made hurtful statements such as "*They died cleanly*" and "*This is in their nature*" after EVERY disaster, has not broken this tradition.
2. Prime Minister Davutoğlu said, "The elevator is derailed. They are martyrs for us."

[DM3- 3.10-11: TITLE] The government announced martyr again

The above examples show very clearly that the theme of "martyrdom", which is covered by the government and PGM newspapers, is actually constructed in the context of the

normalization of the issue. While doing this, it is tried to show that it is not random, especially by reminding the similar discourses (background) used in this particular incident or past incidents. The example below also demonstrates how naturalization brings along structural problems.

[RNM-1-2.10: TITLE]

Not a work accident, license to kill

1. The question is; the law was also passed, but work accidents are constantly repeated; now we encounter mass worker deaths, **where is the problem?**
2. The answer is obvious; **there is a law, but there is no practice of law.** (DECOUPLING)
3. *The rule of law has been thrown into the trash.*
4. *In the economy that has turned into **crony-capitalism**, where the politician distributes rent and makes appointments, these accidents like murders are increasing chronically and deeply.* (CLIENTELISM)
5. Despite the enactment of the law on occupational safety, the increasing dose of work accidents and deaths is **the registration of the unlawful environment we have been living in for a while.**
6. **There are laws, but everything goes in lawlessness.** (DECOUPLING)
7. ***This is the result of a majoritarian political atmosphere in which the separation of powers and the rule of law are destroyed; Those who are close to a political power that has suppressed constitutional forces do not care about institutions and rules.*** (DECOUPLING) for the (CLIENTELISM)
8. Again, a similar picture emerges.
9. Shopping mall and residence, passion for rent, passion for turning rent into money in a short time, whatever you call it; ***Sacrificing lives becomes commonplace if these grow exponentially in an economy where the rule of law is destroyed.***
10. **The rulers of the country are developing aspects that normalize this to veil their responsibilities.**
11. ***The stance of the political will towards work murder is also aimed at concealing the responsibility.***
12. In work accidents that have gradually turned into murder, the tradition of defining the deceased as "martyrs" has started to appear. (FATALISM & NATURALIZATION)
13. ***Managers, ministers, politicians whose duties are to regulate and supervise and who hold executive power; While they are in the position that should investigate the murder and ask for its account, their entry into the "martyr" literature is equivalent to veiling their responsibilities.*** (FATALISM & NATURALIZATION)
14. Would the first thing to be said will be 'they went to heaven, relax'? (FATALISM & NATURALIZATION)
15. The last to say this should have been the ruling politicians.
16. It is nothing but a "submission to destiny" suggestion by using the beliefs of the society. (FATALISM & NATURALIZATION)
17. The statements started with the words "if there is a person responsible ..." after each work accident are actually the expression of a stance; ***It also shows the importance given to human life well.***
18. ***Would it be an accident or murder without any responsible for it?***
19. The "rent economy", which manifested itself with the explosion of shopping malls and residences in the economic picture of the last 10 years, started to take lives en masse.
20. Huge shopping malls and residences erected in big cities will now be remembered by the number of workers who died in their construction, lost their physical integrity, and became unable to work.
21. ***In this unlawful business environment where institutions and rules are rendered inoperable; Is not every work murder that is not punished with both heavy imprisonment and heavy financial compensation in a way that can be understood best by those who have a rent motive a "license to kill" for the next murders?***

As can be seen, in the relevant news text, three factors such as legal matters, political context and Turkish style neoliberal context are analysed together with decoupling, and work accidents are presented as a systemic/structural issue. One of the most striking points of the analysis is summarized with the following sentence: "The rulers of the country are developing aspects that normalize this to veil their responsibilities." This sentence not only summarizes this incident but also summarizes all cases processed in this study. The goal is

to conceal structural issues developed by themselves even though even they are dissatisfied with the point reached. This will also be evident shortly when analysing the words of Minister Faruk Çelik: The government is aware of the whole issue, but even though they claim that they will correct it, their own words reveal that they will (can) not do. Therefore, they manipulate the issue through decoupling and normalization.

When other elements are examined in terms of macrostructure and microstructure, it is seen that there is an attitude in parallel with the general evaluation and especially the Soma incident. It is only seen that the frequency is less than Soma. In this context, the three dichotomies examined in each case will be evaluated below in the corpus.

4.2.14.2. Keywords and Government Officials

First, the statements of Davutoğlu, who has been on the top management of the government for a long time but is still in the early days of his prime ministry, will be analysed in this segment. The comments of Faruk Çelik, who has been the Minister of Labour for seven years, will then be scrutinised.

PM Davutoğlu:

- 1- Unfortunately, 10 of our workers, 10 of dear lives, our labourers died due to the derailment of the work elevator. I want our public to know that in such incidents, we do all kinds of research and investigation without hesitation, and we take all kinds of precautions to prevent such an incident from happening again.
- 2- The issue is not only legal legislation, if you make the best law in the world, if you put the most universally valid rules, the human factor is important. Inspectors and those responsible for occupational safety should have a solid awareness that constitutes the essence of this legal legislation. Otherwise, if you try to **bypass the legal measures you have taken**, it will be inevitable to experience work accidents.
- 3- *We are all obliged to read Fatiha behind our worker brothers. This will be the most important agenda item of the Council of Ministers. If there are any disruptions in the law enacted in 2012 on occupational safety, we take the necessary measures.*
- 4- *They were earning an honest buck. With these aspects, (they) are a martyr for us. We take every precaution, including the Ministry of Family and Social Policies, so that families are not victims. Of course, there are measures to be taken by the company that runs the construction.*
- 5- Both judicial and administrative investigations have been initiated. The way the incident occurred, **negligence, if any**, or other reasons will be investigated in depth.
- 6- There are no more unskilled workers; There are construction workers, there are pattern-makers, there are concrete workers. As of 1 January 2015, the Vocational Qualifications Board will finish its preparations and come to the certification stage of the workers. We will also set up a reward mechanism. No deductions will be made from the workplace where there is no accident. Very severe penalties will be given to the workplace where there is a fatal accident.

It is observed that the statements of Prime Minister Davutoğlu are similar in many respects to the statements made by the Minister of Energy Yıldız in Soma. Davutoğlu claims that the government will make all the necessary investigations and ensure that a similar incident will not occur again, accompanied by the rhetoric of persuasion. Immediately afterwards, he emphasizes the "human factor" and admits that the accidents are actually caused by "people". Afterwards, the decoupling situation, which is put forward with the term "by-pass", draws attention. Here, it is presented as an issue that arises from people, not systemic, and moreover, people do not follow the existing rules "in practice". Later, fatalism started to be used with the terms "Fatih" and "martyr", and this continued with the phrase "if there is negligence". His final statement shows how they will solve the problems he previously stated as "if any." In summary, the Prime Minister strives to present themselves (the government) positively by choosing certain words and topics. Thus, it manipulates the incident with overall interaction, semantic macrostructures, and lexicon strategies and tries to normalize it with religious references.

Minister of Labour and Social Security Faruk Çelik;

- 1- **SUBCONTRACTOR and PERFORMATIVITY** ... *Wherever there is a defect, it will be addressed. We will do our part.*
- 2- ***Here, we have to ask: life or property first? Turkey has to make this decision.*** Why are these things happening? We see this very clearly, there is ***a production pressure. There is production pressure, ambition to win. Besides, there is cost pressure.*** If you ruthlessly use the subcontracting system to get the job done cheaper and enter into a practice that ***almost enslaves people and employees***, this understanding, which is integrated with the ambition to earn a lot, due to the pressure brought by the cost, leaves the security in the second degree.
- 3- ***Yes to service procurement, there will surely be subcontractor, but we are now organizing in the Assembly in which areas it will be, we will clarify it. This arbitrariness in subcontracting is slavery, I am telling openly. These are practices that both encourage informality and keep the worker under pressure in unfavourable conditions.*** With October, we will make a different assessment about the employees in the subcontractor practices.
- 4- **INSPECTION ISSUES** When an elevator disaster occurs, eyes naturally turn to us, but due to the nature of the business, it concerns many institutions, including the Environment and Urban Ministry, the Ministry of Industry, Municipalities, Building Inspection Staff and us. The system works perfectly when everyone does their responsibility fully in their field. Actually, the responsibility at every stage of the work is obvious. Nobody can throw the ball to someone else.
- 5- ***Technically speaking, the chief responsible persons are building inspectors and engineers of record. There is no confusion about this. Building inspectors are criticized for getting the salary from the employer, but this is a bigger responsibility.*** It means that I am inspecting on your behalf at every stage. When the fire falls on the hearts, can they escape responsibility? ***It does not reduce the responsibility of getting a salary from the employer.***

- 6- What is this issue? Awareness issue, ambition issue, namely, the issue of overproduction. I am not saying just for construction. Go, coal mines are like this; other events are like this. We are faced with a serious problem brought about by an approach neglecting security and **a predominantly business world that does not consider the understanding of awareness. I do not want to blame the business world today.** We have 1 million 630 thousand workplaces. For God's sake, I ask here, there are already responsible people at the head of every workplace, but I call out to those who bring the subject and associate it with the inspection; You do the inspection once a year, twice. You do an inspection on the complaint, but these are instantaneous incidents. We cannot put 1 million 630 thousand inspectors at the head of 1 million 630 thousand workplaces. There are those who are already in charge. That is why the law you have enacted here; besides all these problems, the employer is held responsible for all of them.
- 7- **Inspections are instantaneous. Inspections are instantaneous. You come today and inspect this place. Is there a fire extinguisher here, have the measures been taken? Had been taken, arranged, you go, but you cannot predict what developments will occur in this factor industry two hours later. Engineers of record are essential, and the building inspection firm is significant.**
- 8- We inspected this construction in the sixth month of 2013, when at the basic level. We came to the ninth month of 2014. In other words, a 35-floor building is built in about 1 year. There are deficiencies in the basic controls. Both sanctions and administrative fines are written for these. 21 deficiencies determined in 5 months are required to be corrected within a 12-day period. 19 deficiencies are fixed, administrative fines are applied for 2 deficiencies. This is a factor area; we are talking about an area where 3 tables are laid every month, and the building rises 10-15 meters. **Inspections are instantaneous.**
- 9- **NOT ALLOWING INVESTIGATION IN SOMA** In international contracts, the responsibility belongs to the owner. Inspectors are not the mine owners, as permission is sought for inspectors who carried out inspections from 2009 to 2014. I am asking, for God's sake. If there were no problems in previous years, will we open an investigation instead of giving medals to these inspectors?
- 10- Çelik explained the reason for this decision as follows; **Permission is wanted for the investigation of all inspectors retrospectively investigating until 2009. There was no accident in 2009, 2010, 2011. Then we have to give medals to those inspectors. Why should an investigation be done about them? There is a shortage of addresses here.**
- 11- **This is not a matter for a ministry to solve; it is a matter of system. Because of this system issue, we need to change our mindset and perspective and say "human-first". If we say "We stand for life" and then continue to go one's own way, accidents become inevitable. You will hang the drum on the Ministry of Labour; you will get the mallet, you hit it. There is no equivalent to this. This is the wrong address.**
- 12- **THE ISSUE OF INVITING TO RESIGN:** In addition to the statement of "resign" by ignoring the AK Party's such great reforms, the successes of Mr Kılıçdaroğlu in the last 4 elections are obvious, as well as the failure in the bureaucracy. **Best of all, the party members know what that means.** As a result, if there is anyone who should resign due to his failure in both politics and bureaucracy, it is Mr Kılıçdaroğlu. **It is a pity that Mr Kılıçdaroğlu thinks that he is saying something by using some of our statements.** As the government, we are both busy solving problems and, if we have deficiencies, we also tell those shortcomings within the framework of an opposition understanding.

As can be seen, Minister Çelik made very long statements on many issues. According to their subjects, these 12-item explanations were grouped under four groups to be able to evaluate them more accurately. The first group of explanations are mentioned as comments after the informative statements in the first days and reveal the existence of systemic problems, especially subcontractor and performativity. The first sentence of these statements is a ceremonial sentence that has always been spoken and is often criticized because it has no equivalent in practice and is called classical, typical (i.e., [TITLE] *Classical Statements from Minister Çelik*). The second and third statements are the continuation of the systemic problems that the Minister initiated by explaining the legal problems in the Esenyurt AVM incident and mentioned between the lines. However, in the Soma case, he added the subcontractor system to these and clearly revealed the systemic problems. In this third incident, he adds that performativity, which he argues, arises from the subcontractor system to his criticisms, starting with the law and continuing with the subcontractor. As he will make clear in his later statements, Mr. Minister reveals that the issue is not an isolated incident, as the government stated in its official political-discursive stance, but a structural and widespread problem with many dimensions. So much so that the minister has made it obvious with the statements "a systemic problem" and "*Turkey has to make this decision*". It is clear that the Minister, who uses evident expressions such as production coercion, ambition to win, cost pressure, ruthlessly used subcontracting system that almost enslaves people and employees, has no intention of concealing the systemic issue. So how should this attitude of the minister be interpreted? As he claimed in sentence 12, is it efforts the government's efforts to improve themselves by treating themselves like an opponent? In the Esenyurt AVM incident, it was predicted that similar statements were used as a trump against the other party to make the arrangement that he wanted. It is most likely that a similar situation will occur here. The second possibility is that such events may indeed upset him. It will be more useful to discuss this issue after examining other explanations.

Explanations between 4-8 are solely related to inspection. Here, it directs the responsibility by stating that the responsibility is not only in himself and in his ministry, and he presents themselves positively (*overall interaction strategies*). Then, he advocates the issue of "Building inspection staff getting a salary from the employer", which he was personally dealing with and enacted (*macro speech act*). With the subsequent three sentences, he rationalizes the explanations in the first two sentences with examples and numbers (*local speech acts and local meanings*). In this rationalization process, he both

increases the credibility and manipulates the event by expressing the systemic issue personally with the special topics and word choices (*semantic macrostructures and lexicon*), such as "awareness, ambition and overproduction issues", "with a predominantly business world that does not take into account the understanding of awareness" and "inspections are instantaneous." However, it is thought that the purpose of manipulation here is not naturalization but a tactical move in the power struggle within the government. It is also noteworthy that he targets the business world and other ministries by highlighting that he does not target. However, for whatever purpose, this does not alter the fact that the minister raised the core issues of this study.

In his explanations numbered 9-11, as in his explanation number one, it is seen that he again uses classical discourses. Despite his explicit statement in Soma that "he will be investigated no matter who he is", it is seen that the minister did not allow the inspectors to be investigated. The minister, who justified his statement in 9 with 10, expresses very clearly at 11, "this is a system issue". Therefore, this issue is now too solid to be reduced to an isolated incident. However, it is understood that the responsibility is shared and directed by emphasizing the decoupling dimension of the issue first.

It seems that he is trying to emphasize the government positively in his twelfth and final statement even though he framed in all his previous statements as US (ministry of labour) versus THEM (all other related officials, including ministries). When Kılıçdaroğlu invited Minister Çelik to resign, the minister openly accused Kılıçdaroğlu of ignoring the "great reforms", and he has integrated himself with the AKP. When Kılıçdaroğlu uses his own criticism, the target turns to the opposition from within the government. He shows his self-criticism as an effort to improve themselves, not as a conflict of interest.

In summary, when all the explanations are examined together, it gives the impression that the minister's voicing of these systemic issues was made to prevent any obstacle to the legal changes he wanted to issue. In doing so, he defends the issues directly related to him, blames the opponents and frames almost every issue in this context. In other words, he uses a similar strategy against the opposition both within his party and in the parliament, manipulating the situation with the following strategies: Overall interaction strategies, macro speech act, semantic macrostructures, local speech acts, local meanings, lexicon and expressions.

Finally, when the corpus is examined, as stated at the beginning of the analysis, the influence of Soma is intensely observed in this event. Although the event is not in the mining industry, the word Soma is passed 95 times (DM; 59, PGM; 25, RNM; 11). When the corpus is examined, it is seen that a total of 4472 keywords are used. While 45% of these are seen in the DM group, 25% were used in PGM and 30% in RNM. On the other hand, the keywords usage rate was 5.40% in a total of 83326-word files, and it was the second-highest rate after Küre (5.61%) among these 15 incidents. Although DM has the highest rate in this incident with a rate of 5.53%, this is the fifth-highest rate of DM in 15-incident. Therefore, in this case, the keywords of the other groups are the cause of the increase in the usage rate, which can be interpreted as PGM and RNM had focused more on the issue.

Until this incident, each incident was observed to be how the change was by comparing it with the previous one, but the Soma incident is large enough to have exceptional features. For this reason, it is thought that it would be more accurate to compare this incident with the Esenyurt AVM incident before Soma, since the two events were both in Istanbul and in the construction sector. However, it should also be highlighted that the influence of Soma in the Torunlar incident may be reflected in the statistics. Therefore, it will be more beneficial to make the interpretations taking this point into consideration.

Regarding the government-related keywords, the first of the three actor groups, it should be noted that while Ahmet Davutoğlu was included among the actors studied as a result of the Prime Minister change, Erdoğan was not excluded. In other words, Erdogan could not be included in the above analysis as he had no explanation for this incident, but it is still included in the analysis as a government-related actor in terms of keywords.

When Actors is examined, while 642 uses are seen in government-related keywords, this is approximately three times the usage in the Esenyurt AVM event. The most striking point is that AKP and AK Party keywords are never used in PGM newspapers, and only four uses seen in RNM newspapers. While the term AKP is used 57 times in the AKP vs Ak Party dichotomy, only three AK Party terms are used. It is seen that two of these three uses are in RNM-2 and one in DM-2. It is understood that the extreme polarization has caused widespread use of the AKP term and almost no use of the AK Party term: It is observed that the pro-government sections have avoided the use of the AK Party to de-emphasize the government. At the same time, the opposition elements try to emphasize the government in a negative context with the term AKP.

Table 4. 60: Keywords of Torunlar

14. Torunlar (06.09.2014)					
Total word count			36622	20779	25925
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Government-related	AKP	AKP	55	0	2
	AK Parti	AK Party	1	0	2
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	239	171	172
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP	51	4	22
	MHP	MHP	1	0	5
	Muhalefet	The opposition	4	0	2
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	17	0	5
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş			
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	5	0	1
	Sendika / 1	Union (labour)	54	8	8
	Sendikasız	Non-union/ nonunionised	8	0	0
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union			
	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	323	397	361
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	13	1	2
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom	20	12	51
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	222	4	28
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	11	0	7
Inspection vs Lack of Inspection	Katil	Murderer/killer	9	4	0
	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	174	97	180
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	5	1	0
	İhmal	Negligence	34	32	30
Law-related	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	151	99	119
	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	117	113	76
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	78	64	63
Neoliberalistic	ILO	ILO	24	11	13
	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödöfans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	78	14	38
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	2	0	0
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	76	44	19
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector	5	0	7
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	7	14	10
Systemic/Structural issues	İstihdam	Employment	8	4	1
	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	24	0	6
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded	6	0	0
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier	17	0	9
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery	16	6	7
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	10	0	1
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality	16	3	4
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)	6	0	0
Protest vs Provocation	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media	2	0	0
	Medya	Media	4	3	2
	Direnış/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest	73	4	40
	Gösteri	Demonstration	3	3	7
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation	0	3	0
	Polis	Police	54	7	25
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence	1	0	0
Total Keywords			2024	1123	1325
Total keywords / Total words (%)			5,53	5,4	5,11

A similar increase is observed in dissident-related keywords, where there are 89 uses. 77 of 89 uses are in the form of CHP, and again the CHP seems to be the most active opposition party. However, it is noteworthy that MHP is still very limited, although it has increased this incident compared to the Esenyurt AVM incident. Even the HDP, the other

and relatively small opposition party in the parliament, is cited 18 times, while the MHP's less use draws attention.

Union-related keywords have also increased approximately 3,5 times. While there is an increase in terms of DİSK, Türk-İş, Non-union / nonunionised and union in this group, it is seen that Hak-İş, whose voice was heard a little in the Esenyurt and Soma incidents, again fell into silence. Although there is an approximately 3-fold increase in all three actor-related keywords compared to the Esenyurt AVM incident, considering that the general keywords increase rate is 4.3 times, it can be argued that the actors remained below the real increase rate.

Accident / Disaster vs In Murder/work murder/massacre dichotomy, it is seen that there are 1465 uses, and is an approximately 5.4-fold increase in this context. The most increase in this group is in accidents and martyrdom keywords. In terms of dichotomy, the term accident is still more common, but there is a serious increase in the murder word group.

Inspection vs Lack of Inspection dichotomy also increases significantly, but there is a decrease in the keyword lack of inspection. It is understood that the word negligence, whose opposing notions are more pronounced, is preferred instead of lack of inspection.

Although there is an approximately 3.5-fold increase in law-related keywords, it is seen here that the ILO keyword, which previously had rare and random use in the context of construction (ILO 167), is frequently used in all three newspaper groups. The statements of the Minister of Labour in this context can be seen in the use of the ILO 167.

There is an approximately 3.5-fold increase in the neoliberalist keyword group. Especially due to the criticisms of Minister Faruk Çelik about "production pressure, slavery and subcontracting", there was an expectation that these keywords will be much higher, but this expectation was not realized. The most important reason for this is thought to be the PGM group, which censors Minister Çelik's criticism of the system and business world. Similarly, the minister's system criticisms created an expectation of an above-normal increase in the systemic/structural issues keyword group. Indeed, the increase here exceeds 10 times. In particular, the term "slavery" expressed by the minister was used almost the same quantity as Soma. It was already declared that any newspaper group could no longer ignore systemic problems. However, it is noteworthy that the term "slavery order", personally voiced by Minister Çelik in this context, was never used in PGM newspapers and was censored.

In the protest vs provocation dichotomy, only three provocation usage is seen, compared to 117 protest usage. There seems an increase of more than nine times in this group. It is seen that the key word Police is also used too much.

As conclusion remarks, the following should be highlighted: With Minister Çelik's statements in Esenyurt AVM and Soma incidents, the issue of work accidents and the factors behind them have become indisputably accepted by all segments. Therefore, in this and the next incident, it has become the main argument to discuss the mechanisms behind work accident and those responsible, rather than revealing that it is a structural problem. In addition, it is seen that in this period, the style was at the level of hardness in Soma and never softened. During this period, PGM newspapers deal with the issue of "fate" between the lines and argue that the structural issue is realized by "the nature of the business" in general and by some greedy companies in particular. The DM and RNM newspapers specifically address systemic problems and attempt to develop their counter-thesis through various analyses, as the issue is not fate or the essence of the business; it is linked to structural issues and government policies. As a result, they build their counter-thesis on the rhetoric of "not a work accident, but murder."

In the last four incidents that took place since Esenyurt AVM, the fact that all relevant companies have somehow ties with the AKP strengthens the thesis of DM and RNM newspapers in the context of clientelism. On the other hand, it is observed that PGM newspapers direct their readers by making news outside of their classical discourse but in the same manner. The issue of clientelism is completely ignored by PGM newspapers and presented as if such a situation never existed in the AKP era. Especially in this case, even though Aziz Torun, the owner of Torunlar REIT, is a close friend of President Erdoğan and has boosted his stardom by taking on many "prestigious" projects during the AKP era, PGM newspapers have not written a single line on the topic. Even if a firm is to be blamed, these are subcontractors other than Torunlar. It is seen that President Erdogan, whose every statement he made in Soma caused deep debates, did not make any statement in this incident. Finally, these results are supported by both themes and corpus findings.

4.2.15. Ermenek-II

On 28 October 2014, 18 workers were stranded due to the flooding in the gallery while the workers were having lunch at Has Şeker Madencilik's colliery, which operates in the Ermenek Karaman. Because of the thousands of tonnes of water that had pooled in the mine,

even search and rescue operations could not be carried out before the water in the mine was drawn. The first corpses could only be reached on the tenth day during the constantly interrupted search and rescue efforts. Following that, the bodies of two workers (20 days) on 17 November, six (21 days) on 18 November, two (32 days) on 29 November, one on 2 December (35 days), and the final five workers on 5 December (day 38) could be extracted from the mine.

When the source of the accumulated water could not be determined in the first days, the company's "natural disaster" claim came to the agenda. However, in a short time, it was discovered that the water accumulated in the mine has come from an old mine that had closed and had been left on its own rather than being properly closed. Many sources had reported an old colliery that was not properly closed, posing a flood risk. Moreover, it was known that the region, in general, is under such danger, and this situation was personally explained to the Minister of Energy by TEMA: 12 scientists prepared a report titled "*Thermal Power Plant Effects Expert Report: Konya-Karapınar Closed Basin*" and it published by TEMA in November 2013.

On the other hand, in the autopsy report of the first 10 workers found, it was stated that the workers died not by drowning in water but by poisoning from methane gas. In other words, it is assumed that if a rescue chamber existed and search and rescue operations were carried out efficiently, these ten miners in the upper part of the mine could be rescued.

Given all of this detail, it is clear that the incident has nothing to do with natural disasters, fate, or anything else. It is entirely the fault of the responsible parties and the Ministry of Energy. Furthermore, Minister Yıldız clearly stated in the statement he made on 1 May 2015 that he had negligence in the Soma and Ermenek-Incidents with the following words: "This is the embarrassment of me and my ministry. These were not caused by natural disasters but from flaws" (YeniŞafak Daily, 2015).

This incident, which occurred 52 days after the Torunlar incident and less than six months after the Soma incident, was the third major incidents, all of which occurred in 2014. Therefore, interest in the subject is higher than ever. Adding that the period of finding the workers took 38 days, there was a different intensity in the news on the subject. In the 90-day period, 270 (50%) pages of Ermenek-II news, published in 538 pages in total, were reported in the first 14 days. To grasp the magnitude of the event's prominence, consider the following example: In comparison to the previous 18 and 19 fatal mine incidents, Ermenek-

II corresponds to at least four times the number of newspaper pages and at least three times the news count. Of course, one of the most significant explanations for the high density of news is that the Soma incident is still having an effect. The use of the word Soma 292 times in related news also supports this.

Six out of nine newspapers reported uninterrupted throughout the first 14 days. With the increase of political polarization, it is observed that the DM-3 continues its more similar attitude to other DM newspapers, which started with Soma. As in most cases, DM-2 is the newspaper with the most news on the pages in both 14 and 90 days, while the second surprisingly is PGM-2. The least pages are seen in RNM-2.

Table 4. 61: Pages of related news in newspapers (the total pages in 14/90 days)

DAY	DM-1 (33/68)	DM-2 (39/79)	DM-3 (27/73)	PGM-1 (32/65)	PGM-2 (30/75)	PGM-3 (29/44)	RNM-1 (29/46)	RNM-2 (18/35)	RNM-3 (33/53)
1	1, 11 & 28	1 & 4	1 & 18	1 & 6	1 & 13	1 & 29	1 & 28	1 & 26	1 & 22
2	1 & 6-7	1 & 4-8	1, 9 & 14	1 & 14-16	1 & 16-17	1 & 22-24	1, 13-14 & 22-23	1 & 19	1 & 16-17
3	1 & 6-7	1 & 4-5	1, 6-7 & 12	1, 16-17 & 21	1 & 16-17	1 & 26-27	1, 8-9 & 20	1 & 25	1, 8 & 20-21
4	1 & 6-7	1 & 4-5	1, 6 & 13	1 & 12-13	1 & 17	1 & 20	1 & 26	1 & 20	1, 8 & 22
5	1 & 7	1, 4 & 6-7	1, 6 & 11	1 & 14	1 & 11	1 & 27	1 & 20-21	11 & 19	1 & 16-17
6	1 & 6	1, 4, 6 & 8	1 & 11	1 & 14	1 & 19	1 & 17	1 & 18	15	16
7	1 & 7	1 & 4	11	1 & 3	1 & 16	1 & 17	19	15	1 & 15
8	1 & 3	4 & 15	5	6	1 & 16	1 & 25	1 & 18	1 & 18	1, 9* & 15
9	1, 2 & 3	4 & 11	-	6	1 & 16	15	11	-	15
10	1 & 8	1 & 11	1 & 11	1, 6 & 15	1 & 19	1 & 25	1 & 24	1	1 & 21
11	8	4 & 11-12	16	18	9 & 14	1 & 25	-	-	1 & 19
12	1, 3 & 11	1 & 4	1 & 10	1 & 9	1 & 18	1 & 18	31	22	1 & 6
13	1 & 18	1 & 4	5 & 11	1 & 17	1 & 19	1 & 21	1 & 24	15	1 & 16-17
14	1 & 6	1 & 4	2	1, 13 & 19*	1 & 9	1 & 6	1 & 5	17	1 & 14

*inaccessible page(s)

Considering the number of days, the most days are in the DM-2 and PGM-2 in parallel with the number of pages, while the newspapers with the least number of days stand out as PGM-3 and RNM-1. PGM-2 and DM-1 have the most news on the first page, while RNM-2 and RNM-1 have the least. When the areas allocated to the news on the first page are examined only on the days of the news, it is seen that RNM-2 and DM-3, which stand out with their photo-news features, are the newspapers with the highest average area, while the least area is in RNM-3 and PGM-2. In terms of 90-day span averages, RNM-2 and DM-3 have the most regions, while RNM-3 and RNM-1 have the fewest.

Table 4. 62: Quantitative data of Ermenek-II for 90-days screening period

15. ERMENEK-II (28 Oct. 2014)	Number of Pages Examined	Average Pages of Newspapers	Num. of days have the news	Total pages of the news	Num. of news on the first page	The area (%) on the first page	Average area (%) on the first page (90 days)	FIRST 14 DAYS	
								News count	Word count
DM-1	1724	19	36	68	23	13,48	3,44	97	19527
DM-2	1402	16	42	79	18	16,17	3,23	129	19966
DM-3	2070	23	40	73	16	20,60	3,66	63	7315
PGM-1	2340	26	36	65	20	13,51	3,00	107	13762
PGM-2	2534	28	41	75	25	10,65	2,96	98	12009
PGM-3	3060	34	23	44	19	14,09	2,97	88	13905
RNM-1	3690	41	25	46	15	14,22	2,37	77	13857
RNM-2	3060	34	26	35	11	33,36	4,08	46	5901
RNM-3	2880	32	26	53	20	7,30	1,62	114	12571
Averages	2529	28,1	32,8	59,8	18,6	15,9	3,04	91,00	13201

Considering the 14-day data, the highest news count is seen in DM-2 and RNM-3, while the lowest news count is seen in DM-2 and RNM-3. In terms of word count, the most words are seen in DM-2 and DM-1 newspapers and the least in RNM-2 and DM-3. Considering the average word count per the news, the highest word averages are in DM-1 (201) and RNM-1 (180), and the lowest word averages are in RNM-3 (110) and DM-3 (116) newspapers. The word count averages per the news in terms of groups are as follows: DM (157), RNM (140) and PGM (136).

4.2.15.1. Application of CDA

In terms of all variables, the Ermenek-II file, which contains 118813 words, 819 news, and 3331 themes, is the second-largest incident following Soma. 47% of the 3331 themes here were processed by DM, 28% by PGM and 25% by the RNM group. The most processed theme groups are the incident and factors themes, with 22%. The 38 days of search and rescue efforts greatly affect the Search & Rescue sub-theme group and thus incident themes. The common themes rate of 14% has also supported this. The themes of actors are handled at a rate of 21%, very close to incident and factors groups. In the actors' theme group, the processing frequency of victims & victims' relatives and government actors in PGM and government actors in RNM draw attention. In the third most commonly processed theme category - polarisation -, De-Legitimize Government themes are treated too much by DM and Legitimize Government themes by PGM, resulting in more pronounced polarisation. When the sub-themes most often discussed by newspaper groups are explored, DM primarily addresses the De-Legitimize Government and Systemic/Structural Issues themes. While PGM primarily works on common and legitimize government themes, RNM primarily deals with themes of common and government actors.

Table 4. 63: The theme distribution of Ermenek-II

15. Ermenek-II (28.10.2014)							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	133	184	140	457	0,14
	1.2	Background	60	25	49	134	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	32	59	43	134	
	1.4	Other	2	7	5	14	
		Incident total		227	275	237	739
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	41	3	18	62	
	2.2	Government	55	72	78	205	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	8	19	16	43	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	43	81	51	175	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	21	1	3	25	
	2.6	Expert	35	13	17	65	
	2.7	All Other Actors	31	61	28	120	
		Actors Total		234	250	211	695
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	66	4	20	90	
	3.2	Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	98	33	15	146	
	3.3	Weak And/or Politicized Trade unions	17	4	1	22	
	3.4	Legal Matters	72	20	20	112	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	168	58	51	277	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	54	8	24	86	
		Factors Total		475	127	131	733
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	101	92	71	264	
	4.2	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	92	8	51	151	
	4.3	Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	27	16	23	66	
	4.4	Emphasizing the POSITIVE sides/issues of COMPANY	2	4	6	12	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of GOVERNMENT	3	2	4	9	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing the NEGATIVE sides/issues of COMPANY &/GOVERNMENT	0	0	0	0	
		Attribution Total		225	122	155	502
5. POLARIZATION (IDE)-LEGITIMIZATION / MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	1	4	0	5	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	236	22	45	303	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	1	0	0	1	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	13	114	38	165	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	71	19	6	96	
		Polarization Total		322	159	89	570
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	(“Fatalism” vs Not Fate!)	16	0	1	17	
	6.2	(Martyr/Martyrdom)	0	0	1	1	
	6.3	(Normalization of Work Accidents)	17	0	3	20	
	6.4	(Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre)	47	0	7	54	
		De-Naturalization Total		80	0	12	92
Themes total			1563	933	835	3331	1

When theme groups are considered individually, common themes are the most processed in the incident themes, followed by Background and Search & Rescue themes. Although the main reason for the increase in Search & Rescue themes is the continuation of search and rescue activities for 38 days, the excessive and repetitive uses in the PGM group draws attention. Where a severe increase is seen, the background themes are the most

remarkable issue regarding their ratio to the total theme (4%), which is even higher than Soma (1.7%). Subcontracting practises, which were harshly criticised even by government officials in previous events but could not be removed, have a significant effect in this context, as do references to Soma. While DM and RNM focus on macro-level systemic issues in background themes, it is observed that all background themes in PGM newspapers focus on the company and the owner. In other incident themes, 13 of 14 themes are the news of cancelled concerts, celebrations, etc. due to the incident, while one of them is the ‘invitation to charity campaign’ theme in RNM.

When the ‘Actors’ theme group is examined, all three newspaper groups dealt with all actors, and it is noteworthy that PGM was the newspaper group that covered the actors’ themes most for the second time after the MKP incident. The most striking common feature of these two incidents is the attitude and behaviour of the mine owners that attracted much negative reaction in both. Based on this, it is understood that PGM newspapers de-emphasise the government through the bosses. It has also been observed that PGM newspapers provide too much attention to the government and victims while thematizing actors, leaving little space for trade unions, and have a more unequal distribution than the other two newspaper groups.

The company officials in the DM group where the most balanced distribution is observed, and union representatives in RNM are underrepresented. All three newspaper groups concentrate on the theme of ‘touching/selfless attitudes of victims/victims’ relatives’ in all other actors. Here, it is seen that one of the victims, Recep Gökçe’s parents, Ayşe-Recep Gökçe, stands out. Especially the words of mother Ayşe Gökçe, "My son did not know how to swim, what he did under the water," have been processed so thoroughly that they were the subject of cartoons, special news, and reviews. Lastly, although PGM newspapers generally give quite a few places to dissident actors, it is noteworthy that they rarely give place to them after Soma while they find increasing attention in the other two newspaper groups.

The Factors theme group review reveals that all factors sub-theme groups are covered by all newspaper groups. However, compared to other sub-themes, the Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions sub-theme category is covered far less in all newspapers, as are the Political Context and System-based Background & Analysis sub-themes in PGM. On the other hand, the most studied themes are systemic/structural issues in all three groups.

Within the context of political context themes, the DM group that handles factors themes most has primarily dealt with clientelism and related themes and the theme of poor policymaking capacity of the government. Similarly, while 19 of the 20 political context themes handled by RNM are clientelism and related themes, one is the theme of poor policymaking capacity of the government. In this context, there is a similar attitude between the DM and RNM groups, not only in the number of themes but also in terms of their treatment. In addition to the theme of not punishing but protecting those responsible in PGM, clientelism theme, which has been processed only once in 15 cases, stands out as one of the most striking aspects of this incident. For the clientelism theme, PGM newspapers, especially PGM-3, employ a strategy that has previously been used for various other themes: This strategy is constructed on an analysis report based on an actor somehow related to the incident, mostly third-degree. The main purpose of this news is to prevent the event from being associated with the government and even emphasize the government positively. In other words, while the government is de-emphasized in terms of responsibility, the target is completely directed to the firm, certain firms, a group of businesspeople, dissidents or any figure other than government, and "that responsible" is emphasized negatively.

For instance, in the following news, the relevant newspaper reported the statements of Ünal Demirtaş, who featured as the lawyer of the miners' families and the son of a miner, in the form of an "analysis". The "analysis" alleges that those responsible for the Karadon, Soma, and Ermenek-II incidents were not adequately punished because of bureaucrats, experts, and the judiciary. Furthermore, it is alleged that the government was victimized because of the perception in the public that those responsible were not punished because of these. Since the news is long and contains many irrelevant parts, the sub-titles and the relevant sentences are given [PGM-3-3.27]:

[SUPER-HEADLINE] **Don't let those who do it get away with it this time!**

[HEADLINE] **ASK FOR ACCOUNT**

[LEAD]

Demirtaş, the lawyer of the miners' families, said: "Due to the bureaucrats' immunity, experts who do not know their work, and the slowness of the judiciary, the lawsuits filed cannot be resolved. *The state's pledge to 'ask for an account' hangs in the air.*"

- 1) **May 2010 Zonguldak Karadon...**
- 2) **May 2014 Manisa Soma...**
- 3) **October 2014 Karaman Ermenek...**
- 4) **Profit ambition, disregard for inspection, worker health and work safety negligence bring disaster in mines.**
- 5) **Ankara binds the wounds, but when those responsible are not punished due to the blockages in the judiciary, the promise "the state will ask for an account" hangs in the air.**
- 6) This situation causes **the perception** in the society that "*those who make it, get away with it*".
- 7) **Ünal Demirtaş, a lawyer for the miners' families and a child of a miner, listed the obstacles to asking for an account as follows:**

[SUB-TITLE] IMMUNITY: [DOKUNULMAZLIK:]

8) As the public officials responsible for the accidents **are not permitted to be** prosecuted, *the files are either lengthen out or result in non-prosecution.*

[SUB-TITLE] RESPONSIBILITIES ARE UNCLEAR:

13) *Since the areas of responsibility of the state and private companies are not clearly differentiated in the regulations regarding occupational safety in mining, there is difficulty in determining those responsible.*

[SUB-TITLE] EXPERTS WHO DO NOT KNOW

20) *The reports of the experts are generally prepared argumentatively.*

23) The experts are insufficient.

24) *The judiciary proceeds slowly due to the public official's immunity, the prolongation of expert reports and other investigation processes, and even if the penalty is given, the public interest has become already decreased.*

25) *Thus, the state mechanism, which will take the necessary precautions, can be complacent.*

[SUB-TITLE] NON-DETERRENT PUNISHMENTS:

26) *Lawsuits are opened for "causing death by negligence", which is also applied in traffic accidents.*

27) The courts also punish the employer and other responsible persons who come to the court with neckties from "good conduct" with lower limits.

28) However, the provisions of "conscious negligence" should be applied.

[SUB-TITLE] SUPREME COURT CUTS:

30) After the accident, employers who know they can get away with a little compensation do not take the necessary precautions.

31) The Supreme Court has gone to extreme cuts in compensation cases in recent years.

32) While 70-80 thousand TL was given to family members for a worker who died 4-5 years ago, it has decreased to 30-40 thousand.

33) This reduces deterrence.

[SUB-TITLE] POLITICAL CLOUT:

34) In investigations, employers are trying to pressure investigation authorities and experts through politicians, especially at the local level.

35) *This pressure sometimes turns to central politicians.*

According to the PGM-3 newspaper, the government bears no clear responsibility for those who go unpunished, as seen in the news text. The expression "Ankara binds the wounds, but..." also expresses this clearly. It also fully de-emphasizes the government that needs to take the necessary action, with the following words: "Thus, the state mechanism, which will take the necessary precautions, can be complacent." Moreover, the newspaper, which targets many institutions because they solely fulfil the laws and regulations issued by the state, makes a presentation that the government is victimized because of these and emphasizes this with the following words: ***The state's pledge to 'asks for an account' hangs in the air.*** To be more precise, it claims that the Supreme Court cuts sentences, the Council of State lengthen out the courts while ignores that these institutions are only obliged to act according to the laws passed by the government.

The clientelism is processed in the last subtitle, political clout, but this theme, which is used to attack the government in all newspapers and incidents, is framed to de-emphasize the government by emphasising "politicians at the local level." While doing this, intimidation is also given to the other party in internal conflicts: As in sentence number eight, Faruk Çelik is also targeted with the issue of not granting permission to investigate. Thus,

the issue of the existence of an intragovernmental group against Faruk Çelik since the Esenyurt Shopping Mall incident is also clearly stated. Since Minister Çelik did not allow Soma investigators to be investigated, he was the subject of too much news, especially during the Torunlar incident.

Finally, the newspaper also mentions employers who disregard inspections, and it associates this with the judicial system but deliberately leaves the government, which is responsible for the legislature and the executive, vague. It should be clarified who is responsible for the mechanism that will make inspections deterrent for employers?

In summary, this news text can actually be shown as one of the best examples of PGM newspapers' naturalization and government de-emphasis in general. It also illustrates how PGM newspapers frame or construct any theme according to their own preferences. As I have exemplified this with many different themes before, PGM newspapers either ignore the negativities regarding the government or manipulate them as in the example here. Except for some special subjects or themes, a similar manipulation process has been performed for almost every theme. PGM group, which performs manipulation through a third-party actor here, uses manipulation not only with actors but also with various strategies. The most common of these are the fiction of the theme, the editing of the page, blurring and highlighting the consequences they want to give in the text by ordering, emphasizing, etc. and vice versa - which is called "expressions" by van Dijk (2006a).

In the second factor, Neoliberalism and its Turkey-context characteristics, all newspapers are interested in this subgroup. In this subgroup, PGM's efforts to protect the government were added to the efforts of the RNM group to protect the neoliberal system in a manipulative way. While the common goals of all three newspaper groups in these themes are performance-oriented working and profit/money ambition (both under performativity), it is seen that the neoliberal system is generally criticized by solely DM group. Instead of targeting the system, PGM and RNM only target a certain segment because they exploit the gaps in the system. Furthermore, while anti-performativity is the main agenda of all three newspapers in this context, PGM and RNM emphasize the news to avoid it from being attributed to the entire business world. Although they are similar in the context of avoiding generalizations to the business world, RNM specifically targets the groups close to the government in the context of clientelism while PGM leaves "some business people" vague. Finally, it is seen that the following themes are frequently discussed in all three newspaper

groups: More money/profit-orientation, performance-oriented working and profit/money ambition: greed, labour exploitation, etc.

DM handled all five themes in the sub-theme group of Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions, while PGM handled two and RNM handled one. Lack of unionization rights, which is the only common theme that all three newspaper groups deal with, is the most worked theme of DM and RNM in these sub-themes. Apart from that, it is seen that PGM and DM also handle the theme of the importance of [effective] unionization, while DM deals with all themes, including yellow union.

Three newspaper groups process all four themes in the legal matters sub-theme group. While DM and RNM handle mostly the "actions, rules & discourses" that remain only on paper/in speech under the co decoupling context, PGM mostly deals with the theme of legal deficiencies/problems/unlawfulness. Although PGM and DM groups approach all related themes more balanced than RNM, PGM manipulates many themes in this context.

In the Systemic/structural issues sub-theme group, only the DM group handles all 11 themes, while PGM focuses on five and RNM on four themes. When the most focused themes of newspapers are examined, it is seen that DM focuses on mostly not an isolated incident but a common problem (45), systemic/structural deficiencies (38) and criticism of system/order/mentality (32) themes. While the PGM group focuses on the themes despair/no alternative chance (21) and not an isolated incident but a common problem (12), the manipulation of almost all of these themes draw attention. RNM newspapers also focused on the themes of not an isolated incident but a common problem (21) and systemic/structural deficiencies (11).

An attitude is observed in the System-based Background & Analysis subthemes in parallel with the systemic/structural issues' themes. While the PGM group handles all four related themes only twice, it is seen that no themes are highlighted. While DM and RNM groups jointly highlight the analysis/report theme, DM also frequently deals with the theme of how should it be / how should it have been.

Attribution theme group analysis shows that the most handled sub-theme group by all three newspaper groups is emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company. In this sub-theme group, it is seen that all newspapers mostly focus on the themes of exploitative & malevolent behaviour of the employer, the company's negligence/fault and unacceptable working conditions. DM and RNM newspapers have a strong interest in emphasizing the

negative sides/issues of government and emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company & government sub-theme groups. It is seen that PGM's attitude of avoiding associations with the government continues here as well. In the sub-theme group emphasizing the negative sides/issues of government, DM and RNM newspapers focus on the following themes with a common attitude: negligence/lack of inspection, authorities' failure to fulfil the necessary/sufficient responsibilities and government/authorities/institutions should fulfil/have fulfilled their responsibilities. In the sub-theme group emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company & government, it is seen that three newspaper groups dealt with the theme the incident is absolutely no surprise, the symptoms/warnings were ignored! However, while DM and RNM newspapers put the primary and main responsibility on the government due to the emergence of experts warning report the Ministry of Energy against the water danger in the region, PGM newspapers de-emphasize the government by highlighting the floods that took place in the mine before.

In other sub-theme groups, self-criticism: the fault/responsibility of all of us, no negligence/fault of the company: accident caused by an unpredictable cause despite all measures taken and not only the responsibility of the state/government: everyone, especially the employer, must fulfil their responsibilities themes appear to be handled in low frequency but all three groups.

When the polarization theme group is examined, it is seen that dissident related subgroups are handled very little, while density is observed in the other three sub-themes. While the most serious density is in de-legitimize government themes in terms of DM and legitimize government themes in terms of PGM, RNM processes these two subgroups in close numbers. In the De-Legitimize government sub-theme group, the difference between the numbers of the most processed theme of all newspaper groups is striking, which is direct criticism & accusation of the government [policies]: DM; 102, RNM; 15 and PGM; 6. In this context, while six uses in PGM are handled as indirect and secondary themes, all of them are direct and main themes in DM. The second most handled theme of DM and RNM groups is rebellion discourses and/or protest acts theme. The second most handled theme of DM and RNM groups is rebellion discourses and/or protest acts theme. It is meaningful that the protest theme, which emerged for the first time in the Davutpaşa incident, is handled uninterruptedly in all eight incidents that took place since the Karadon. In addition to these, while there is no prominent theme in other newspaper groups, it is seen that the DM group

also highlighted the following themes: inviting government official to resign and sarcasm/satire through the comics, etc.

As mentioned before, cartoons are important for summarizing, which incorporate all thematic elements and embody ideological value as a political counter-discourse. For this reason, the messages highlighted by eight cartoons, seven of which are from the DM and RNM groups and one from the PGM group, are examined. The common theme of the four cartoons seen in the first picture below is to criticize the government and government officials for their actions and statements.

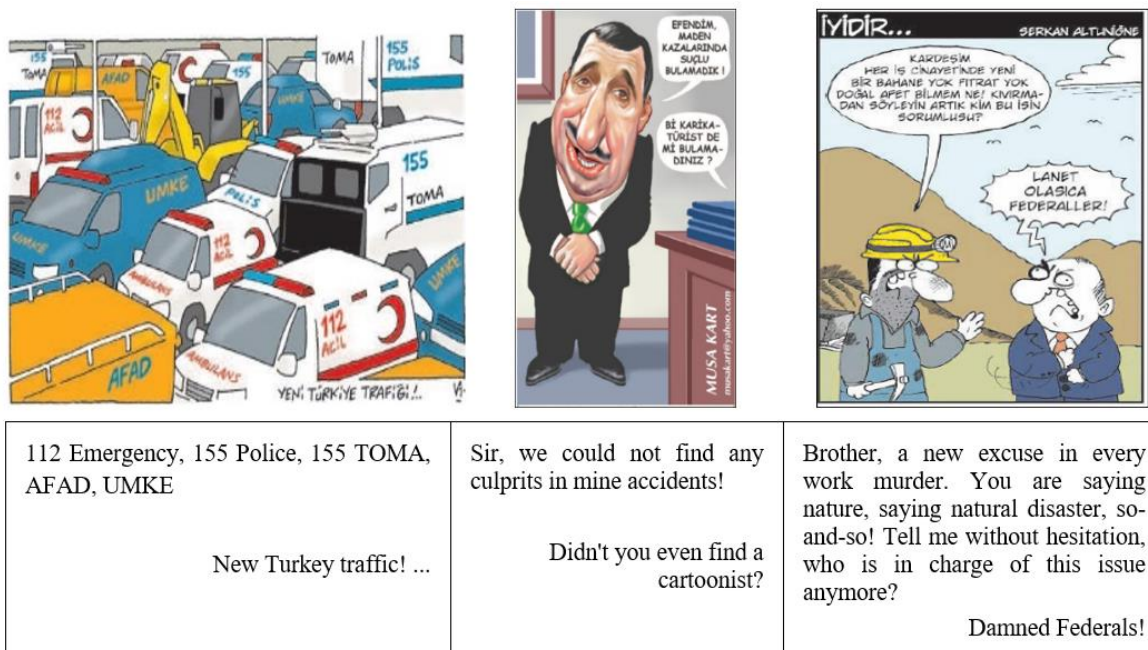


(President Erdoğan) I take the necessary lessons from mining accidents and... ... built a rescue chamber for myself!	Newspaper: The miner's mother who said, "My son didn't know how to swim!" made us cry. (Bilal Erdoğan, son of (President Erdoğan) Do not be upset, daddy, I know swimming!	What did you do for 50 people today? Minister of Labour	Minister Yıldız said, "We have no pity for someone!" for those responsible for the recent mine accident. (Minister Yıldız) We have no pity for someone! ... this should be known like that! ... (Minister Yıldız's advisor) Oh, sir, what are you doing. They are relatives of those trapped in the mine.

Picture 4. 8: Some cartoons of DM group

In Picture 4.8, the first cartoon focused on how President Erdoğan manipulated the event in line with his own interests. In the second, through the phone call alleged to have taken place during the events of 17-25 December and the words of the victim's relative, Ayşe Gökçe, the corruption issues built on the suffering of the relatives of the victims were discussed with the metaphor of "the son of the president swimming in the money". In the third cartoon, the issue of clientelism constructed on the words "50 people intervene when we want to close a mine", which is said by Minister of Labour Çelik, has been emphasised, and It is suggested that the minister's motto is "what did you do for 50 people today?" rather than "what did you do for your country today". In the last cartoon, how Energy Minister Yıldız manipulated incidents through the now-classic discourse is criticized.

While the above cartoons target actors individually, the three cartoons below focus on more systemic and structural criticisms. In the first cartoon, the discourse of "New Turkey", which was frequently expressed by the government during the incident period, was targeted, and the message that "a typical traffic flow in this New Turkey" consisted of police vehicles, ambulances, emergency rescue teams, (anti-riot) water cannon vehicles and work machines is depicted. This message, which is a part of the "police and disaster state" counter-discourse created against the "New Turkey" discourse, is one of the clearest examples of systemic criticism. In the second and third cartoons, as a result of systematic manipulative inducement by the government and PGM, the issue of protecting the main responsible is criticized.



Picture 4. 9: Some cartoons of RNM group

The common point of the seven cartoons used in the Ermenek-II incident (Picture 4.8 and 4.9) is to target the system and the government responsible for the system, and all of them were published in DM and RNM newspapers. The cartoon below was first published in the PGM-3 newspaper on the first day of the incident and on the first page with Salih Memecan's signature, and then on the second day in the DM-2 newspaper, making it a first in this context. Similar to how the government used the "solidarity time" theme to criticize the dissidents during search and rescue efforts, it seems that it caused Memecan to process this in advance. As a matter of fact, this cartoon has been published on the first day of the incident and between the news on the first page. So, even if there are any critiques of

dissidents, they should have been published on the same day or after the cartoon. Publishing a critical cartoon that criticises the criticisms prior to the publication of the criticisms inevitably elicited a response from DM newspapers. Thus, this cartoon (Picture 4.10) piqued the attention of DM newspapers enough to make it special news ([TITLE] Cartoon getting reaction from Memecan, [TITLE] Cartoon getting reaction from Salih Memecan).



Again, mine accident
Again, rescue work
Again, tears

FRIENDS, YOU'RE MAKING THE
WORK DIFFICULT.

Picture 4. 10: Salih Memecan's cartoon

In the Legitimize government sub-theme group, it is seen that the roles between DM and PGM have changed, and PGM handles most themes with a huge difference. The themes that PGM works most in this context are government/authorities/institutions [will] fulfil their responsibilities, authorities [will] take urgent measures/make necessary regulations and salary/relief to victims including aid, scholarship and so on. While the themes that DM works most on are salary/relief to victims including aid, scholarship and so on and punishment of those responsible regardless of who is responsible, it is seen that RNM mostly deals with the themes of punishment of those responsible regardless of who is responsible, government/authorities/institutions [will] fulfil their responsibilities and salary/relief to victims including aid, scholarship and so on.

It should be noted here that the handling of the salary theme also varies between newspapers again. While DM and RNM newspapers present this theme mostly critically or neutrally, PGM presents it to highlight the government positively. Moreover, DM processes only four of the 17 themes in this subgroup, while RNM and PGM groups process 11. In the last sub-theme group in the context of polarization, "Legitimize US while Delegitimize THEM" themes, 71 out of a total of 91 themes were processed by DM. While DM mostly focused on the themes of de-emphasizing the responsibilities and manipulation/propaganda [claim], it targeted the firm and the government with both themes and highlighted all opposing elements positively.

The PGM group deals with manipulation/propaganda (claim) and false information/lying to the public themes, and the target is the company and dissidents while the government is presented positively. Although there are some exceptions here stemming from Faruk Çelik, the target is presented here as vague. RNM, on the other hand, handled only two themes in this subgroup. Most of them are the theme of de-emphasizing the responsibilities, while the other is the manipulation/ propaganda [claim] theme. DM treated seven of the twelve themes in this subgroup whilst PGM focused on four and RNM two of them.

In the context of [De] -naturalization, which is the last theme group, it is seen that PGM does not handle any theme, and only 92 themes in total are processed in two newspaper groups. This ratio corresponds to almost half of the Torunlar incident, and together with factors, there are two groups fewer processed than the Torunlar incident. The DM group, which handles more themes with a significant difference in almost every incident in this context, handles approximately 87% of the relevant themes on its own. It is seen that DM and RNM groups mostly focused on not a work accident / not fate but a murder / massacre theme. The themes of fatalism and normalization of work accidents were covered only four times in RNM but 33 times in the DM group.

To summarize, in this incident, every segment has now accepted that structural problems arising from the government's policies are the root cause of work accidents. Therefore, RNM newspapers go back to their earliest times and offer problems and solutions in a balanced way, regardless of who is responsible. The PGM group has focused on harm-reduction strategies and the fatalism that still enjoys support from its own political grassroots. While doing this, they frequently use manipulation strategies and try to associate each negatives issue with the dissidents; the purpose is to clearly de-emphasise the government's negative sides and emphasize the positive sides. DM, on the other hand, continues its aggressive strategies that started with Soma. It is worth noting that DM newspapers avoid providing manipulation content to the PGM group as much as possible to avoid repeating the mistakes made in Soma. Finally, some examples of these strategies of the DM group, which always target the government by focusing on apparent and specific issues in their criticism, are as follows:

[DM-1-1.11: TITLE] Again subcontractor, again close to AKP

[DM-1-2.1: TITLE] He forgot 'Workers' rights', which he denied.

1. Forgetting that the motion on mine security was rejected with AKP votes after Soma, Erdoğan targeted the employer in Ermenek.
2. Erdogan said, "The employers could not digest the laws. The person who takes the workers' rights should be held accountable."
3. The miners' relatives reacted to Davutoğlu by telling "You are responsible. Why did you come?" **Page 7.**



Picture 4. 11: Picture of DM-1 on the first page of the second day

[DM-1-3.1: SUPER-HEADLINE] **AKP did not keep its promises after Soma. The mine boss said, "natural disaster."**

[HEADLINE] **Erdogan disaster**

1. The President's pointing to the law enacted after the Soma disaster in Ermenek brought up the AKP's broken promises.
2. The AKP, which popularized the subcontractor system, which is claimed "to be removed", and did not take steps regarding job security, also increased the daily working time.
3. CHP'li Çetin said, "They say, **'We made the law; it has happened'**. Then the worker is wailing." **Page 7.**

[SUB-TITLE] **THE LAW EXPLODED YASA PATLATTI**

4. The AKP's amendment in the mining law in 2004 was the most significant factor in the deaths caused by excessive profit ambition and public uncontrol in the mines.
5. Following the law that opened the mines to the private sector, the increase in production in private and illegal mines, which avoided all kinds of cost-increasing measures such as occupational safety training, exploded the work murders. **Page 13.**

[DM2-2.1: TITLE] **The miner's murderer the AKP order**

[DM2-2.6: SUPER-HEADLINE] **Özgür Özel from CHP criticizes Minister Faruk Çelik:**

[HEADLINE] **We've seen this movie before**

[LEAD] CHP's Özel said for Çelik's words, who criticized Turkey's mining policies after what happened in Ermenek, **"We have seen this movie before. A different discourse after every disaster."** he said.

- 1- CHP Manisa Deputy Özgür Özel pointed out that the Minister of Labour and Social Security, Faruk Çelik said, "The subcontractor system is slavery, must change" after the mine massacre in Soma, but he did not do what is necessary.
- 2- Özel drew attention to his spoke "changing Turkey's mining policy" after his first investigations about the flood in Ermenek.

3- Özel said, “*We have seen this movie before. A different discourse after every disaster.*”

[DM2-8.4: TITLE] Immerse the worker in debt, postpone it if a disaster occurs!

Finally, when other elements are examined in terms of macrostructure and microstructure, it is seen that the attitude parallel to the general evaluation and Soma incident continues. Only their frequencies are less than Soma and a little bit more than Torunlar incidents. The evaluation of the three dichotomies will be evaluated below in the context of the corpus. Continuous use of conjunctions such as ‘by the way’, ‘meanwhile’ and ‘on the other hand’ for manipulative purposes attracts attention.

5.1.15.2. Keywords and Government Officials

The statements made on behalf of the government in this incident were made by President Erdoğan, Prime Minister Davutoğlu, Minister of Energy Yıldız and Minister of Labour Çelik. The two ministers, who made the most statements, shared incident information, especially in search and rescue efforts. The censorship imposed on Faruk Çelik by PGM newspapers continues, and the least cited newspaper group to the minister is again PGM (DM: 116, RNM; 51 and PGM; 37). In order to understand more clearly the censorship applied to Çelik by PGM, it is useful to compare the rates of the citations made to Ministers Çelik and Yıldız based on the groups: Çelik; DM: 57%, RNM; 18% and PGM; 25% while Yıldız; DM: 34%, RNM; 33% and PGM; 33%. Below are the statements of Erdogan, Davutoğlu, Yıldız and Çelik, apart from incident information, respectively.

President Erdoğan: "Employers who cannot digest"

1. Especially, **we made a series of legal regulations** to treat mining-related studies in our country in a much different way after the Soma incident. With this legal arrangement, **we brought different opportunities to our workers working here. But there are employers who can or cannot digest it. It was obvious that the inability of the employers to digest them would, unfortunately, cause some problems. I wonder if the 180 workers working in these mines get all their rights in full, can they get their social rights, what are their wages?**
2. Expressing that they reduced their working hours from 8 to 6 hours due to their heavy workload, Erdogan said, "However, some of the information we have acquired here reveals that **we should seriously and differently deal with this work even more. At the moment of this incident, the pressures on workers to eat their food underground created such a problem. If you try to embody the food-related issues here to these 6 hours, the government should ask for this account. Because you cannot get this right from him.**"

3. Stating that *they expect employers and employer organizations to take stricter measures*, Erdoğan said, "*We do not find it right to act with the understanding of how we exploit.*"

When President Erdoğan's statements are examined, it is seen that, unlike his previous statements, he directly blames the company and some malicious employers without ever dealing with the issue of fatalism. In this context, although these statements without fatalism notions were displayed for the first time by Erdoğan, it is understood that Erdoğan again resorted to obvious manipulation strategies. At the beginning of his statement, he states that they (the AKP government) have fulfilled the necessary regulations, but that it was obvious that the employers who cannot digest the improvements made by the government will cause some problems. First of all, while applying an overall interaction strategy by presenting themselves positively and some businessmen negatively, they also apply macro speech act by highlighting the government's good practices and the company's bad practices (such as eating food underground). In addition, in the number one statement, while applying the lexicon strategy with specific word selection, it also applies Local Syntax by emphasizing their positive agency (i.e., we made, we brought) and the negative agency and responsibility aspects of others. The president says it was clear that there would be problems, and then says that he wondered under what conditions the workers were working. In other words, the person in control of the legislature and executive powers for the past 12 years presents himself as if he has no responsibility for any of them. In this case, I wonder who does not take the necessary precautions, although it is obvious that it will be a problem.

Continuing the manipulation in his second statement, Erdoğan seems to have reduced the incident to the issue of "workers eating in the mine". He makes such a presentation that if the workers ate their meals outside the mine, such an incident would never happen. In other words, such an incident is deliberately emphasized with a reductionist approach as if it could never happen in 5 or 5.5 hours outside of lunchtime. This indicates that this attitude is strictly for manipulation. As a matter of fact, the explanation that food is eaten below in all mines, including the state mines, and the explanation that is going up for food is too long and difficult, as Minister Çelik will express below, reveals the meaninglessness of these criticisms.

Another noteworthy issue in this statement is the expression of "the information gained here has shown that the government, in a serious sense, needs to go further on this matter". In other words, the government contradictorily claims that it has not been aware of the

situation until now, after saying that the regulations made by them were obvious to cause problems. Furthermore, the statements of Minister Çelik, who has voiced these and similar problems for more than two years and declared that they have been discussing in the relevant boards, refute this situation. Although these statements are contradictory, they are important because Erdoğan himself exemplifies their poor policymaking capacity. In the third sentence, Erdoğan, who points out those who need to take precautions as employers and employer organizations, ends his statements with his warning words. In summary, Erdoğan, for the first time, did not naturalize an incident and did not include discourses of fatalism. However, he still manipulated the incident to cover up his own responsibilities and negligence.

Prime Minister Davutoğlu:

1. *Stating that there are many deficiencies in the mines of Turkey, Davutoğlu said, "Unfortunately, it seems that adequate technological infrastructure could not be provided as there have been ongoing works in many of our mines for a long time. Our mines need to be modernized rapidly, including technological renewal."*
2. *If there is negligence of any institution, it will undoubtedly be held accountable.*

Prime Minister Davutoğlu, in his short statement, which he started by mentioning systemic problems, presents as if he had just noticed some problems like Erdoğan. It also expresses the necessary solution. Then comes the explanation of being asked to account, which is often criticized by opposing bodies and called cliché statements. The prime minister also seems to have a de-emphasis on the negativity through semantic macrostructures, speaking like a new government rather than a government that has been in power for 12 years.

Energy and Natural Resources Minister Taner Yıldız:

1. Sorry, this is not a natural disaster. To define a natural disaster here means to avoid this event.
2. (To Boss) No offence, this is not a disaster. We need to share everything correctly with the public. Especially if a flood or an earthquake occurs due to reasons beyond our control, then we call it a natural disaster. But this is not a natural disaster, friends. It means that there is a defect where there is no natural disaster.
3. We see that there is an obvious error. That is due to the business administration, and once these administrative investigations are completed, we will also share them with the public. ***I want to say that this will cost the company dear.*** Workers had warned them from time to time. They had answered, "We have a distance of 50-60 meters more. There is no problem." Depending on the soil condition, there are approach distances of 25-50

meters and in some places up to 100 meters. We are investigating how they made such a mistake.

4. Neither my responsibility nor any other person's responsibility should be negligent of any duty. ***If there is a deficiency or negligence, you already know the comments we will make about it.***
5. ***We are not satisfied with the work of Uyar Mining. If they have licenses, I ordered the abolition of these licenses after Soma. If someone, whether the employer or the official, has a fault here, nobody should doubt that it will be revealed. We will not have pity. Whether it is "Uyar" or not, we will not compromise on this issue.***
6. On the question of how the company still operates, although he gave the order as "Let the license be revoked", Minister Yıldız said, ***"It is not the same company. It is said to be a relative from his family. Under the name of another name"***.

The first four statements of Minister Yıldız consist entirely of statements made against the company's statement of "natural disaster". These explanations clarify that there were no other issues, especially natural disasters, in the realization of the incident, and the company's fault clearly caused it. It is noteworthy that these explanations are the most natural explanations to be made in the situation because, although the company was generally blamed before, a share of fatalism was always kept on the table. Here, however, these possible claims are clearly disproved; no fatalism, no naturalization. This is for the first time in the context of government statements.

In these explanations, the two underlined sentences in the third and fourth explanations draw attention differently. In the first sentence, persuasion effort is seen, and it is already known that this is not believed as stated in other events. In the second sentence, the minister stated that his interpretation is known if they have negligence. However, not only the interpretation but also the result is known. In other words, it is known that if there is any negligence of the ministry, nothing will happen; it will remain only in speech. Because it is obvious that the Minister has responsibility for ignoring the TEMA report presented to him before the incident. As a matter of fact, as stated before, Minister Yıldız clearly stated that he had negligence in the Soma and Ermenek-Incidents with the statement he made on 1 May 2015. However, he contented himself with expressing his embarrassment on this matter but did not make any explanation about the punishment required. Moreover, just two months before this confession, the Chamber of Electrical Engineers (EMO) sentenced Yıldız to be suspended from the profession for six months since the minister made misleading statements to the public and benefited personally or on behalf of a group, and hence he violated his professional ethics. In other words, when he made this statement, he did not even have the

identity of an engineer due to this punishment. Therefore, for the first time, the minister explained an incident without attempting to naturalize it. However, here he clearly concealed and de-emphasized the responsibilities of himself, his ministry and his government during the incident, and later did not fulfil its requirements despite his confession.

In the last two statements, it was stated that they were not satisfied with the mine owner and that they cancelled their licenses after Soma. However, upon a journalist's question, "How does it work if the license is revoked?" the minister stated that they are from the same family but someone else. Therefore, it is seen that the macro speech act is applied. Considering that he makes such a presentation consciously, it can be argued that he also applies semantic macrostructures and expressions.

Minister of Labour and Social Security Faruk Çelik:

- 1- **50 PEOPLE ISSUE-1:** *This is far too much suffering to bear. When we try to turn off the mine, the employer contacts 50 people. The responsibility belongs to all of us. If life is important, we close it. However, those who must warn us of danger are here. Employers deduct 5 piastres from the employee, saying, "We will pay 3 piastres to the worker". We did not give that money to be cut off. The misfortune here is that the law just came into force. If only we could have all of one's buttons without any loss.*
- 2- Çelik replied, "If they are dishonest, it is meanness [abusive content]" to the workers who complain about one's troubles by saying "We do not see the inspectors who come to inspect".
- 3- **THE SMALL MINE ISSUE:** **What I saw is that this mine should not have been licensed.** *We went down to the mine with Mr Prime Minister. Before that, 3 Ministers went to the mine. All of our jackets were drenched on our way out. Think about the situation inside. The worker is on a 35 per cent slope, going down 350-400 meters. There is no rail system, no elevator. On foot... "It takes us 45 minutes to get back," workers say. We descended 200 meters and became unable to walk until we got out. How will this worker work?*
- 4- *With such small mines, the employer does not make the necessary investment in these types of mines, where a small number of workers work and whose reserves are about to run out. It tries to keep the costs to a minimum to gain more profit and therefore avoid the costs created by the measures required by the legislation. I say that such mines should be closed.*
- 5- *It does not invest, does not bring technology. It works completely with human power. This job requires serious investment and technology. We should close down the small coal mines in Ermenek, where the accident occurred, and similar all over Turkey. Instead, production activities should continue in basins with large reserves. These places should be given to big companies that will invest and bring technology. Coal can then be extracted by minimizing risks and increasing efficiency. If we do not do this, we will inevitably encounter these and similar accidents. The most important problem*

- encountered in coal mines is the subcontractor.** Whoever makes the contract should extract that coal.
- 6- **TGNA (Turkish Grand National Assembly) is making an arrangement. Everyone, who is a citizen of the Republic of Turkey, must comply with this. However, if this new regulation creates negativity for businesses, it is the TGNA, the government, that will fix it again. The strange thing here is that the business owners start to stop the business and not pay the wages without paying even a single salary, according to the new law. This is not acceptable, and not possible to explain this either.**
 - 7- **50 PEOPLE ISSUE-2: The speech was manipulated. Could it be a request from the minister to open the mine illegally?**
 - 8- Everyone, with their workers, employers, all the factors of that province, and non-governmental organizations, take an attitude towards the operation of these mines on the one hand. As in Ermenek right now. **This is what we call 50 people.** Bringing this to the point of "50 people are pressuring, who are these 50 people", who is doing this unfortunate assessment in the environment in which we live these painful events, actually, I have a hard time understanding this?
 - 9- I am burning inside. Are we not going to speak truths? I am saying this ... 301 people died in Soma. A few days later, it was said, "reopen the mine". The worker, employer, shopkeeper, local people, everybody wanted this. In line with this demand from the region's people, 50 people, including officials, local authorities and regional deputies, demanded and pressured for opening. There were even those who attempted to contact us through our spouses, friends, and acquaintances. Despite this situation, we did not open it before. When a gallery was made healthy, we opened only that gallery. Işıklar Mine ... We opened it every day by putting an inspector on its head. Two days later, a fire broke out in that gallery.
 - 10- **ISSUE OF INSPECTION:** During the inspections in June, 8 deficiencies were found. The sanctions in the law were applied. After you land on each mine pillar, you have to drill while working. This drilling contains a depth of 25 meters. In other words, 25 metres of drilling will be completed in the pillar where the worker is working, the type of hazards will be determined at this 25-meter mark, and work will be completed accordingly. After this work is done, 25-meter drilling will be done again. We have in our findings in June that this does not happen. This had not been done. This is an important deficiency; there are also other deficiencies.
 - 11- The state's duty of inspection and audit does not mean that the employer shares its responsibility for taking the measures in the workplace.
 - 12- **OTHER CONTROVERSIAL STATEMENTS:** Here, a very harmonious and beautiful work is being carried out.
 - 13- **The main thing is that these accidents do not occur. Everyone has wishes for the absence of these. However, life continues after it happens.**

The government official who made the most statement in this incident was also Labour Minister Faruk Çelik. Since most of these statements were missing or not given in PGM newspapers, the statements in DM and RNM newspapers were prominent. It is divided into

four groups due to Minister Çelik's numerous and different statements. In addition, the first topic was divided into two groups as it was re-explained in different ways at different times.

He used the phrase "When we want to close the mine, the employer sends 50 mediators to stand in our way" in his initial statement, which will be discussed throughout the incident process, and then he had to explain it again. Minister Çelik, by continuing the trend of expressing the realities of Turkey and the system, which he started with the Esenyurt AVM incident, has consistently expressed his criticism in all the last four events. All of his first nine explanations are like that, and therefore it is thought that he is seriously uncomfortable with these situations. Even as seen in the second sentence, the minister has come to the point of using slang and swearing.

In these nine statements, Minister personally expresses critical issues such as clientelism, de-coupling, subcontracting system, the business world not obeying laws and regulations and taking advantage of legal gaps, and the performativity reinforced with the motivation to earn more. On the other hand, although the minister expresses such problems, he does not or cannot express the solution and why they cannot be solved. This indicates that he either made such statements for a different purpose or was not competent in solving the problem. These statements are maintained consistently for a long time can be interpreted as the minister was really uncomfortable, but he could not do anything to stop. However, there are some expressions in these explanations that need to be questioned much more.

The first and most striking point is the issue of 50 people. The minister, who started his statements with the words "*this is too much suffering to bear*", states that the government could not close the mines that should be closed due to business relations. Later, he also touches on the issue of small mines. Afterwards, emphasising that his first speech was misrepresented, he attempted to improve his credibility by citing the workers' appeal to the government in the Soma incident not to close the mines. It is noteworthy that the minister expressed his personal views more emphatically and directly in his statements on issues of 50-people and small mines (e.g., *I say that such mines should be closed*).

He also states that despite the regulations and laws, the business world avoids the costs caused by the measures required by the legislation and applies the subcontracting even though it is prohibited. So, the following question comes to mind. How can these problems not be solved if even the minister is so aware and complaining? To be more precise, the minister says there are obvious problems, we are aware of all of them, the solution is also

clear, but I cannot prevent it. Then, why are these business people stronger than the minister and even the law? If decoupling could be expressed dozens of times, how will the government implement the solution by just criticizing? Of course, only government officials and Faruk Çelik will be able to provide the answers to all these. However, although the purpose is not clear here, it is clear that Minister Çelik manipulated the issue for other reasons, not naturalization. Bakan Çelik applies overall interaction strategy, macro speech act, semantic macrostructures: topic selection, local speech acts, local meanings and expressions in the whole text. It is thought that the target here is the Ministry of Energy, because the mine, which he called "What I saw is that this mine should not have been licensed", was eventually licensed by the ministry of energy. Immediately after this statement, he explains in detail unacceptable working conditions at the relevant mine and illustrates them. Later, in the 10th sentence, he emphasizes that they have only the inspecting authority and that they have carried out the necessary inspections and identified the deficiencies with the words "We have findings in June that 25-meters of drilling was not done". He implies that they have done their part; the problem and accountability lie with those who licence this mine under these terrible working conditions. Afterwards, he made the following statement, which is thought to be to soften the criticism: State's inspection and supervision duty does not eliminate the employer's obligations and states that the main responsibility ultimately lies with the company.

Although Minister Çelik gave rational examples and stated that the main responsibility in the incident was not in his ministry, some uncleared situations draw attention. Explaining in sentences 4 and 5 that small mines are a problem and should be closed, the minister suggests that regions with high reserves should be given to large mining companies as a solution. In addition to these, he again emphasizes that the most fundamental problem is the subcontracting system. In my opinion, these determinations, which are absolutely correct, are problematic in that they are secondary rather than primary causes in the Turkish context. Otherwise, how can the Soma Holding and Soma incident, which meets all the conditions described by the minister as a solution, be explained? It has been revealed many times during the study that the main cause of the problem is the factors specified in this study and the decoupling that ensures the continuity of these factors.

On the other hand, in sentence 9, he states that immediately after Soma, there were pressures from the workers to open the mine back. But he avoids telling why the workers want this, or more precisely, why they have to want this. In other words, he has explained

the results but has hidden the cause. Afterwards, he spreads fatalism between the lines, saying that a fire broke out two days later despite all precautions. Hence, Minister Çelik not only directs the responsibility for the incident on other stakeholders but also manipulates and naturalizes the incident. In summary, it is significant that the minister articulates very rational problems and solutions in every case. However, it is understood that he is hiding his responsibility and manipulating the event so that it does not affect the result.

Finally, his last two statements, number 12 and 13, were taken because of serious controversy: "*Beautiful work*" in sentence 12 and "*life continues*" at number 13 have been the subject of harsh reactions and news in dissident newspapers. Since the full text in these statements is not given in any newspapers, it is not possible to make a qualified analysis here. However, my personal opinion is that the minister responded in this way with the instinct of protection in response to the criticisms made in the 12th sentence of the search and rescue efforts. Sentence number 13 is that there is an answer given by the state of anger seen since Soma.

Turning to the Corpus analysis, it is seen that the number of keywords usage is 4521, and the ratio in the total word count is 3.71%. This rate is not only below the previous Torunlar incident but also below the average of 15 events. This is the first time after the Soma incident. Although there is a proportional decrease in all three groups, it is understood that the main reason is the decrease in RNM (3.46%) and especially PGM (2.63%) groups because the number of keywords has increased in DM compared to the previous event. It is seen that the number of words used increased only 49 (approximately 1%) compared to the previous case.

When the keywords groups are examined, 1411 usages are seen in the government-related keywords and it is understood that there is an increase of 2.2 times compared to the previous incident. It is seen that the important factor in this increase is in the government-related word group. Although there is an increase in the AKP vs Ak Party Dichotomy, it is proportionally lower. Considering the dichotomy, there are 18 AK Party uses as opposed to 98 AKP uses. While the only group using both terms was RNM, DM only AKP, and PGM only used the term Ak party.

On the other hand, dissident-related keywords have 116 usages, corresponding to an increase of approximately 30% compared to the previous event. While DM uses all the related words, it is seen that the PGM group does not include the term MHP at all. While the

most used term is CHP with 97 uses, it is seen that this term is used less in the RNM group compared to the previous case.

Table 4. 64: Keywords of Ermenek-II

15. Ermenek-II (28.10.2014)					
Total word count			46808	39676	32329
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM
Government-related	AKP	AKP	93	0	5
	AK Parti	AK Party	0	6	12
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	615	349	331
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP	75	9	13
	MHP	MHP	3		8
	Muhalefet	The opposition	6	2	
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	15	2	1
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş	0	1	0
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	0	1	0
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)	38	13	5
	Sendikası	Non-union/ nonunionised	3	1	0
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union	2	0	0
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	430	323	286
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	27	3	3
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom	1	2	3
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	107	0	12
	Kaza/kader değil (.) cinayet/katliam	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	18	0	3
	Katil	Murderer/killer	6	0	0
Inspection vs Lack of	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	121	70	98
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	20	7	1
	İhmal	Negligence	35	0	14
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	86	24	42
Law-related	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	50	18	20
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	119	46	66
	ILO	ILO	4	0	0
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödöfans	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	56	14	25
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	10	1	1
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	168	69	60
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector	7	11	9
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	60	30	65
	İstihdam	Employment	5	0	0
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	28	2	0
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded			
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier	1	0	0
	Köle /Kölelik	Slave / Slavery	6	0	2
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	12	10	3
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality	13	11	4
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)	3	0	0
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media	1	0	0
Protest vs Provocation	Medya	Media	3	3	1
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest	73	6	18
	Gösteri	Demonstration			
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation	0	2	0
	Polis	Police	38	7	8
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence	1	0	0
Total Keywords			2359	1043	1119
Total keywords / Total words (%)			5,04	2,63	3,46

There are 82 usages in union-related keywords, which are the last actors, and it is understood that there is a 23% decrease compared to the previous event. It is quite

remarkable that although there are references to the terms Hak-İş and Yellow Union, there is a decrease in this group, and there is only one reference to Türk-İş. Especially when using the term yellow union, there was an expectation that there would be an increase in this context, as much more controversial analyses were made.

In the Accident vs Murder dichotomy group, there are 1224 uses and a decrease of approximately 16% compared to the previous incident. In dichotomy, it is seen that there are 119 Murder usage versus 1039 Accident usage. The murder decreased much more (about 53%), although both decreased compared to the previous event. Among the words with dissident notions in this group, there was no decrease in the word group, not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre. It is quite interesting that these words have decreased in a period when polarization and style are so harsh. The expectation was a sharp increase. The decline in the word martyrdom is in line with expectations because the government specifically avoided this issue. Finally, the oppositional keywords were used in PGM in very few and often indirect ways, but it seems that there is no use at all. This situation happened only in the Dursunbey-II incident after Davutpaşa.

A serious decrease is also observed in the Inspection vs Lack of Inspection dichotomy, where there are 518 uses. However, this decline is an expected situation because this issue was handled too much in the Torunlar incident, and the company is targeted more clearly here. While there is an increase in the word Lack of inspection in this group, the decrease in the word negligence is since Has Şekerler mining company is more targeted due to its negative attitude. The anger has turned towards the firm rather than the government or the inspectors. Furthermore, when the government's direct targeting of the company is added to this, this picture has emerged. The same is true for Law-related keywords. There is a significant decrease in this group but only an increase in Legal/Law keywords, albeit very small. It is understood that the most important factor in this is the attitude of the firm and the government's initiative of work for the ILO convention.

Neoliberalist keywords have increased by 74%, with 621 usages. While the decrease in the subcontractor word group is quite interesting here, the significant increase in the boss word group is expected due to the attitude of the relevant boss. While the production keyword, which increased approximately five times, shows the most serious shot, it is seen that the context in the DM group is mostly in the context of performativity and in the form of wild production, production ambition. PGM and RNM used relatively neutral language.

There is an approximately 35% decrease in the Systemic / Structural issues keyword group, where there are 73 uses. The only increase in this group is seen in Order/Mentality.

In the last keyword group and dichotomy, Protest vs provocation dichotomy, 153 usages are seen with a decrease of approximately 30%. The main reason for this is the decline in police and demonstration keywords. When dichotomy is considered, 97 resistance/ protest usage versus only two provocateur/provocation usage is seen. All these data indicate that the government and PGM have made some tactical changes.

4.3. Holistic Analysis

Since each case was analysed individually before, the specific issues will not be addressed again. The numerical data processed in the individual analyses are presented with a holistic perspective for comparing newspaper groups and incidents in the tables below. The analysed data indicate that DM does not have the highest statistics in terms of spared share on the first page only on the news days but it had more interest in work accidents than other newspapers in all other four data. This attitude of the DM group is rooted in the condition that DM-1 and DM-2 are also ideologically interested in these issues. Moreover, the work accidents issue stems not only from the death of workers or their attitude towards the government but also from the attention they show to workers' rights due to their ideological background. The DM-3 in the same group has different coverage and does not have this background. The opposition of the DM-3 stems only from political opposition.

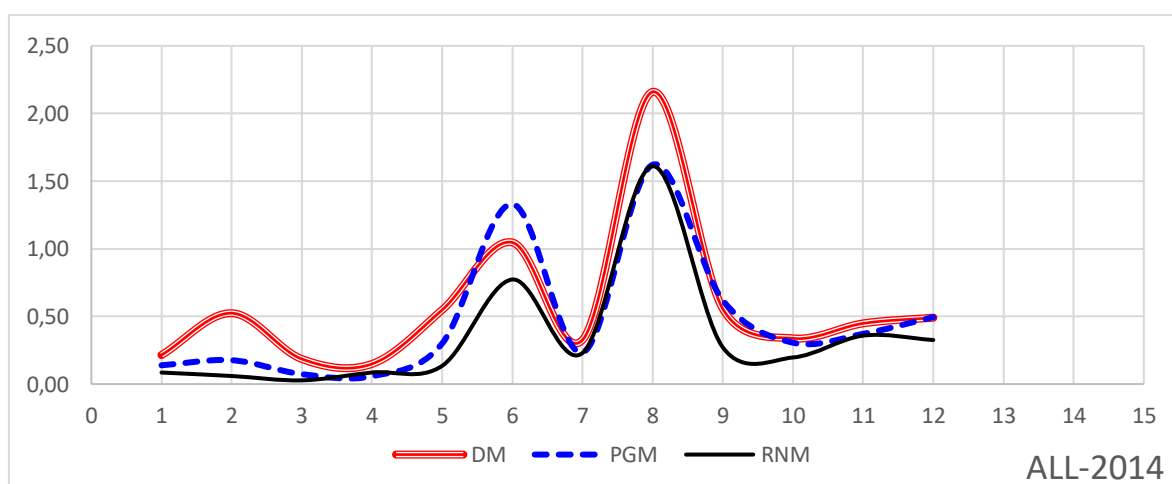


Figure 4. 4: The reactions of incidents in the pre-Soma period

Furthermore, the data showed that some incidents caused extraordinary reactions. Since different attitudes emerged during and after the Soma incident, it is more accurate to

refer to the previous incidents. This difference, which was observable only in the DM group for the Küre (2) incident, and in all newspaper groups for the Davutpaşa (5) and MKP (6), and Karadon (8) incidents. Numerical and also qualitative data support this shift. It should be noted that the data indicate that the responses to work accidents were very different in the three periods 2003-2007, 2008-2011, and after 2011.

Table 4. 65: Quantitative data of all incidents for 90-days screening period

			Examined Pages per newspaper	Average Page per newspaper	Average day made news	Average page of news in 90-days	Averages news on the first page in 90-days	Average area on first page (%) (only news days)	Average area on first page (%) (90 days)
DISSIDENT MEDIA	1	Ermenek-I	1802	20	5,0	6,0	1,0	2,07	0,02
	2	Küre	1800	20	6,0	9,0	2,0	6,44	0,14
	3	Gediz	1805	20	4,5	7,0	2,5	8,09	0,24
	4	Dursunbey-I	1620	18	4,0	6,5	2,5	7,46	0,24
	5	Davutpaşa	1588	18	8,0	12,7	3,7	35,36	0,78
	6	Mustafakemalpaşa	1571	17	10,3	15,7	6,0	6,06	0,42
	7	Dursunbey-II	1569	18	5,7	9,0	2,7	6,67	0,19
	8	Karadon	1629	18	15,0	24,0	9,0	18,46	1,89
	9	Ostim	1605	18	7,7	11,7	3,0	11,62	0,48
	10	Elbistan	1610	18	6,0	9,0	2,7	4,89	0,25
	11	Gökdere	1690	19	9,0	11,0	2,0	10,06	0,31
	12	Esenyurt AVM	1699	19	8,7	12,0	3,0	8,40	0,32
	13	Soma	1687	19	61,3	209,0	35,0	26,73	10,14
	14	Torunlar	1727	19	19,3	36,0	9,3	23,15	2,31
	15	Ermenek-II	1732	19	39,3	72,0	19,0	16,75	3,45
AVERAGES			1676	19	14,0	30,0	6,9	12,81	1,41
PRO-GOVERNMENT MEDIA	1	Ermenek-I	2060	23	4,0	4,0	0,0	0,00	0,00
	2	Küre	2160	24	4,0	6,0	2,0	12,52	0,28
	3	Gediz	2340	26	2,0	4,0	2,0	4,31	0,10
	4	Dursunbey-I	2340	26	2,5	4,0	1,5	5,20	0,07
	5	Davutpaşa	2744	31	5,0	9,7	3,3	29,30	1,02
	6	Mustafakemalpaşa	2775	31	10,3	16,7	6,7	9,25	0,66
	7	Dursunbey-II	2759	31	4,7	6,7	2,0	14,45	0,33
	8	Karadon	2986	33	11,3	20,7	8,0	16,42	1,42
	9	Ostim	2872	32	9,0	11,7	2,7	15,50	0,43
	10	Elbistan	2846	32	6,7	8,7	2,0	9,53	0,20
	11	Gökdere	2895	32	7,0	9,0	2,0	3,36	0,11
	12	Esenyurt AVM	2948	33	6,7	12,7	4,7	11,52	0,65
	13	Soma	2910	32	40	135	26	30,78	8,79
	14	Torunlar	2773	31	13,3	24,7	8,3	11,80	1,08
	15	Ermenek-II	2645	29	33,3	61,3	21,3	12,75	2,98
AVERAGES			2670	30	10,7	22,3	6,1	12,45	1,21
RELATIVELY NEUTRAL MEDIA	1	Ermenek-I	3655	41	3,0	3,0	0,0	0,00	0,00
	2	Küre	4288	48	3,0	4,0	1,0	9,54	0,11
	3	Gediz	3442	38	2,0	3,0	1,0	4,76	0,05
	4	Dursunbey-I	3518	40	3,0	4,0	1,5	6,82	0,11
	5	Davutpaşa	2926	32	3,3	6,7	2,0	32,14	0,71
	6	Mustafakemalpaşa	3295	37	9,0	13,7	4,7	10,36	0,56
	7	Dursunbey-II	3254	36	4,7	7,0	2,0	13,49	0,30
	8	Karadon	3577	40	12,3	20,0	6,3	23,90	1,59
	9	Ostim	3233	36	6,0	9,3	3,0	19,18	0,61
	10	Elbistan	3255	36	4,3	6,3	2,0	4,11	0,11
	11	Gökdere	3357	37	7,0	8,3	1,3	9,02	0,12
	12	Esenyurt AVM	3373	37	5,0	8,7	3,0	9,20	0,31
	13	Soma	3484	39	51,0	148,7	27,7	26,15	7,99
	14	Torunlar	3289	36	15,0	23,7	6,7	21,14	1,52
	15	Ermenek-II	3210	36	25,7	44,7	15,3	18,29	2,69
AVERAGES			3410	38	10,3	20,7	5,2	13,87	1,12

While the table 4.65 was prepared with 90-day data, the table 4.66 was prepared using the data from the first 14-day period for the CDA. However, both data reveal that events 5, 8, and 13 are had much higher coverage than the previous events.

Table 4. 66: Quantitative data of all incident news for 14-days analysing period

ALL INCIDENTS (14-DAY BASIS)	NUMBER OF NEWS					WORD COUNT					Total words/ news
	DM	PGM	RNM	Averages (Groups)	Total	DM	PGM	RNM	Averages (Groups)	TOTAL	
1. Ermenek-I	6	4	3	4,3	13	839	461	317	539	1617	124
2. Küre	10	8	4	7,3	22	1031	1088	804	974	2923	133
3. Gediz	15	9	6	10,0	30	2549	980	1307	1612	4836	161
4. Dursunbey-I	11	8	18	12,3	37	1922	1378	2521	1940	5821	157
5. Davutpaşa	82	84	63	76,3	229	15155	13521	10390	13022	39066	171
6. MKP	68	109	72	83,0	249	10516	14105	11457	12026	36078	145
7. Dursunbey-II	40	51	48	46,3	139	6259	6786	6822	6622	19867	143
8. Karadon	139	161	160	153,3	460	23168	23259	24495	23641	70922	154
9. OSTİM	66	67	71	68,0	204	10610	11370	14663	12214	36643	180
10. Elbistan	36	36	36	36,0	108	5751	6800	5024	5858	17575	163
11. Gökdere	34	31	32	32,3	97	7061	5262	5212	5845	17535	181
12. Esenyurt	53	60	55	56,0	168	11229	10239	7318	9595	28786	171
13. SOMA	1233	1272	875	1126,7	3380	223740	192255	128913	181636	544908	161
14. Torunlar	213	141	186	180,0	540	36622	20779	25925	27775	83326	154
15. Ermenek-II	289	293	237	273,0	819	46808	39676	32329	39604	118813	145
TOTAL	2295	2334	1866		6495	403260	347959	277497		1028716	158

Although PGM is the group that produced the highest number of news, it was found that it used a total of 55301 words which is less than DM for total word count. The average number of words per news item in the DM group was 175.7, while it was 149 in the PGM group and 148.7 in the RNM group.

Another finding points out that the PGM group made relatively more news about the Davutpaşa incident than other newspapers. It can be argued that PGM newspapers also showed less interest in these events since the rate of association with the government was low before this event.

Moreover, it was determined that the coverage of these types of incidents after Soma was much higher. For instance, the Torunlar incident in the construction sector with 10 deaths was the subject of more than twice the news related to the Esenyurt incident with 11 deaths and Gökdere incident with 10 deaths.

Each incident was discussed in detail in individual analyses, and the 10 most-treated themes were previously mentioned in the overall assessment. The focus will be on the selection of the themes and appropriate methods.

It was observed that common themes (69%) had a much higher share in the incident themes, making up 17% of the total themes. While PGM is responsible for 43% of these, the RNM group produced 32%, and the DM group held 25%. The second most utilized subtheme group was Search & Rescue, and PGM has the highest share for this theme. On the contrary,

it was found that that 52.5% of the themes were generated by DM, 29% by RNM, and 18.5% by PGM in the background sub-themes. The concert, celebration, etc. events cancelled, and the invitation to charity campaign themes are utilized mainly by PGM in the least resorted other sub-group. The differences regarding the incident themes between incidents are seen at Figure 4.5 and 4.6:

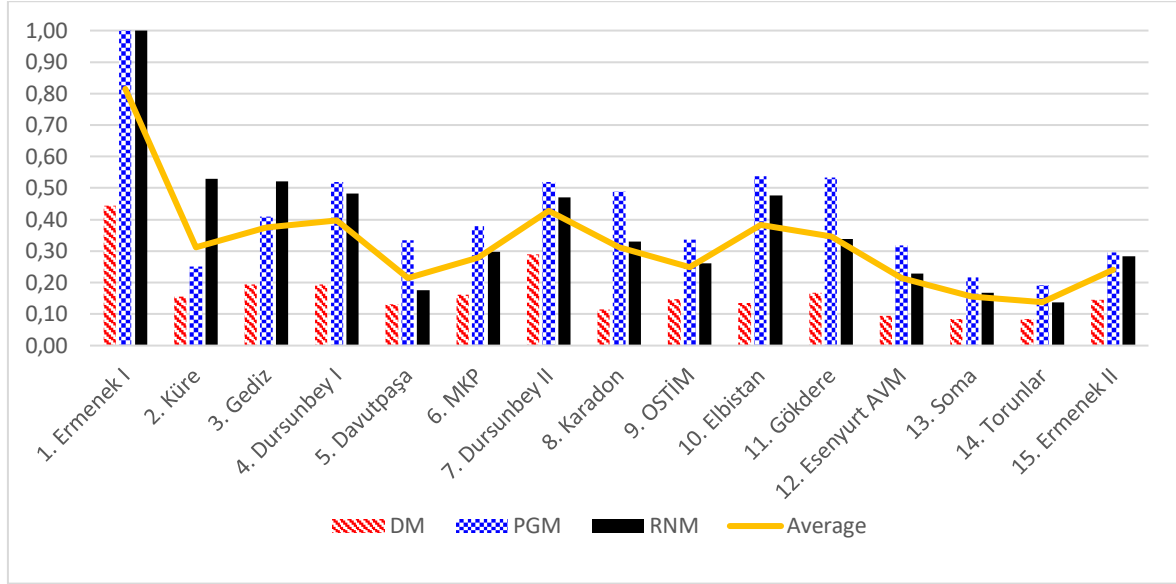


Figure 4. 5: Comparison of the incident theme ratios in total

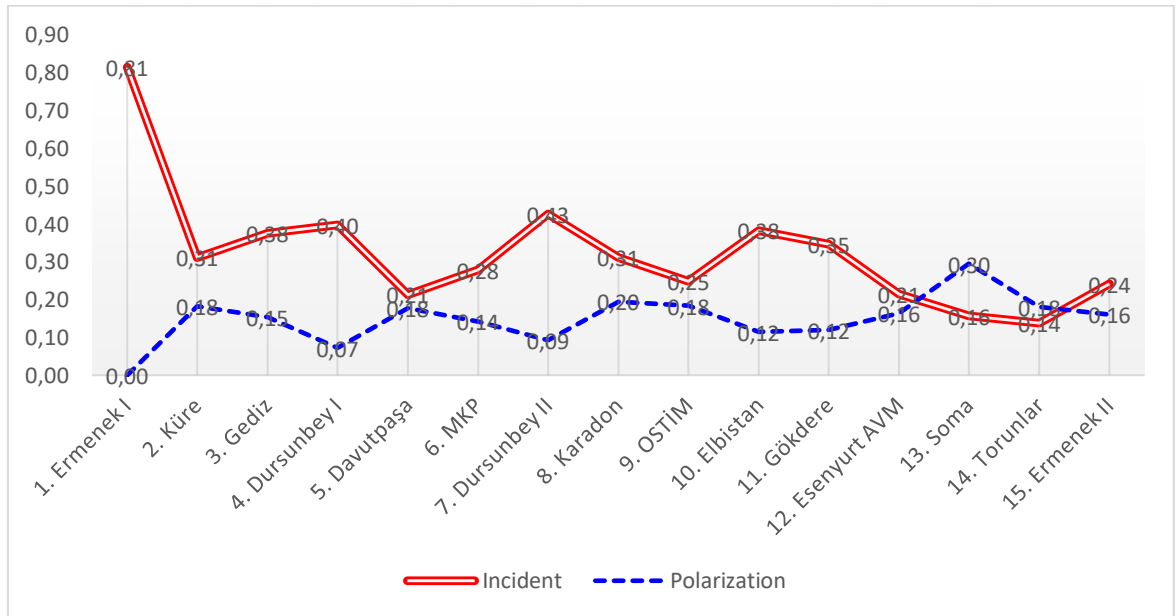


Figure 4. 6: Incident vs polarization themes' change

An inverse relationship between incident and polarization themes is observable. It has been understood that the most influential factor in this is the interest on the incident by the

newspapers. The higher news coverage on the newspapers and the harsher the polarization, the less coverage of incident themes proportionally. Moreover, PGM's use of incident themes for manipulation was also effective. The figure below, comparing the three groups' incident and polarization theme averages, illustrates that these two theme groups always move in opposite directions. Moreover, it was determined that the incident themes were proportionally below the polarization themes for Soma and Torunlar cases. Thus, the fact that the incident themes were under the polarization themes in the deadliest incident in Turkish history also supports our claim regarding the importance of the incident. Whenever the incident themes decrease, the news coverage about that incident is much higher. Besides, the importance attributed to the incident is much higher than the incident itself in such cases.

The rate in the Actors theme group is 15%. It is noteworthy that "All Other Actors" themes are the most referenced actor group, as 73% of these actors were mentioned in the Soma incident. Afterwards, government and victims & victims' relatives actors are mostly referenced. PGM was observed to be more dominant in these three most mentioned actor groups. However, it was determined that the DM group thematized actors the most, and it is the most balanced group regarding actor diversity. Referring five main actors other than the ones related to the firm have a standard deviation of 26.2 in DM, while RNM has an SD of 98.4 and PGM of 164.9. All groups mentioned government actors the most, as the Unions/Worker Groups are in the second place for the DM and Victims & Victims' Relatives in PGM and RNM. The least referenced actors are the company in DM and Unions/Worker Groups in RNM and PGM.

While the DM group utilized 5239 (more than 66%) themes in the Factors theme group, which is the highest with a rate of 27%, it was found that PGM used only 967 themes. While all three groups generally focused on the systemic/structural issue sub-theme group, they focused least on the weak and/or politicized trade unions sub-theme group.

The DM group mainly highlighted clientelism and related themes, followed by the 'poor policy-making capacity of the government' themes in the political context. There is only one theme that PGM took seriously: Partisan Media/Newspaper, in this sub-group. This is mostly used by Doğan Media in Soma to attack the media and manipulate the incident. RNM also has a parallel attitude to DM, and the theme used the most was 'link between government & the company/business wolds' under the clientelism context.

Table 4. 67: Statistics of (de)naturalization themes in all incidents

ALL INCIDENTS							
MAIN GROUPS	CODE	SUB-GROUPS	DM	PGM	RNM	TOTAL	RATIO
1. THE INCIDENT	1.1	Common Themes	867	1498	1100	3465	0,12
	1.2	Background	331	117	183	631	
	1.3	Search & Rescue	262	314	172	748	
	1.4	Other	56	66	74	196	
		Incident total	1516	1995	1529	5040	0,17
2. ACTORS	2.1	Dissident Parties	257	52	140	449	
	2.2	Government	282	381	328	991	
	2.3	Company [Owner]	85	81	81	247	
	2.4	Victims & Victims' Relatives	239	250	218	707	
	2.5	Unions/Worker Groups	275	46	71	392	
	2.6	Expert	271	133	181	585	
	2.7	All Other Actors	317	428	307	1052	
		Actors Total	1726	1371	1326	4423	0,15
3. FACTORS	3.1	Political Context	771	55	138	964	
	3.2	Neoliberalism And Its Turkey-Context Characteristics	1335	224	312	1871	
	3.3	Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions	283	49	67	399	
	3.4	Legal Matters	782	124	248	1154	
	3.5	Systemic/ Structural Issues	1595	331	657	2583	
	3.6	System-Based Background & Analysis	473	184	278	935	
		Factors Total	5239	967	1700	7906	0,27
4. ATTRIBUTION	4.1	Emphasizing <u>The Negative</u> Sides/Issues of Company	802	500	428	1730	
	4.2	Emphasizing <u>The Negative</u> Sides/Issues of Government	786	131	386	1303	
	4.3	Emphasizing <u>The Negative</u> Sides/Issues of Company & Government	272	85	147	504	
	4.4	Emphasizing <u>The Positive</u> Sides/Issues of Company	9	29	27	65	
	4.5	De-Emphasizing <u>The Negative</u> Sides/Issues of Government	6	48	10	64	
	4.6	De-Emphasizing <u>The Negative</u> Sides/Issues of Company & Government	8	8	8	24	
		Attribution Total	1883	801	1006	3690	0,12
5. POLARIZATION (DE)-LEGITIMIZATION / MANIPULATION)	5.1	De-Legitimize Dissidents/Claims	100	306	57	463	
	5.2	De-Legitimize Government	2292	204	678	3174	
	5.3	Legitimize Dissident Parties	19	9	15	43	
	5.4	Legitimize Government	164	1294	317	1775	
	5.5	Legitimize US While Delegitimize THEM	788	500	285	1573	
		Polarization Total	3363	2313	1352	7028	0,24
6. (DE)-NATURALIZATION	6.1	"Fatalism" vs Not Fate!	200	12	81	293	
	6.2	Martyr/Martyrdom	88	47	55	190	
	6.3	Normalization of Work Accidents	185	0	51	236	
	6.4	Not A Work Accident/Not Fate <u>but</u> A Murder/Massacre	614	31	75	720	
		De-Naturalization Total	1087	90	262	1439	0,05
Themes Total			14814	7537	7175	29526	1

The DM produced approximately 71% of the Neoliberalism and Its Turkey-Context Characteristics themes, which all three newspaper groups heavily covered. PGM newspapers had the least coverage (12%) in this context.

DM and RNM groups primarily used more money/profit-orientation and [anti] subcontracting/royalty & temporary employment themes, as PGM utilized more money/profit-orientation and importance of industry/private sectors. PGM's protective attitude towards the private sector is particularly noteworthy in this regard. Besides the [anti]-(neo) liberalism/liberalist/capitalist policies and [anti]-privatization themes, the performance-oriented working was used directly in the context of anti-performativity in DM. Only the performance oriented working theme grasped attention from the other two newspaper groups.

The Weak and/or Politicized Trade unions sub-theme group was mostly used in DM (71%) as this group mostly resorted to yellow (company) unions and lack of unionization rights themes. However, it also frequently covered the other three themes. RNM referred to the importance of [effective] unionization theme the most, while PGM used direct criticism & accusation of the unions in the same regard. Besides the differences observed in the frequency of in-group themes between the PGM and RNM groups, it is also substantial that the group that deals with the Yellow union theme the least is RNM.

DM's high interest in all the related themes draws attention to the legal matters themes, while the absence of deterrent laws [in practice] and "actions, rules & discourses" which remain only on paper/in speech themes were more frequent in RNM. On the other hand, PGM paid much less attention to all themes but used mainly "actions, rules & discourses" which remain only on paper/in speech and legal deficiencies/problems /unlawfulness. It should be noted here that the PGM group refrains from dealing with those responsible, even though it reveals the problems.

DM decreased in the systemic/structural issues sub-theme group proportionally. All three groups used it the most, but DM was still the group that referred to these themes the most (61.7%). DM and RNM processed all 11 themes in this subgroup, while PGM treated four of the 10 themes 6 times except crony capitalism.

DM, which utilized the 'systemic/structural deficiencies, criticism of system/order/mentality' and 'not an isolated incident but a common problem' themes with an average of 320 times as it mainly focused on these themes. The crony capitalism, fear of unemployment, and slavery [order] themes that were utilized with an average of 53 times were the least reported ones.

The most used themes by PGM were despair/no alternative chance, systemic/structural deficiencies, and not an isolated incident but a common problem with an average of 77 times. The themes that PGM, which does not address crony capitalism at all, used the least were accidents become inevitable due to basic structural problems), (counter-discourses of unemployment, insecurity, de-unionization, etc., and fear of unemployment.

RNM's top three themes are systemic/structural deficiencies, not an isolated incident but a common problem, and despair/no alternative chance with the mention number of 146. The least processed themes by this group were crony capitalism, counter-discourses of unemployment, insecurity, de-unionization, etc., and accidents become inevitable due to basic structural problems which are reported with an average of 10 times.

DM and RNM had a similar attitude in using these themes, while PGM presents it as a particular case for some groups, although it refers to it as a structural problem. The despair theme analysis revealed that the PGM presented the government as a ray of hope in despair, while the DM and RNM emphasize that it is responsible for creating this despair environment.

DM and RNM utilized the analysis/report theme the most, while PGM used the how it should be/how should it have been theme at the highest level. Six of the seven themes in this group were utilized by the DM the most, while PGM addressed the economic cost of work accidents theme the most with a clear margin. It is noteworthy that approximately 50% of these themes offer advice or solutions.

The usage rates of attribution themes, which make up 12% of the total, are as follows: DM: 51%, PGM: 21.7%, and %RNM: 27.3. The most processed subset is Emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company, which has been processed 1730 times in a total of 3690 themes. This is followed by emphasizing the negative sides/issues of government with 1303 themes. Emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company & government themes, which designate both the government and the company as criminals, were covered 504 times. Therefore, the number of themes that consider the company and/or the government responsible for the incident is 3537 (96%). Emphasizing the positive sides/issues of the company sub-group was used 65 times as most of these were based on the statements made by the company. However, the employer's innocence theme, all four of which were used in the Dursunbey-II incident, is the only theme that frames the company as innocent among all the events. Besides, it is noteworthy that there are 216 themes in the PGM group that depict

the government as responsible. However, it is noteworthy that these themes were manipulative, with very few exceptions.

It was observed that the themes used by all three newspaper groups in emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company sub-theme group to accuse the firm are focused on: the company's negligence/fault, exploitative & malevolent behavior of the employer and unacceptable working conditions. It was observed that DM and RNM groups use the negligence/lack of inspection and authorities' failure to fulfil the necessary/sufficient responsibilities themes in highlighting the responsibility of the government. The negligence/lack of inspection theme is also the most used theme in PGM, but this theme, quite rarely utilized until the Soma incident, primarily targets local governments as it also targeted the Ministry of Labour together with Soma. It was never associated with the government in either case. DM and RNM produced analyzes that criticize the government directly when necessary. It was observed that PGM used a more complementary format.

All three groups focused on the incident is absolutely no surprise, the symptoms/warnings were ignored! themes in the Emphasizing the negative sides/issues of company & government group. However, PGM still highlighted the company and offered advice to the government. It was observed that the DM group also deals with the theme criminal complaint/censure motions about firm or local government or ministers very often.

DM did not highlight any theme, while RNM and PGM highlighted the (no negligence/fault of the company: accident caused by an unpredictable cause despite all measures taken) theme in other subgroups PGM also used the (not only the responsibility of the state/government: everyone, especially the employer, must fulfill their responsibilities) theme.

Polarization themes, 24% of the total themes with 7028 themes, are the second most utilized theme group after factors. DM and RNM focused on the De-Legitimize government sub-theme group, while PGM focused on the Legitimize government sub-theme group. DM and PGM also focused on Legitimize US while De-legitimize THEM sub-theme group themes, while RNM focused on Legitimize government sub-theme group.

The individual analysis of themes revealed that PGM mostly framed its arguments with the following themes in legitimizing the government: (government/authorities/institutions [will] fulfil their responsibilities), (authorities [will] take urgent measures/make necessary regulations), (salary/relief to victims including aid, scholarship and so on),

(punishment of those responsible regardless of who is responsible), (state/government will prevent similar disasters/problems), (manipulation/propaganda [claim]), and (ugly protest/provocation/provocateur). The core arguments of the PGM were that the government would ensure that similar incidents will not happen again, it will not make victims of the rest, and efforts to create negative perceptions against the government are manipulation and provocation.

It was found that DM and RNM concentrate their main arguments around the following themes: (direct criticism & accusation of the government [policies]), (rebellion discourses and/or protest acts), (manipulation/propaganda [claim]), (de-emphasizing the responsibilities), (police state/violence: disproportionate use of force by the police) and (unacceptable attitudes/behaviors and statements by senior government/state officials ([slapping/kicking/wearing])). The main arguments of these two groups are that the government is directly responsible, trying to hide its responsibilities and unacceptable actions. Moreover, the fact that it tried to prevent the protests with the police force and manipulated the events is designated as an indicator of guilt.

DM also seems to focus on (inviting government officials to resign) and (sarcasm/satire through the comics, etc.) themes. Therefore, it was understood that DM tried to give a more meaningful message with sarcasm/satire by supporting the main arguments with the resignation mechanism.

It was found that the last theme group, De-Naturalization, was used 1439 times which is 5% of the total. It should be noted that this theme group has no subgroups and comprise only four individual themes. Although the rate of 5% is low, it is well above the average as a particular theme. Statistically, 152 themes were used 29526 times in total, and the average processing rate per theme was 194.25. However, only the Martyr/Martyrdom theme is below this average. In contrast, the other three themes have significantly above average statistics, especially the Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre theme. Moreover, these figures were reached despite PGM's pro-government attitude.

The most utilized theme is Not A Work Accident/Not Fate but A Murder/Massacre, which has also become a slogan. The DM group used 85% of these themes. Although this theme is used in each group, it is very harsh and always direct in DM, relatively harsh and direct in RNM, and very moderate and indirect in PGM.

The second most processed theme ("fatalism" vs. not fate!) was used by DM and RNM mostly in the not-fate context, while PGM mostly focuses on fatalism, which is still used sporadically.

The (normalization of work accidents) theme, one of the plain arguments of the de-naturalization context, was never utilized by PGM and always directly in de-naturalization. PGM tried naturalization by highlighting martyrdom, DM, and RNM de-naturalize by criticizing the use of martyrdom in the context of naturalization regarding the martyr/martyrdom theme.

Table 4. 68. The summary information of themes and theme groups of (de)naturalization

Number of themes & themes groups of (De)naturalization			How many times which theme was processed in each theme group					Rate of processing of theme groups in each newspaper groups		
Main Groups	Sub-Group Count	Individual Themes Count	DM	PGM	RNM	Total	Ratio	DM Ratio	PGM Ratio	RNM Ratio
Incident	4	14	1516	1995	1529	5040	0,17	0,30	0,40	0,30
Actors	7	14	1726	1371	1326	4423	0,15	0,39	0,31	0,30
Factors	6	47	5239	967	1700	7906	0,27	0,66	0,12	0,22
Attribution	6	20	1883	801	1006	3690	0,12	0,51	0,22	0,27
Polarization	5	53	3363	2313	1352	7028	0,24	0,48	0,33	0,19
De-Naturalization	0	4	1087	90	262	1439	0,05	0,76	0,06	0,18
TOTAL	28	152	14814	7537	7175	29526	1	0,50	0,26	0,24

Finally, Table 4.68 shows the distribution of all the themes covered and explained one by one above, according to main and subgroups. In the findings, it was stated that the newspaper groups had a different attitude from each other in the treatment of each main group, and it was discussed with various examples in the discussions. Although this study is qualitative, it is valuable and necessary to reveal these differences with chi-square tests. As a result of the analysis for all themes and main theme groups, significant ($p < 0.001$) differences were found between newspaper groups. The factors stand out as the most different main group.

4.4. Corpus of All Incidents

It is necessary to consider the statements of government officials in this section. However, since all of these are provided in their entirety for individual analyses, there is not going to be a repetition. Therefore, a sentence that draws attention with its use from the first incident will be discussed.

Table 4. 69: Corpus of all incident

ALL INCIDENTS						
Total word count			403260	3E+05	3E+05	1028716
Name	Keyword	English translation	DM	PGM	RNM	Total
Government-related	AKP	AKP	805	5	31	841
	AK Parti	AK Party	9	140	118	267
	Hükümetle ilişkili	Government related	4628	2664	1950	9242
Dissident-related	CHP	CHP	586	157	219	962
	MHP	MHP	37	32	46	115
	Muhalefet	The opposition	64	36	15	115
Union-related	DİSK	DİSK	206	17	35	258
	Hak-İş	Hak-İş	8	6	4	18
	Türk-İş	Türk-İş	97	47	38	182
	Sendika / l	Union (labour)	709	293	205	1207
	Sendikası	Non-union/ nonunionised	46	8	9	63
	Sarı sendika	Yellow (company) union	11	1	0	12
Accident vs Murder dichotomy	Kaza/facia	Accident/Disaster	3441	3382	2506	9329
	Fıtrat/Kader/takdir-i ilahi	Fate / Destiny/Act of God	394	90	183	667
	Şehit/Şehitlik	Martyr / Martyrdom	140	415	195	750
	Cinayet/iş cinayeti/katliam	Murder/work murder/massacre	1312	59	118	1489
	Kaza/kader değil (,)	Not an accident/a fate but a murder/massacre	233	14	85	332
	Katil	Murderer/killer	103	14	16	133
Inspection vs Lack of inspection	Denetim/Denetleme/Kontrol	Inspection/Control	996	587	625	2208
	Denetimsiz/lik & Denetim eksikliği	Lack of inspection	105	29	37	171
	İhmal	Negligence	271	262	181	714
	Sorumlu(lar)/Sorumluluk	Responsible (s)/Responsibility	907	447	386	1740
Law-related	İş güvenliği - işçi sağlığı / güvenliği	Occupational safety /worker health	583	418	233	1234
	Yasa/l-Kanun-Hukuk	Legal / Law	800	516	371	1687
	ILO	ILO	96	65	48	209
Neoliberalistic	Taşeron/Taşeronluk/ Rödövens	Subcontractor/Subcontracting/ Royalty	908	240	461	1609
	Özelleştirme	Privatization	179	13	30	222
	Patron/İşveren/ Sermaye	Boss / Employer /Capital	691	448	247	1386
	Özel işletme /şirket- Özel Sektör	Private enterprise / company - Private Sector	190	109	126	425
	Üretim (kayıtdışı ve vahşi üretim dahil)	Production (including unrecorded and wild production)	478	282	375	1135
	İstihdam	Employment	57	44	30	131
Systemic/Structural issues	Kâr / Kâr hırsı	Profit /Profit ambition	217	43	34	294
	Kayıtdışı	Unrecorded	75	62	21	158
	Rant /Rantçı	Rent/Rentier	44	30	14	88
	Köle/Kölelik	Slave / Slavery	52	7	16	75
	Köle/lik - Sömürü düzeni	Slavery - Exploitation order	85	24	21	130
	Düzen/Zihniyet	Order / Mentality	95	27	15	137
	Yandaş (+Hükümete /AKP'ye yakın/ AKP Zengini)	Partisan (+ Close to the government / AKP or AKP Rich)	99	2	5	106
	Yandaş Medya or AKP/ İktidar / Hükümet Medyası	AKP/Government/Partisan Media	43	0	3	46
Protest vs Provocation	Medya	Media	155	128	56	339
	Direniş/Eylem/Protesto	Resistance /Protest	1133	251	408	1792
	Gösteri	Demonstration	68	45	66	179
	Provokatör /Provokasyon	Provocateur / Provocation	39	84	11	134
	Polis	Police	614	124	245	983
	Polis devleti/şiddeti	Police state / violence	63	4	6	73
Total Keywords			21872	11671	9844	43387
Total keywords / Total words (%)			5,42	3,35	3,55	4,22

The corpus indicates that the specified keywords are used 43387 times. This ratio, which corresponds to 4.22% in the total number of words, is 5.42% in DM with 21872 keywords. When Soma-specific ones are included in these general keywords, the number of words increases to 44853, and the rate is 4.36%.

The group-wise analysis shows that the most used keywords are Accident vs. Murder dichotomy with 29% and Government-related keywords with 24%, while the least used groups are Dissident-related keywords with 3% and Systemic/ Structural issues with 2%.

A total of 10350 uses were determined in the Government-related keyword group, including the AKP vs. Ak Party dichotomy. There is 267 Ak Party reference against 841 AKP connotation. It was observed that the DM group refrained from using Ak Party and the PGM group was particularly reluctant to use AKP. The RNM group acted neutral in this context as the government wants it to be called the AK Party, and the newspaper complies with it. The use of the government-related keywords by the DM most indicates that it is aimed at emphasizing the government's responsibility.

Dissident-related, one of the least used keywords, has a total of 1192 uses, of which 962 (approximately 81%) was as CHP. When the indirect uses in the opposition discourse are added to this calculation, the CHP's activity on this issue stands out. However, what is even more interesting is that the MHP keyword was used only 115 times and was attributed to MHP only 2 times in opposition terms. The CHP was mentioned at least nine times more than the MHP on average in every event.

The last actor group as union-related keywords was referred 1740 times and represented with 4%. 1207 (69%) of these mentions are as union. The three major trade union actors DİSK, Türk-İş, and Hak-İş, have been addressed 458 times in total and more than 56% of them mention DİSK. Türk-İş is approximately at 40%, while Hak-İş's rate is 4%. Hak-İş is almost non-existent in these 15 incidents.

Although used only 12 times in the process that started with Soma, Yellow Union is very important because this question is expressed with this single term. Furthermore, the theme of the Yellow Union was actively used since the Karadon event, but its emergence as a concept occurred in the Soma incident.

The Accident vs. Murder dichotomy group is the most used group with 12700 keywords and a ratio of 29%. Undoubtedly, the accident/disaster keywords used 9329 (73.5%) times are very effective. The second most used one is Murder/work

5. DISCUSSION

The fact that work accidents are becoming more threatening in Turkey requires analysing several issues as a whole. The preliminary readings in this context hint at four factors behind work accidents. However, the reasons behind why these four factors, valid in most countries, cause more deadly accidents in Turkey have been limited. Previous studies have shown that a naturalization mechanism performing with the help of legitimization is the main reason behind the more deadly scenarios in the Turkish context. This study analysed these factors and the naturalization process through the CMS and CDS. In the findings section, the collected data are analysed, and here the results indicated by these findings are discussed. This study shall comprise the following; factors, the naturalization process and methodological issues regarding the CDS results and CMS discussions.

Factors

Table 5. 1. Data of Factors' Themes

		DM	PGM	RNM	TOTAL	Total %	Factors /All themes
FACTORS	Political Context (9 themes)	771	55	138	964	0,12	0,27
	Turkey-Context Neoliberalism (11 ts)	1335	224	312	1871	0,24	
	Unions Matters (5 ts)	283	49	67	399	0,05	
	Legal Matters (4 ts)	782	124	248	1154	0,15	
	Systemic/Structural Issues (11 ts)	1595	331	657	2583	0,33	
	System-based Background&Analysis (7 ts)	473	184	278	935	0,12	
	Total	5239	967	1700	7906	1,00	
% of factors themes		0,66	0,12	0,22			

It shall be helpful to discuss whether the topics listed as factors, which have been examined in several studies for their impact on work accidents, in the study are supported by the collected data. The literature review indicates that there are four main factors behind the frequency of work accidents in Turkey. These are the political context that is heavily influenced by statist polity (i.e., Heper, 1985; Heper and Keyman, 1998; Karadağ, 2013; Öniş, 2004; Öniş, 2012; Özen and Akkemik, 2011), neo-liberal policies intertwined with political context (i.e., Çeviker-Gürakar, 2016; Kurul, 2012), legal (i.e., Çetin and Karatay-Gögül, 2015; Özveri, 2015) and union-related issues (i.e., Gürcan and Mete, 2017). It was

thought that cultural characteristics can also be considered a factor but regarding it as a mechanism that affects the whole rather than a separate factor as these cultural characteristics are also active in all the factors mentioned above.

The collected data regarding the factors shows that all four of them are often covered in newspapers. A total of 7906 factor themes were processed, equivalent to 27% of the total themes in 15 incidents. It seems that factors themes are more processed than all other theme groups, even more than the incident themes (24%), which have been processed 7028 times. Even this finding alone shows that the hypothesis regarding the factors is verified. A 66% of these themes were utilized in the DM newspapers. There are differences in theme usage and manipulative construction in PGM to hiding or de-emphasizing the issue is common. Nevertheless, this also does not change the fact that the incident is considered a problem but rather indicates it is important. The corpus review also revealed that factors-related keywords accounted for 26% of the total keywords, while the proportions in newspaper groups were quite close to each other as DM: 27%, RNM: 24%, and PGM: 24%.

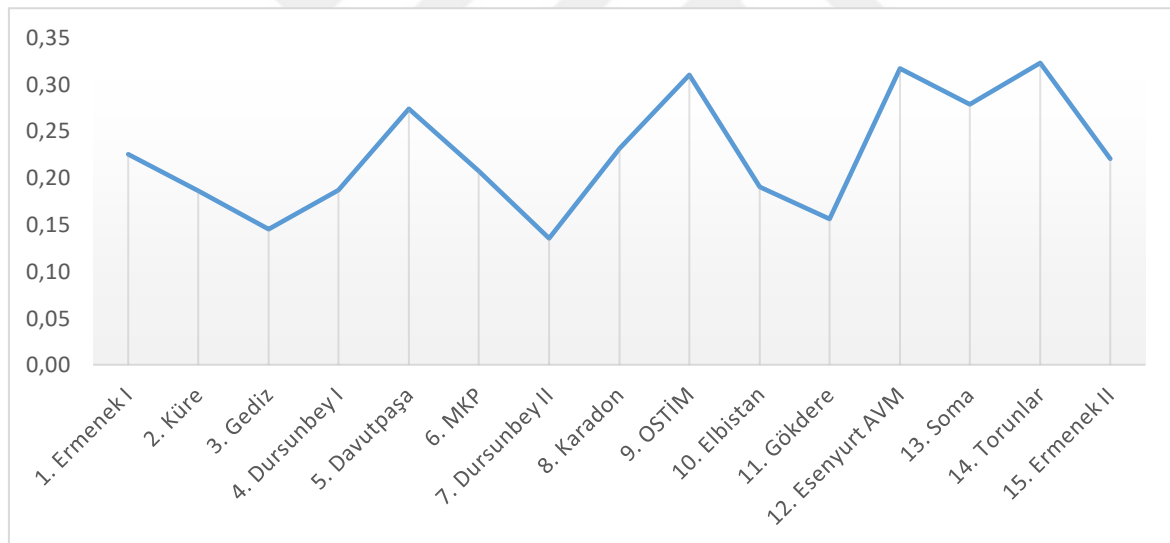


Figure 5. 1: Per centage of factors themes in each incident

The factors themes' share did not fall below 14% in any incident, as available in Figure 5.1, while this lowest rate was observed for the Dursunbey-II incident. The highest rates were observed in Esenyurt and Torunlar incidents as 32%. During the post-Davutpaşa period, with intense polarization, the share of factors fell below 20% only in the incidents of Dursunbey-II, Elbistan, and Gökdere. The common feature of all three incidents is that they are exceptions, as the reasons behind them were elaborated in the findings chapter.

There is also a common point in the incidents with the frequent factors theme. It was observed that the factors themes were more prevalent during the incidents that occurred in other sectors than the ones in the mining sector. A total of 10 incidents occurred in the mining sector, of the 15 incidents in the research sample. In contrast, three of the other five occurred in the construction sector, and two occurred in production facilities in industrial zones. The incidents with the highest utilization of the factors theme were Esenyurt and Torunlar with 32%, OSTİM with 31%, Soma with 28%, and Davutpaşa with 27%. Only the Soma incident in the mining sector had a high rate of factors mentions, while the construction and industrial sector incidents, three of which take place in Istanbul and one in Ankara, had high rates. This might indicate that factors are more addressed during incidents in large cities or outside the mining sector. Therefore, work accidents in such cases and the factors behind them are more focused. Moreover, the relevant data indicate differences in mining and other sectors in the dimensions of fatalism, normalization, and naturalization. Even the most dissident newspapers appear to have mentioned the factors less than, for example, an incident in the construction sector, and in the context of de-naturalization, incidents in this different sector have attracted higher reactions. Consequently, this indicates the impression that work accidents in the mining industry are considered more "usual" is widespread.

If the factors are analysed separately, it is observed that trade union issues are less addressed and that detailed analyses and criticisms are made on this issue in every context, especially after the Karadon incident. The neo-liberalist issues attracted the most attention among the four factors. Another feature of the themes associated with neo-liberalist issues is that it is the only theme group constantly processed without interruption from the first to the last.

Suppose the systemic/structural issues that process at least two and primarily three factors together and the analysis themes in this context are shared to the related groups. In that case, it can be observed that the neo-liberalism-related themes were processed 3371 times (43%) as legal matters were used for 2079 (26%), political context themes 1737 (22%), and trade union issues for 719 (9%) times. Therefore, it was determined that every factor is verified.

It seems that the most common distribution, presented in Figure 5.2, is the issue of systemic/structural issues, followed by neo-liberalism. It seems that these two factor groups differ significantly from other groups. A maximum share of 22% is observable in other groups, while the rates can rise to 65% in neo-liberal issues and up to 79% in

systemic/structural issues. It seems that the periods in which neo-liberal issues are most often processed are the Küre and Gediz periods. The criticisms of the privatization policy, in particular, were the primary motivation of the dissidents in this context. In other incidents where neoliberal issues are discussed intensively, it is understood that the subcontractor system is the main criticism point besides privatization.

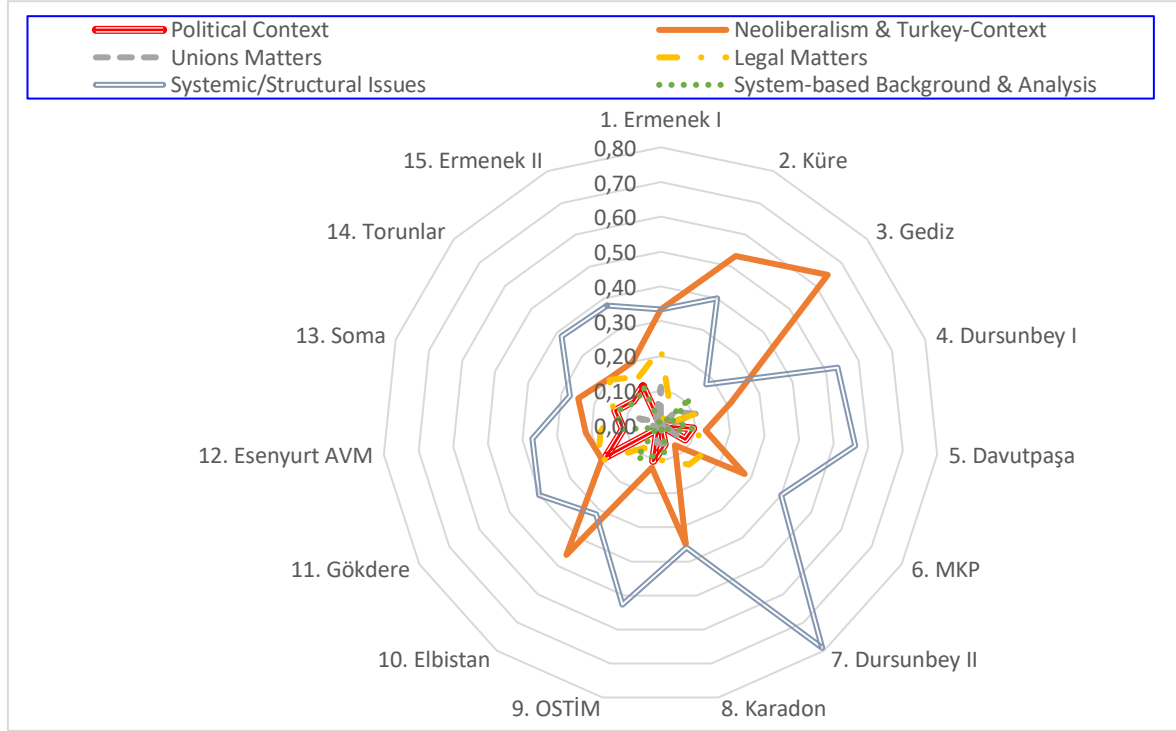


Figure 5. 2: Incident-based distributions of factors

Dursunbey-II is the incident after which systemic/structural issues peaked, which significantly increased after the Dursunbey-I incident. This incident is an exceptional case due to the positive attitude and behaviour of the company and the owner of the company, which were elaborated in detail on in the findings section. Therefore, the firm was targeted much less in this case, and when the firm could not be blamed as much as it is typically, it led to focusing on systemic issues much more.

Here it is also necessary to mention another point that is supported in terms of all relevant data. The data and discourses appear to differ over three different periods between 2003 and 2014 when 15 incidents occurred as a) 2003-2007, b) 2008-2011, and c) 2012 and beyond. For example, the factors processing rates show that only 69 factors themes were addressed in four incidents between 2003 and 2007. However, this rate increased to 1069 in six incidents between 2008 and 2011 and 6746 in five incidents between 2012 and afterwards

(1949 in four incidents except for Soma). Everything differs from the style to the way the incident is presented among these three periods. As the government's power and polarization in society increases the dosage, the way incidents are handled, and the discourse in the news are significantly differentiated. The fact that these periods match the periods of AK Party governments also confirms this.

There has been remarkable research on polarization in the Turkish context during recent years (i.e., Aydın-Düzgit and Balta, 2018; Erdoğan & Semerci, 2018; Esmer, 2019; Ferguson, 2014; Keyman, 2014; Özler & Obach, 2018) and almost all these attempts indicate that polarization is becoming more widespread and rigid. As Erdogan (2016, as cited in Esmer, 2019: 140) found that 74% of people do not even want their children to play with their peers if they have parents who defend different political views. This polarization and its increasingly intensified state are also evident in the data, and an increasingly hardened attitude is observable in the three periods mentioned above. For instance, both the DM and the RNM were not directly targeting the government in the first four incidents, but its policies, especially privatization. The discourse of all parties was decent, and the discussion was usually about the issues. However, the Karadon incident changed attitudes of the DM and the PGM as they directly targeted the government and dissidents, especially the main opposition party. Besides, the discourse of all parties also became tougher than ever and lost the moderateness. Moreover, almost all newspapers targeted individuals and institutions apparently and did not focus on the issues.

The reasons above indicate that the axis is shaped around the government in attribution and polarization phases and theme groups. DM newspapers are trying to de-legitimize the government and its policies that they attribute responsibility to government, while PGM is trying to legitimize the government. The formation of the axis around the government also indicates that the issue is not an isolated incident specific to the related firms but rather a systemic or structural issue at a broader scale. Therefore, the study data show that not only the effectiveness of the factors behind work accidents but also the process that begins with the factors impact the attribution and polarisation phases and supports a result that is consistent with the literature. The impact of these factors on the naturalization of work accidents will be examined in the context of CDA and CMS.

Main Discussions and Improvements

The factors behind work accidents cause fatal accidents in Turkey with increasing momentum. However, while these factors shed light on the process that led to these accidents, they do not explicate the aftermath. Moreover, it does not explain why, despite the designations such as massacre and murder, political and/or social reactions were not given to the incidents that caused such severe social wounds, with effective or wider participation to put an end to them. Therefore, it is necessary to question this process and examine how all possible abuses of power, domination, and inequality are produced and reproduced by text and speech in a social and political context. Similarly, understanding how and why work accidents with a high number of fatalities are reflected in the printed national news, which represents the most common social base in Turkey, becomes essential.

This section aims to discuss what kind of domination and inequalities are observed, how responsible parts and acts are legitimized, and which precautions may have been taken. The CDS and CMS (CT) are utilized as CMS endeavours the gradual development of communities and workplaces to create free societies where everyone aims to contribute to the system's production. Besides, the CDS also aims to comprehend social inequality, expose and ultimately resist it. These two approaches have a highly overlapping structure with the study.

Previous studies propound that abuse of power in Turkey occurs at the level of government, which is considered the peak of the state. Even Dağtaş (2019: 277-8) stated that the media outlets close to the government in Turkey has reached a market share of 95% and has started to work as "propaganda machines" for the President Erdoğan and the AKP government under the veil of "media diversity," suggesting that the government has established its hegemonic order. Fournier and Grey (2000) argued that CMS cannot accept legitimization or naturalization of inequality or a hegemonic interaction based on nature, necessity, etc., and will resist it regardless of the status quo. Moreover, van Dijk emphasized that (1993b: 252-253) the CDA researchers aim to reveal unequal relationships within the social structure and struggle against these inequalities by taking a political stance. Therefore, in the Turkish context, by observing and explaining the relationship between social structure and discourse through the CDA, it is possible to reveal the backgrounds of traditional and widely accepted concepts and possible hegemonic orders, which is one of the main aims of the CMS. One of the main arguments of this study is that the government has an active role in legitimising and naturalising work accidents, and in this process, it uses its own media for

this naturalization. Therefore, it was deemed necessary to reveal this. For this disclosure, the role of the government and the national media, especially the PGM, in legitimizing and naturalizing work accidents was examined by critical discourse analysis.

This study implemented van Dijk's Socio-Cognitive Model, which analyses, i) the components and structures of a text, discursive, lexical semantics and selection, (ii) such discursive structures, and how their ideology is interpreted by socially shared knowledge and mental models of the underlying language can influence users; (iii) how functional are such claims, and cognitions underlying them in the reproduction of social and political power relations and inequalities (van Dijk, 2009). Besides the Socio-Cognitive Model, thematic analysis, corpus, and manipulation model have been conducted to strengthen the model and to eliminate its potential weaknesses in comparing multiple texts simultaneously within a standardized manner. These are not separate analyses but are designed as complementary models attached to the primary method.

The analyses revealed that there is a naturalization process comprising five phases. Moreover, there are specific mechanisms that start with justification and continue as legitimization in the transition from the first to the second phase. Therefore, it has been observed that there is a mechanism or structure in which CMS and CDS researchers are opposed to its legitimation and naturalization. The analyses of macro and microstructures in van Dijk's CDA model for the naturalization process and the results of our study will be explained with the cases of a naturalization process. The implemented methodological improvements in examining these structures are detailed in the following section.

Methodological Improvements

van Dijk asserted that macrostructure analysis is the most critical stage of CDA and is the intersection between critical discourse analysis and the sociocultural approach. Sociocultural practice includes work accidents in Turkey and discourse conventions, hence producing and consuming printed news media. In media analysis, the news texts aim to show the relationship between production levels and the broader social context (van Dijk, 1988b, 1988a, 1991, 1993b) and it not only examines the news in terms of a textual and structural review of the news, but also analyses and explains it at the level of comprehension and production dimensions (Ülkü, 2004: 374). Moreover, since discourse is always linked to other discourses produced in earlier times (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258–259), every

discourse is historically produced and interpreted to provide structures of domination that are legitimized by the ideologies of elite groups (Dursun, 2007: 341).

The collected data verify all of the points emphasized for the macrostructure. However, the abundance of data in the implementation process and its span over a long period required a different analytical setup. The CDA is often practiced as an in-depth study of a small number of texts and reveals ideological justifications at particular times and settings. However, the most effective analysis of news published on the same subject and spreading over a long period necessitates a different methodological modelling.

This thesis standardized the thematic structure dimension of macrostructure analysis by adding thematic analysis to make the incidents analyses for 15 different cases more readable and comparable. It became possible to analyse the first incident and the 15th incident through the same macrostructure themes. It also enabled feasible assessment and comparisons regarding specific issues. For instance, background and context information, as van Dijk hints at in many of his works (i.e., van Dijk, 1988b, 1988a, 1991, 1995b, 2007, 2009), are the most critical dimensions of CDA as this study also confirms this. Still, it is very different from just analysing the background information in an incident to evaluate the constantly reproduced background information or the highlighting and hiding strategies on the same issue. The standardized and longitudinal comparison is essential to understand that top government officials produce and re-produce ideologically. The standardization, which was first conducted with a data-driven context and supported by the theoretical framework in the (de)naturalization process, ensured that the constraints emphasized above were eliminated and allowed us to handle all 15 incidents in the same way.

Moreover, the standardization model similar to thematic analysis was made for the lexical style examined under the microstructure as keywords and dichotomy comparisons through the corpus, again with a data-driven approach, became possible. This auxiliary method is used in several studies recently with the expression of corpus-assisted CDA, and it has been designated valuable by several attempts.

Finally, a standard comparison was provided in this respect using the manipulation model developed by van Dijk (2006a) to analyse the newspaper and government officials' statements. This manifests itself in van Dijk's comparison of mental representations, usually between Us (expressing positive terms) and Them (expressing negative terms), (van Dijk,

1995a: 18) enables testing through all actors. Some examples will be highlighted below when necessary.

Macrostructure analysis is the most critical dimension of CDA, and it is the structure that illustrated the extensive framework in general. The collected data revealed that some very critical data might be reached even only through the macrostructure analysis. However, the incident comparisons show that some elements require more attention than other elements. For instance, a review of macrorules on headlines and titles indicates that almost constantly and, in all cases, all newspapers use similar deletion, generalization, and construction strategies. However, these cannot be grasped by examining the incidents individually but reviewing a large sum of news makes it possible. For instance, the only exception is its use for satire rather than summarizing during periods of increased polarization, which can only be revealed if there are different levels of polarization through a longitudinal examination. Besides, no exceptional case is observed in any newspaper, except for usage in the general literature, and there is no finding that there is a significant difference among newspapers. Therefore, examining this rule is not considered as important as analysing background info and themes. Thus, in this study, I have preferred to approach the dimensions that add a semantic difference in more depth.

(De)Naturalization Process

The use of the connotation (de) means that the process works in the same way in both directions, which is both naturalization and de-naturalization constructed in the same way. Finally, the denaturalization process is used as a broader concept that includes the denaturalization principle of CMS. Denaturalization in CMS refers to being opposed to the idea of the seemingly immutable ‘realities’ and ‘rationalities’ of managerialism or mainstream management theories. However, the denaturalization process in the study includes the denaturalization principle of CMS and refers to the naturalization of a phenomenon before the organization or society.

The applied CDA analysis reveals that all PGM newspapers produced news for naturalization and all DM newspapers for de-naturalization with several elements in both macrostructure and microstructure. Three out of four RNM newspapers primarily focused on de-naturalization, as naturalization notions similar to PGM are occasionally observed in the fourth HaberTürk newspaper. Moreover, periodic differences are observed in both the naturalization strategy and the processing of the PGM newspapers, while the de-

naturalization efforts of the DM and RNM newspapers are almost the same. However, the (de)naturalization process is same in all newspaper groups without exception.

Instead of discussing the CDA and (De)Naturalization Process separately, CDA is addressed within (De)Naturalization Process where necessary, for the sake of both avoiding repetitions and facilitating the comprehensibility of the process. The CDA findings are already analysed within individual CDAs and the general framework analysis in the findings section. Thus, if there are situations that solely affect (de)naturalization, they are analysed in this section. The (De)Naturalization Process consists of five stages: mutual mourning, attribution, polarization, sedimentation, and latency. These phases are not in a cascaded form but in a structure that starts sequentially and continues intertwined with varying intensities until the end of the process. This process was developed entirely based on the study data, and its phases and features are as follows and, the (de)naturalization process found in this study can be summarized as in Figure 2.6:

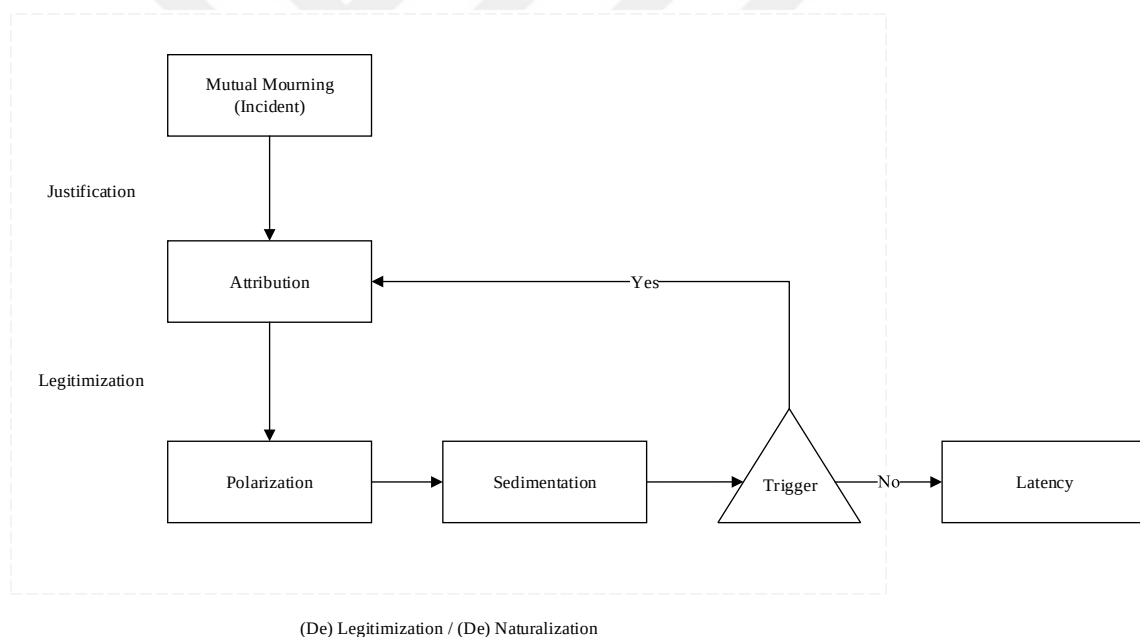


Figure 2. 5: Proposed process of (de)naturalization

Phase I: Mutual Mourning

What is the incident: This phase processes what happened as a news report. In this shock period, when the effect of the incident is still very new, there are important deficiencies in the information about it. Regardless of group differences, the main theme of all newspapers are the incident itself, and the news usually tries to tell what the incident is.

In other words, the issue of newspapers is not to report a problem and/or an issue but to report the incident news according to the relevant news criteria.

At this phase, the news content only focuses on the incident's existence that triggered it, and the focus themes are common themes, dead and injured workers, worker relatives and suffering, severity/weight of the incident and information about the incident. The most observed themes are mostly common themes. The vast majority of all news on the first day consists of the themes of mutual mourning which gives its name to this phase, and the submission incident info. There is no difference between the newspapers regarding the treatment of these themes, but the purpose of their treatment may change over time. Instead of news about controversial issues, persistent and prolonged treatment of the incident themes can be used to manipulate the incident. These themes are generally not used to (de)legitimize or (de)emphasize any issue or person, but if such a use is in question, it indicates a divergence of purpose: Certainly, something is being tried to be hidden by highlighting the incident itself or its pain. This phase, which starts with the first news on the first day, ends with the last news on the last day.

The key issue in the transition from the mutual mourning phase to the attribution phase is how to justify the incident. Justification, which frames the news, is the first step that opens the way to naturalization and shapes the attribution phase. The first rationalization data in the context of de-naturalization are also seen here. Justification starts here and continues until the end of the process.

The following elements are noteworthy in the mutual mourning phase in the CDA context regarding macrostructure or microstructure. Although each newspaper constructs the thematic structure by its ideological stance, (de)naturalization notions are rarely evident in this phase. Exceptions to this are mostly observed in the Soma and post-Soma periods. Since the political polarization reached its peak during the Soma period, (De)Naturalization notions are encountered even in the mutual mourning phase. The situation in schematic structures is similar to thematic. In terms of mutual mourning phase, especially the comment part is the same in all newspapers, but in the situation section, it was found that PGM newspapers resort to hiding background information even in this phase. The only significant application of the (de)naturalization process is observed in lexical selection of microstructure. The newspapers expose their attitudes from the first phase, as the (de)naturalization process DM and RNM newspapers' anti-naturalization phraseology and PGM newspapers' discourse for naturalization are observable from the first day. This

situation began with the Küre incident, took a role in the discourse with Davutpaşa, and became an independent discourse with the Karadon and afterward.

Notions of justification can be found in the mutual mourning phase, but arguments for legitimization are very rarely observed. In these rare cases, if a legitimization strategy is to be implemented, it is usually in the form of authorization, which appears as “if there is negligence, the government will pursue it”, or narrativization, which appears as the heroization of deceased or search-and-rescue workers.

Although there is no difference between newspapers in the processing of these themes, it was found that the purpose of PGM’s treatment of these themes has changed over time. Particularly in increased political polarization and similar incidents, PGM newspapers followed a “circumlocution strategy” by focusing on incident and common themes rather than news about controversial issues. For instance, PGM, which focused on only these themes in the first days of the Soma incident and did not bring any controversial issues to its agenda, waited for an opportunity and shifted its primary focus to merely manipulative issues with the outbreak of the Yılmaz Özdil’s “comeuppance” issue. As the graphic below illustrates, PGM newspapers almost always deal with more common themes than the other two newspaper groups in the first 14 days. After the lowest rates for these themes were observed on the fifth or sixth day, DM and RNM newspapers generally continued to process a small number of common themes as needed depending on the circumstances. Moreover, an increase was observed in the PGM on the seventh or eighth days and tended to utilize the common themes again. This is because the event is manipulated through the semantic macrostructures and/or local meanings strategies in the sedimentation phase by the PGM group.

Figure 5.3 also shows how the mutual mourning phase works. While this phase peaked on the second day, it gradually decreased in the following days, and then it is processed at a specific rate though in small numbers.

Figure 5.4 demonstrates that the newspaper groups had not exhibited a specific attitude before the Davutpaşa incident. The common themes were particularly prevalent after this incident in PGM, while the DM’s attitude was in the opposite direction. Moreover, the number of common themes in the DM and PGM groups has permanently moved in opposite directions after the Davutpaşa incident. Besides, the RNM newspapers are mostly

somewhere between the two, and there is no constant movement in the same or opposite direction with either of them in line with their relatively neutral stance.

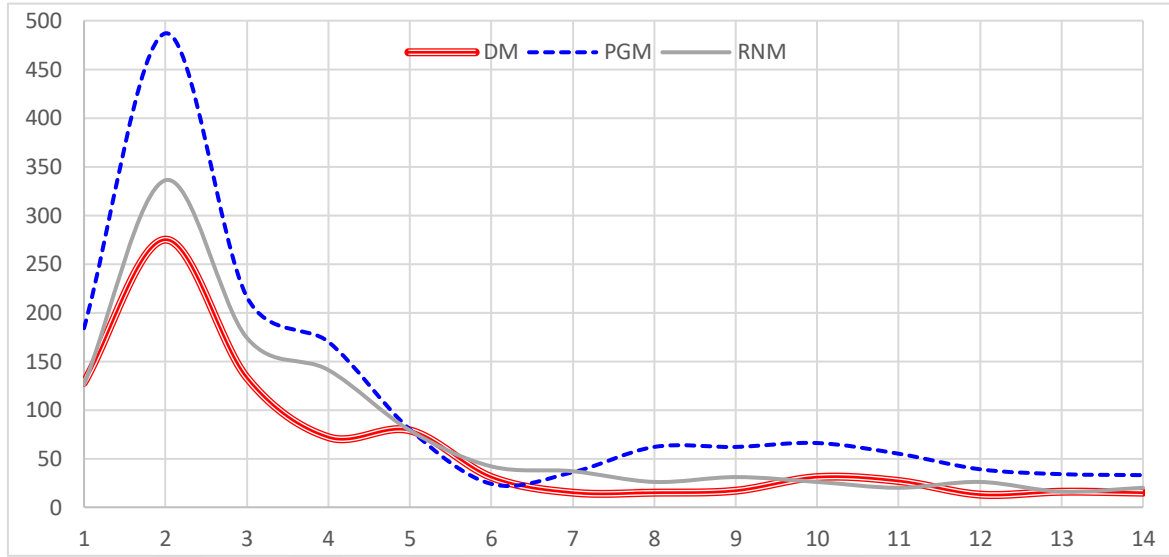


Figure 5. 3: Common themes distribution in the first 14 day

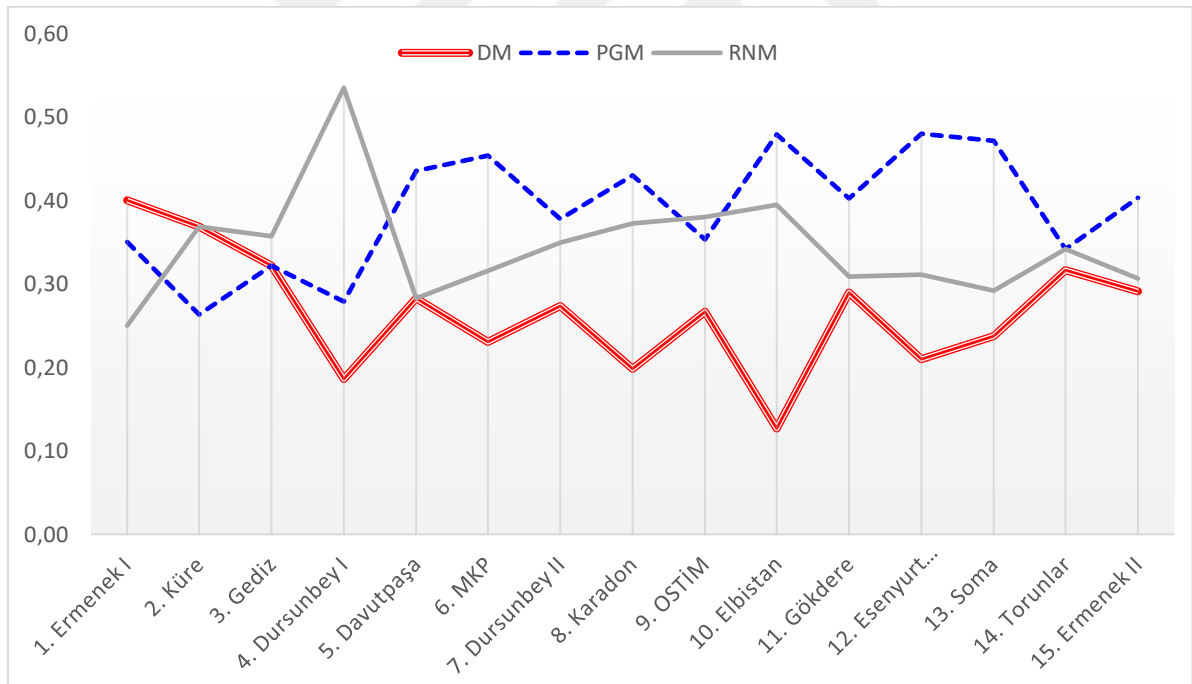


Figure 5. 4: Usage of common themes throughout all incidents

One of the most striking aspects is that this figure provides data on which incidents are featured for manipulative purposes through common themes. The common themes are processed less as the issue salience increases because the relevant factors, policies, and actors are focused rather than the incident itself. Moreover, the DM has almost completely

maintained its stand, and RNM had only limited change in its reporting. Therefore, common themes should be processed less than usual in Davutpaşa, Karadon, Esenyurt, and Soma incidents supported by many data as turning points. However, the common themes processing rates are very high, as in the case of PGM. This strengthens the assertion that common themes are utilized for manipulation by PGM because incident themes, common themes in particular, are inversely proportional to the importance attributed to the incident. Moreover, the interest in incident themes decreases with increased social polarization (Figure 5.5) because it becomes more and more common for polarized groups to target opposing groups rather than incidents in such periods.

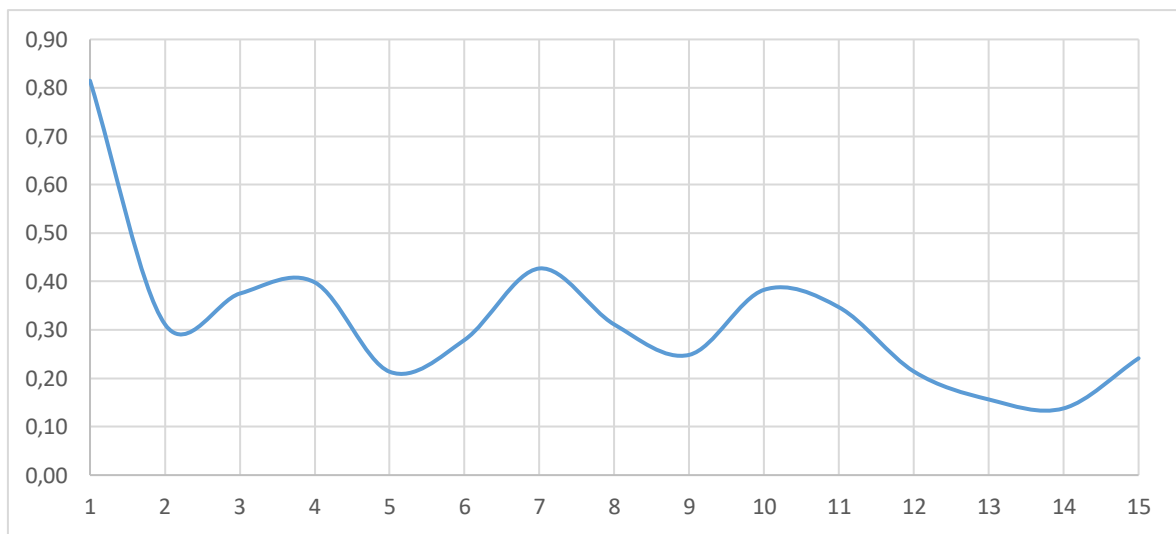


Figure 5. 5: Ratio of incident themes to total themes in the relevant incident

How newspaper groups justify the incident in the transition from the mutual mourning phase to the attribution phase is a substantial issue that affects the whole process. The justification that frames the news is the first step that paves the way for (de)naturalization and shapes the attribution phase, starting here and continuing to the end of the process. The first rationalization data in the context of (de)naturalization appears in these justifications.

Phase II: Attribution

How the incident occurred is the main issue in this phase. The justification or framing of the incident differs between groups and discourses while focusing on how the incident occurred. The primary goal of newspaper groups is to create a specific perspective/framework per their agenda. This is performed mainly by emphasizing certain aspects of the subject while hiding or ignoring (de-emphasizing) others.

Jorgensen and Phillips (2002: 8-9) argued that humans create representations of reality that are not merely reflections of a pre-existing reality but contribute to the construction of reality through language. They asserted that reality itself exists, but it gains meaning through discourse. Thus, a set of systems or discourses in which meanings change from one discourse to another, as language is constructed in patterns or discourses. The question of how the incident happened is the objective aspects that do not change by perspectives and can be reported within the framework of specific observations and investigations. In other words, there is a reality in work accidents, as well. However, the projection of this reality differs between newspaper groups: one might say murder while others depict it as fate.

The Esenyurt incident sets one of the excellent examples to show how reality is framed differently. The workers, who were required to take shelter in containers or specific tents made for shelter according to the legal regulations, had to stay in tents that were not suitable for shelter in a freezing period, so the electric stoves were overloaded, and this inadequate installation caused a fire due to the improper electrical installation. The tents that accommodate such a large number of people should not be heated in this way and have at least two entrances and exits. However, there was only one entrance and exit in this tent, and the fire was close to this single door, which trapped the workers inside, and the fire could not be extinguished due to the lack of available fire extinguishers. The tents were completely burned with a rapid-fire because they were made of highly flammable nylons, as they should have been made of non-flammable materials. However, this objective information, which is reflected in many reports, is insufficient to answer why the incident happened as it only tells how it happened because it does not explain why the workers consented to stay in those tents and work under these conditions. Moreover, it does not explain how or why the inspectors neglected all the deficiencies that Minister Çelik stated on the first day. It does not explain how such fatal negligence was possible in one of Istanbul's most central locations, although the two companies that built and commissioned it were "successful" enough to receive an award from the prime minister himself. Moreover, all relevant newspapers know how and why the incident took place despite the differences of opinion. Still, for some reason, some newspapers tried to hide the considerable portion below by highlighting only the tip of the iceberg. Because the interests of the "us" group to which it is "affiliated" required this type of reporting. Therefore, it caused the production and (re)production of ideology by manipulating the incident in its justification.

The news focusing on how the incident occurred stand out at this stage, while the headlines summarize how the incident happened. Each newspaper group begins to justify the incident according to its perspective, thus leading to clusters of justifications. This grouping was first observed in the main themes with headlines/titles, which are the essential elements of thematic structure, and are repeated and developed with lead, main events, and consequences. However, all macro and microstructures are shaped according to themes in all newspaper groups.

For example, one of the frames created by the *PGM-3* newspaper in the Esenyurt case is as follows: Comparing a two thousand lira tent with a five thousand lira container in all of the headlines/titles, lead, main events, and consequences, this incident was framed as the relevant company's cupidity for the three thousand Turkish liras was highlighted. It was understood that this newspaper tried to create the perception that the only problem faced by the workers at the same construction site but for another sub-contractor and who were staying in the container was to watch their friends burn in pain with no chance to save them. It "proves" with the opinion of the occupational safety expert, thus legitimization by using the authorization strategy. However, it is clear that how the incident happened is processed only within visible reasons, and the "real reasons" hidden behind it are omitted. This general framework, which points to an evident ideology production, is also verified by other sub-frames. Moreover, the newspaper made the main event presentation by sharing pictures from a "perfect" sample construction site of a construction company known for its close ties to the government, implying the consequence that it should not be generalized to all the businessmen close to the government. This highlights the perception that the incident was an isolated incident and it is not a problem specific to businessmen with close ties to the government.

After establishing the general framework and identifying the main culprit, secondary frameworks specific to the incident are produced by addressing the mutual mourning again because it is impossible to get the support of the angry society without activating the emotions (*moralization*). This framework is shaped by processing the mutual mourning theme in the background by referring to the painful stories of the workers (*moralization and narrativization*). This is why the mutual mourning theme was processed in the first subtitle, the second news entry (indirect lead) and the news text. It would be suitable to reinforce the activated emotions by highlighting another negligence and emphasizing the culprit once again (*normalization*) because the emotional audience might not focus on anything else. The

minister of labour stated that there is only one way out, and all sides with the deficiencies will be addressed (*authorization*), emphasizing that the most authoritative government organs are on duty not only to prevent the matter from dispersing but also to punish the responsible individuals and serve justice (*authorization & moralization*). It was tried to create the perception that the incident has nothing to do with the government. Moreover, the emphasis on there is nothing to be done for the deceased ones other than punishing the guilty sides, but the state (government) will protect what they left behind with "jet" speed (*rationalization & moralization*) was serving this goal. Briefly, the responsibility of the power is hidden by emphasizing the relevant company and processing the positive things done by the government between the lines (through at least one of overall interaction, macro speech act, semantic macrostructures strategies of manipulation). The framing of the incident and the related constructions legitimized the government and its "benevolence as good acts" and isolated it from the incident in relevant lines. Therefore, the main issue of this phase is legitimacy, and all strategies for this are used under appropriate circumstances and at every opportunity.

It was found that all the main textual claims in the news were supported by photographs, which are important elements for both macrostructure and rhetoric. Stating that photographs are also rhetorical elements, Özer (2015) emphasizes that the visual images in the news are fictional, and although the audience or readers knows this, the illusion of reality cannot prevent it from showing itself. Thus, the photographs used in the news can also be used in the ideological (re)production. This situation can be exemplified with a detailed analysis on the example given above as follows:

The photographic images of the *PGM-3* newspaper on 13 March 2012, on pages 20-21, show that the photos of three company executives trying to hide their faces are placed top to bottom on the right side of a large photograph of tents turned to ashes at the top of the middle page where the two pages are joined. The headline was placed at the top of the photo in huge fonts (*Cheap Death to Construction Worth 500 Million*), right next to the top company executive, a title as '*11 Detentions in the Fire killed 11 Workers*' was attached. A poster was placed under the arm of the company's authorities in the middle, which is understood to be an advertisement of how the construction would appear when it is finished. Photographs of six of the workers who lost their lives were placed above the forehead of the company responsible, who hid his face below, running right in front of his face. Just below the big picture showing the tents in the middle turning to ashes is the words of the labour

minister: "There was one exit door" as the title and a direct lead detailing and directing the issue: *Stating that there is only one exit in the tents, Minister Faruk Çelik, who went to the scene, said, "The materials were also fragile against fires."* The government also decided to give the families of the dead workers a pension at jet speed. Below the lead, a photograph of a worker's relative, crying, and Minister Çelik and Governor Mutlu made a statement to the journalists "without an umbrella" under the rain. Below the headline that overblow beyond the photograph, next to the photograph depicting a tent turned to ashes, there were these lines: as the direct lead: Workers were staying in a tent worth 2 thousand liras, while containers were worth 5 thousand liras. Occupational safety experts criticized the way of heating: Inspections are insufficient, if there were containers instead of tents, these would not have happened, a heating system is necessary. Moreover, a photo of a construction site with a tent right behind a worker with a bad example written on it and standing in front of him in his daily clothes, and a picture of a container with a worker wearing all preventive clothes in front of it and a good example written on it is placed under this photo were used just below the *direct lead* next to the main text.

Picture 5. 1: PGM-3's news pages about the incident on 13 March 2012

The constructed meaning is quite clear: Although this firm has made millions, its executives have been negligent with cupidity, and eleven workers have died as a result of (only) this negligence, as many of them injured and had a near-death experience, while the rest are grieving with pain. The face of one of the company executives, hiding his face, 11 people executives (*those who hide their faces*) for 11 deaths, and one looking at the photos of the deceased worker builds a perception that these are the responsible ones. The painful conditions of the relatives of the workers, the photograph of the tents turned into "hell," and the use of the comparison between good and bad examples point to the fiction used in the justification of the incident. The relatives of workers who have no choice but to cry, the analogy of "hell" that evokes a natural/supernatural meaning, and if those concerned (*here is the company*) had fulfilled their responsibilities, that is, if they had accommodated the workers in containers, as in good examples, such a "hell" situation would not have arisen according to this construction. The government officials' investigation of the crime scene and the police arrests of those company representatives indicate that the government has fulfilled its duty, and this is completely "natural." Everyone was fulfilling their roles, as the incident is legitimized by the perception that it is natural for such things to happen with this much omission and for them to be punished by the "authorities." Moreover, non-existent or un-implemented laws, facade inspections, and the conditions under which the inspections are carried out that might reveal the responsibilities of the government are hidden. Besides, the minimal coverage of the views regarding the unions and the fact that no news about the protests is included in the PGM newspapers validates this assumption. Furthermore, the argument based on state (government) officials' arrival to the scene regardless of the harsh winter conditions, conducted investigations, potential punishments to those responsible, and *jet speed* pensioning for victims and their relatives are found with a purpose of creating the perception that destiny cannot be prevented but the state fulfils its responsibility for those who remain. Using only photographs to explain such construction and thus justification, legitimation, and naturalization could be controversial (Özer, 2018). Hence their coherence with the text should be maintained. The reason why texts are also included besides the photographs is to demonstrate the harmony between the photograph and the text.

The fact that the news content is a dependent variable affected by the comments and activities of third parties outside the newspaper in this process is rooted in the ability of the dominant power's statements to determine the news content. At this stage, since it gains importance which group's discourse is more explicit, particular topics begin to be put

forward and repeated. Therefore, this frame is repeated in the news reported in the following days, both in the background and by direct reporting.

The discourse and manipulation had to be solid and successful for legitimation and naturalization. van Dijk (2006a: 375) emphasized that a successful manipulation relies on the author's grasp of the reader's mental models, (incomplete) knowledge, ideologies, feelings, and experiences. It seems quite understandable that PGM newspapers avoid discourses targeting the government and their readers have no intention of avoiding or revealing, or resisting this manipulation because, ultimately, each newspaper group has its audience. However, there are also cynical, critical, sceptical, insecure, and dissident people who are not under the influence of these manipulations. As this portion is usually the minority, the manipulative effect cannot be reduced as van Dijk stated they would not pose a serious problem for manipulators unless counter-discourses dominate the mainstream means of communication or elite institutions and organizations.

No matter how convincing the arguments of the dissident newspapers for their counter-discourse, it will not significantly impact unless they can spread it to the grassroots or if a few of the mainstream newspapers fail to support their discourses. This is precisely why RNM-1, the most potent newspaper of the mainstream media, was the apparent target of the PGM group newspapers for the Soma case, instead of the DM group targeting the PGM group (see Table 4.5). Therefore, examining how the discourses of these newspapers resonate in their audiences becomes essential. In Esenyurt incident, the four-week circulation figures as of 12 March revealed that three of the 20 most read newspapers are relatively neutral, while only two of the dissident newspapers are in the top 20, meaning that the top 15 newspapers are mainly from the PGM group. The average of the four-week total circulation of the relatively neutral newspapers was around 1.122.380, while the pro-government newspapers had totals reaching 594.104 as the circulation of the dissident newspapers was only 277,217. Moreover, a total of 219,390 were by DM-3, which showed the slightest interest in the issue of the work accident. In sum, although DM group newspapers developed a counter-discourse against the manipulative discourse of PGM newspapers, it was observed that they could not reach a broad audience. The importance of RNM newspapers is more significant in this sense. Therefore, the PGM group newspapers target the RNM, which avoided directly targeting the PGM and the government while trying to take an impartial stance, rather than the DM group targeting them. In other words, the

PGM group, representing the dominant power in the media, targeted RNM because it tried to prevent manipulation and had a broad audience, including its own.

It was observed that the most critical issue for CDA in this phase is background information. The responsibility of two main actors is always highlighted in framing an incident, as revealed in the findings. DM group always, and RNM mostly processed the thesis that the incident should not be not perceived as an isolated incident and results from general structural problems, emphasizing that the responsibility lies with the government rather than the firm. Besides, there is only one culprit, which is the company, according to PGM. It always tries to frame the incident as an isolated incident with a reductionist approach while not associating the government with it in any way. Therefore, the axis between newspaper groups is de-legitimization versus legitimization of the government. Several legitimization and manipulation strategies were widely used, and background information was hidden for influence. In a nutshell, the DM and RNM groups tried to prevent the incident from being reduced to the size of "isolated incident" by emphasizing the background information with a counter-strategy, while the PGM group tried to frame the incident as an "isolated incident" by hiding the background information. Similar controversies operate in all macrostructure dimensions, especially in the main theme, mostly through Lexical Style and News Rhetoric in microstructure dimensions.

Although the PGM group utilizes all nine manipulation strategies in this phase, overall interaction strategies, macro speech act, semantic macrostructures strategies are the most resorted ones. While DM and RNM groups rarely used these nine strategies, they often used semantic macrostructures, local speech acts, local meanings, and lexicon strategies. Rhetorical figures are also a frequently used strategy in the DM group. Moreover, the axis is the legitimization and de-legitimization of the government.

These insights indicate that the critical issue in this phase is legitimization. Moreover, it was observed that all kinds of naturalization discourses almost certainly emerged in this phase. All opinions and claims that occur in the attribution phase tried to be justified and framed in line with the perspective of the relevant newspaper. If a notion such as fate is to be adopted for the naturalization of the incident, this discourse first appears here. For instance, statements such as the Energy Minister's words as "*Unfortunately, the accidents are usual in mining*" in the Dursunbey-I, Prime Minister Erdoğan's speeches of "*They start the profession knowing that such things can happen*" and "*This is the fate of this profession*" in the Karadon, and the "*These are ordinary things*", "*There are these in the structure, nature*

of this", "What is done is done [in the Soma mine]. It is God's providence" all emerged in this phase. The analysis of these statements reveals that they are used simultaneously in the naturalization of work accidents and the legitimization with normalization and moralization strategies and manipulating the incident through various strategies.

The dominant power often focuses only on the incident themes and tries to cover up the incident through "instantaneous" facts during periods of relatively mild political polarization. For instance, the mine was not closed in the last inspection despite this obvious mistake hidden by emphasizing an obvious mistake made by the company. The discourse of the dominant power in the attribution phase in the periods when the political polarization intensifies is basically "It is not the place and time of anger, rebellion or protest, but the time of solidarity, criticism as the necessary discussions will be conducted later." All kinds of dissident elements are negatively and pejoratively represented through overall interaction strategies or lexical selection, such as religious concepts. The counter-discourse puts forward the thesis that the incident is not isolated and is merely an example of the related structural problem. It is also clear that the DM group generally targeted politics in moderately polarized periods and directly the government in intense polarization periods.

These differences between groups within the justification framework and the central theme cause divergences or conflicts between existing groups, leading to the third stage, polarization. The polarization occurs in this phase between discourses rather than actors.

Phase III: Polarization

The major issue at this phase is **why** the incident occurred rather than how it occurred. However, while one side tries to reveal the factors behind the incident, others try to manipulate the incident to impose their reality. It was stated that each group had created its framework in the attribution phase. Which of these frameworks is more accepted by the society gains importance in the polarization phase? It is observed that all three newspaper groups are aware of the "truth," but they try to dominate the "artificial reality" (with discourses and frames) that they have created "as a necessity" over other "artificial realities and realities."

Polarization themes, processed 7018 times in 15 incidents, are the second most processed theme group after factors with 24%. 48% of these themes were processed by DM, 33% by PGM, and 19% by the RNM group. However, 53 themes in five subgroups in this theme group are divided as 32 by PGM, 19 by DM, and 2 by RNM group. In other words,

while the DM addresses certain themes more frequently, the PGM processes individual themes less but exhibits more diverse theme usage. Moreover, the polarization themes' share in the PGM to the themes total in the relevant incidents is higher in 8 of the 14 incidents (Figure 5.6) when the incidents are considered individually.

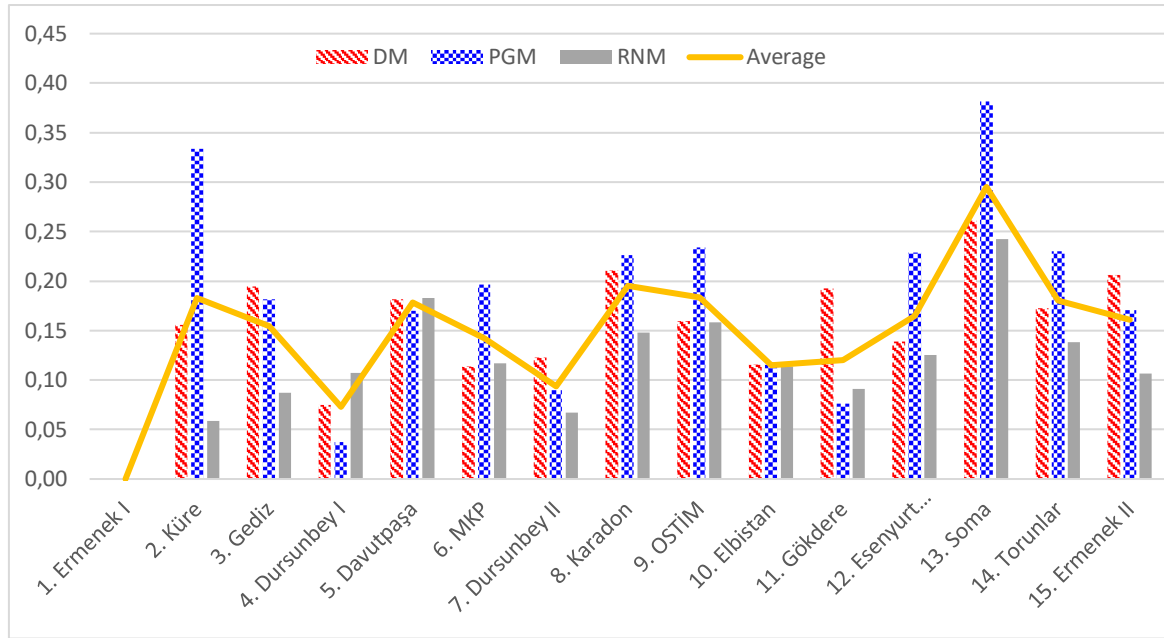


Figure 5. 6: The ratio of polarization themes to total themes in the relevant incident

Figure 5.6 illustrates that the PGM resorted heavily to polarization themes in all “critical” incidents except Davutpaşa. More precisely, the higher the public interest in the incident, the more the PGM resorted to polarization themes. The reason behind this attitude is the goal of directing and manipulating the incident in the way they want. Thus, the incident has begun to fade into the background during the polarization phase as the primary focus has shifted to who is to blame for the tragedy and its causes. The frameworks developed during the attribution phase and the justifications implied by other groups are attempted to be disputed or ignored, mainly tacitly. The dissidents resorted to the strategies of refutation while pro-government to the strategies of ignoring with higher tendencies. The emphasis is on the discourse and activities of other groups, and with each new piece of information, claim, and opinion, or explanation, diverse discourses of other groups were found. However, unless it causes significant traumas, such as in the case of Soma, groups avoid explicitly addressing the opposing group with their name. Moreover, opposing groups/discourses was sometimes plainly targeted and disregarded less frequently as the severity of the incident increases.

At this phase, the discourses have moved away from the incident and have turned into “US & THEM” polarization of opposite sides. PGM groups have frequently highlighted the positive aspects of “Us” and the negative aspects of “Them,” albeit often tacitly or indirectly; DM and RNM have evidently focused on the negative aspects of “Them.” Themes, and thus headlines and leads, have become more substantial. For instance,

- “The state writes the fate” vs. “If you do not have faith in fate, I do not argue”
- “Ministers worked in the area with three hours of sleep a day” vs. “Sav [Önder] comes out from everywhere”
- “AKP = God Keep from the Party (AKP= *Allah Kurtarsın Partisi*)” vs. “Provocateurs at work”
- “‘Pray not rebel’ [‘Pray, not protest’]” vs. “The hometown of sheikhs, dervishes, disciples, delirious...”

Unlike the other government officials and the PGM, Prime Minister Erdoğan criticizes dissident views much more apparently and directly (Fifth day of Karadon (22 May 2010), DM-1, p. 1 & 9; DM-2, p. 1 & 8; RNM-1, p. 5; RNM-3, p. 20) :

- *The incident that happened to two police officers yesterday with a thinner addict in the Aşıyan Cemetery. What is it? For god’s sake! This is the destiny of this profession. This is the nature of this profession. This is the duty of the police. This happened to them while they were performing this duty there. Are you going to speculate on this now as well? Would you say that “Why were these policemen sent to Aşıyan Cemetery” or “Why did they deal with these sniffers”? **“Oh, Sir, why were these given to subcontractors?” This subcontractor has been working there for 5 years; there has not been an incident there for 5 years.** Previously, 243 workers died in Kozlu due to a gas explosion. When this explosion happened, the subcontractor did not work; the TTK did this job. With what will you explain this?*

On the other hand, the DM group changed its strategy of the de-legitimizing government and its officials with cartoons that started with the MKP incident, with an entire de-legitimization strategy after the Esenyurt incident. The PGM’s counter-reaction to this was the same method, but it was more specific to PGM-3 and limited to Salih Memecan. Each newspaper group framed the incident differently with these headlines, themes, and news content, but each frame puts the incident in the background. The PGM, which is the supporter of the dominant power, is the group that benefited from this because the further away the issue is from the incident, the easier it is to manipulate. Furthermore, the fact that the issues open to manipulation, such as 15-year-old child labour, Syrian workers, and “comeuppance” issue, were addressed by dissident newspapers in the Soma incident,

enabled the victimization literature for the government wing. In most of these, since the opposition expressed the information without confirming, it not only made PGM's job easier but also caused the possible social impact of the incident to decrease.

Polarization was often initiated by the DM and sometimes the RNM as the PGM permanently joined the process later because it favoured the immediate suppression of the incident as the dominant power, especially during intense political polarization. The PGM primarily focuses on common themes, or rather incident themes outside the background, and tries to prevent the incident from being associated with the government by ignoring other issues. Moreover, the intense incident themes should be evaluated in the context of naturalization because if the incident themes are more loaded in the polarization phase, it means that the claims of counter-discourse are tried to be hidden. Besides, if naturalization discourses such as "it is in this professions' nature," "destiny/fate," "Act of God" are utilized in the polarization phase, the aim is mostly manipulation. The PGM awaits explanations or often attitudes that can be manipulated in this stage by counter-discourse, namely dissidents, such as, foreign media coverage of the Soma affair (like Der Spiegel's "Go to Hell Erdogan" story), controversial statements by dissident writers, and even Yerke's kick to a miner. Then (if any) it targets the people or institutions that make any statements that can be manipulated on this subject, and reports them rather than the incident. Following that, they associate those who advocate the counter-discourse with vandalism or "terrible occurrences" in the past, particularly "provocative ones." Furthermore, if the incident took place in intense periods of political polarization, it may even be associated with "foreign powers/actors" and even terrorist organizations. In other words, the main aim is to prevent the government's (US) legitimacy debates by trying to make "the dissidents (THEM)" illegitimate. When the PGM usually announces what the government will do for the deceased and their relatives, the DM and sometimes the RNM also question the intention of this action. While the PGM presents this as the government's fulfilment of its mandate, the DM focuses on counter-discourses that these are attempts by the government to conceal its responsibilities. The corpus functions as a reminder for repetitions in this regard with the help of words or phrases.

On the other hand, DM and RNM groups emphasize that the incident is not an isolated incident and that the government is the main responsible, with the expert opinions and professional chambers who know the subject best. The DM group shares serious background information in work accidents and compares with other countries. The aim is certainly to

prevent to reduce the incident to an isolated work accident. Therefore, the axis is the "legitimize vs. delegitimize" in the polarization phase.

It was observed that each group heavily resorted to legitimacy strategies. As any assertion used in the polarization phase almost always included either a claim to legitimize or de-legitimize. Each three-newspaper group utilized all five legitimacy strategies but differed in intensity and purpose. The PGM group most often tried to legitimize the government using normalization, moralization, and narrativization and on the other hand, the dissident opinions and claims were often delegitimized by the strategies of moralization, rationalization, and authorization. While DM and RNM mostly did not try to legitimize any person or group for their legitimacy strategy, they always tried to de-legitimize the government and the relevant firms. It is noteworthy that the PGM's normalization strategy generally functioned between the lines despite the direct statements of Prime Minister Erdoğan and some ministers. It is thought that this was selected to keep the dominant power away from any questioning. However, it was understood that this questioning would not be avoided in the Soma case as several strategies focused directly on the legitimization of dissidents besides the normalization. The accusations were very harsh and explicit. The DM has always directly targeted the government since Davutpaşa and focused on the de-legitimization of the government with rationalization and authorization. Besides, the RNM group avoided directly targeting the government with very few exceptions but questioned the government's legitimacy with rationalization and authorization strategies.

Manipulation is one of the notions that includes the abuse of power or/and discursive power and it is domination in this sense. An illegitimate form is provided to function with discourse (van Dijk, 2006a: 360-361). The critical discourse analyst must clarify where the lines between illegitimate manipulation and legitimate persuasion become fuzzy. Considering van Dijk's manipulation model for this clarification process, meaning identifying each group's strategies led to these insights:

- The PGM and government officials: All nine strategies
- DM: Overall interaction strategies, macro speech act, semantic macrostructures, local speech acts, local meanings, expressions
- RNM: macro speech act, semantic macrostructures, local speech acts, local meanings, expressions

Overall interaction strategies that focus on the cognitive and social characteristics of the audience make them vulnerable and less resistant to manipulation. Thus, recipients become

victims who believe everything or are willing to accept dogmas (van Dijk, 2006a: 376). These general strategies of manipulative discourse as fundamental conditions of domination and inequality are emphasized by focusing on manipulating the speech and text content, further strengthening through a speaker's powerful position and the editing with the help of these strategies. More precisely, people's emotions are provoked and directed with triggers such as photographs, specifically selected words, dramatization, dramatic rhetoric (exaggerations, etc.).

All speakers from the government side presented themselves and the government positively while depicting the contrary views negatively. Overall interaction strategies, macro speech act, and semantic macrostructures stand out as government officials' most used manipulation strategies. The PGM also displays a completely parallel attitude to the government. The frequency of Prime Minister/President Erdoğan's behavior of presenting himself positively with moral superiority is quite remarkable. Erdoğan has frequently targeted those with the opposite opinion, used words like "I know your nature/creation", and always has depicted himself as superior regarding morality. It was found that Erdoğan mostly resorted to semantic macrostructures, local meanings, lexicon, and rhetorical figures strategies to target the opposing views. These strategies are also predominant in PGM newspapers, but all nine related strategies are frequently utilized. The manipulation is used not to include any view on the government's responsibility in the themes while it is emphasized that the company is the culprit in the headlines and news entries used at the macro level in the PGM group. It was also observed that the PGM and the government had manipulated the incident with claims that cannot be proven or disproved in any way, for example, allegations of sabotage by quite irrelevant actors.

In the DM and RNM, positive presentations or framings are rare for actors other than workers and their relatives, while the negative presentation is mainly used for the government. The DM group directly targeted the government with the strategies of macro speech act, semantic macrostructures, lexicon, and rhetorical figures. However, the manipulative purpose often stood out, especially in the government's discourse of "New Turkey," and the news stories ridicule the statements specific to each incident with cartoons after the Karadon incident. The DM-3 differs from the other two newspapers and, unlike other dissident elements, it exhibits a mocking and offensive attitude even in the most serious matters. Although the most read newspaper of the DM group, unlike the other two, is

considered disadvantageous for counter-discourse, this study did not have feasible attempts to prove this.

This phase is quite active regarding the corpus. All polarizing keywords, especially AKP vs. AK Party, accident vs. murder, disaster vs. massacre, protest vs. provocation dichotomies, were mostly utilized in this phase. The DM always focused on denaturalizing the incident through keywords and phrases such as AKP, murder, massacre, protest, negligence, not fate but ..., not an accident but.... The RNM also exhibited an attitude in line with the DM, except for Elbistan and Gökdere incidents with an exceptional attitude only after Davutpaşa. It was observed that the PGM newspapers never used keywords related to naturalization and even utilized keywords for de-naturalization occasionally until Davutpaşa, while they have utilized naturalizing keywords for the statements of the actors in the news in the period that started with Davutpaşa. However, they only resorted to these concepts for the prime minister's statements after the Karadon incident, as it was found that they especially avoided potential reactions for using them.

These insights illustrate that all newspaper groups resorted to manipulation. Still, the PGM tried to use both manipulation and legitimacy strategies to show the incident as an isolated incident to prevent the government from being associated with it to ensure this. However, DM and RNM groups resorted to these strategies for exaggerating the incident and increasing its salience to reveal the truth behind it. In sum, one side was trying to hide the truth as the other was trying to reveal it.

Phase IV: Sedimentation

The most striking factor is the significant decrease in the news in this phase when the salience is reduced. This phase begins somewhere between days 4 and 12, depending on the degree of interest in the incident. The actors aim to reinforce the acceptability of the frames created in the attribution and polarization phases by the society and the audience in this phase where there is almost no new information.

In this phase, the main themes and focus were the discourse and activities of other groups, rather than new information. The repetition and rhetoric of discourses are seen as the repetition of persuasive information. It was found that the PGM group addressed the following themes intensively in this phase, while incident themes were the most frequently processed themes by them: the importance of industry/private sectors and economic cost of work accidents. Furthermore, the following themes that PGM frequently uses in the

sedimentation phase stand out: the safest workplace is the most efficient workplace, and legitimization of nuclear energy: colliery/coal is dangerous, nuclear energy should be focused.

While the DM and RNM groups show a very similar attitude in this phase, the most striking difference between them is that the style is much more rigid in DM. In the sedimentation phase, incident themes are predominant in these two groups. However, the number and rate of these themes in both are much lower than the PGM. Apart from incident themes, it was determined that the weight in both groups is in the analysis and interview news was made within the framework of factors, and especially in the system-based, background and analysis themes.

The PGM newspapers have added non-essential information in most of the incidents and report-investigation information they process in the sedimentation phase and have tried to reduce the incident to the "company" with these themes, mostly with repetition. Sometimes they even produced contradictory news. First, they reported that the company was the only culprit, and those responsible were arrested, and then they could attribute the guilt to another company or situation in sedimentation. However, other groups made very concise presentations. The PGM group's emphasis on incident themes in this phase is for manipulation. Moreover, the other themes that they processed extensively in this phase strove for legitimacy through the rationalization strategy constructed with utility, importance, etc. It was found that the legitimization of nuclear energy is added to this after the Soma incident: The government's new policy highlights nuclear energy and, in response to the government's criticisms over coal, manipulates the negative criticisms and legitimizes another policy. The other two groups transformed this period into the repetition and acceptance of factors while reinforcing the argument that the main problem is government and its policies through factors in all their themes except the incident. The manipulative strategies were extremely rare in both DM and RNM groups, while de-legitimizing remains the issue.

Since this phase is a repetition and stagnation period, manipulation and legitimacy strategies are also based on the repetitions of previous phases. Reminding the frames created in the previous phases are the primary purpose. Therefore, the corpus has a different function thanks to this reminder function with keywords and phrases and its usual function in this phase. The PGM used provocation and fate/destiny keywords, while the DM and RNM

mostly use the keywords such as murder and massacre, and phrases like ‘not fate but murder’ and ‘not an accident but murder/massacre’.

Phase V: Latency

The characteristic of this phase is the absence of news, as they are only possible with triggers. The most common triggers are similar incidents, discoveries of missing workers, arrests or trials related to the incident, disclosures of expert reports, or incident anniversaries.

There are some differences before and after Soma in the case of news based on triggers. The incident was processed through incident themes for references before Soma, and only the reason for the references was presented. Often little or no reference is made to legitimacy and manipulation. However, in the two incidents following Soma, the DM and RNM have emphasized that the government has not fulfilled its commitments in the prior period and have focused on the de-legitimization of the government. It is noteworthy that the arguments in the polarization phase of the Soma incident are intensively processed. This is much more evident in the Ermenek-II incident. PGM, on the other hand, emphasized the prevalent arguments in the incident, which they describe as provocation and manipulation in the context they constructed, with the comparison of us and them. The fact that Prime Minister Erdoğan won the Presidential elections only three months after Soma was constructed by the PGM as both refuting the dissidents’ arguments that "Soma will be the end of Erdoğan," and de-legitimizing the "certain groups" who trumped this with negative presentations.

The most striking issue of this phase is indeed the decoupling. After the incidents occurred one after another and the criticism even from within the government, the "isolated incident" thesis has completely lost its credibility. This situation led to the determination of a new strategy as framing this issue as a limited systemic problem caused by some malicious businessmen. The statements implying that the government fulfills its responsibilities, but some companies do not comply with the laws and regulations issued by the government and do not put the rules into practice were used for framing and decoupling of these companies was suggested as the main reason. This first and widespread policy-practice decoupling emphasis started, especially when Taner Yıldız became the energy minister (2009), and it is still prevalent.

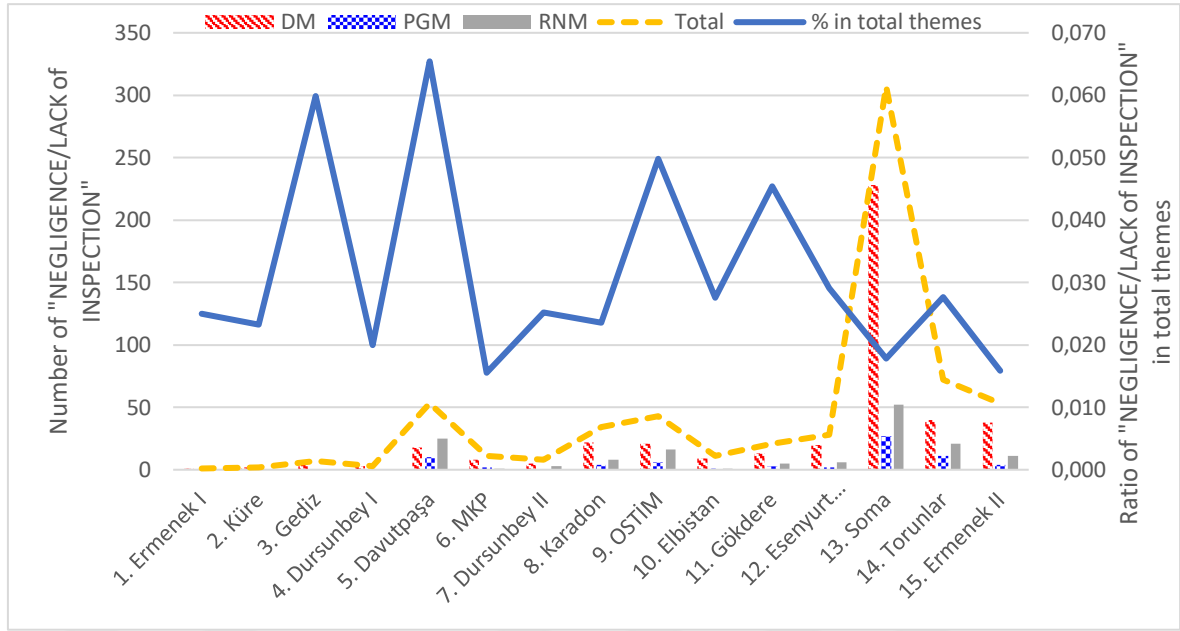


Figure 5. 7: Themes that focus directly on government negligence

Moreover, the second form of decoupling was found. Although the government has made several legal regulations, the data obtained show that the work accidents and losses have not decreased since the government does not implement the necessary steps in applying these regulations. One of the data revealing this is the negligence of government themes. (Figure 5.7). The government's negligence has been processed as an issue since the Gediz incident and continued until the end of the process. However, although the number of these themes increased after Gökdere, their ratio in the total theme decreased. This is because the problem has become much broader than negligence. The framing has turned into accusations and revealing the manipulations of the government. Moreover, there is a variation in criticism and blame rather than a decrease, and the total number is much higher. For instance, only the 'direct criticism & accusation of the government [policies]' theme is handled 884 times, and 825 of them (Soma: 511) belong to periods during the Karadon and later, 725 to Gökdere and afterward.

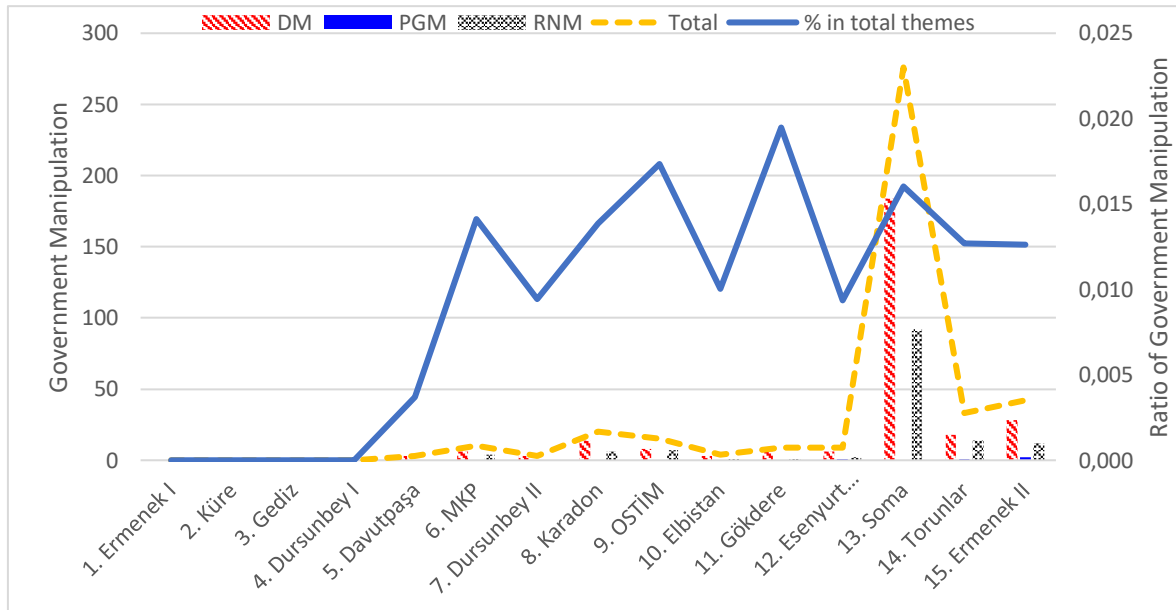


Figure 5.8 : Criticism of government's manipulation

The issue of manipulation is particularly noteworthy (Figure 5.8). The governmental manipulation issue, which started to be processed with the Davutpaşa incident, has started to be processed through fatalism since the Karadon incident and the hidden intentions behind the laws that the government has enacted or not since Gökdere. It was argued that there are differences between what the government announced to the public about the laws and its actual intentions, and the government manipulated the incident to hide these differences. A detailed and exemplary analysis might illustrate this issue better. Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs, Eroğlu, stated that they could not inspect the dams because the State Council canceled the inspection and the incident occurred indirectly because of this in the Gökdere incident. The PGM framed this as government obstruction causing problems. On the other hand, it is framed as a manipulative act of government in the DM because the government tried to transfer inspections of dam constructions to private companies according to DM while they tried to present it as a new audit law to improve them. It was soon understood that the State Council canceled the transfer of the inspection authority from the government to the private sector. This did not impede the State Hydraulic Works (DSI), which is affiliated with the ministry, from inspecting these constructions. The government later ratified this law through the parliament to bypass the State Council, but the inspection problem persisted. When the problem persists, the PGM group and the government propounded a classic defense that the problems continue due to the impediments by certain institutions and organizations, as in the State Council case. However, the dissident elements

have already refuted the government's arguments through strong arguments that it did not aim to increase the impact of the inspections but to open a new income (rent) channel for their businessmen.

The DM group refuted and disclosed these manipulations and almost every claim of the government and PGM with strong arguments supported by expert opinions, reports, and analysis. However, these rebuttals could only affect their audience because the RNM newspapers chose to stay away from the subject by displaying a very different attitude in this case. The main reason for the RNM's exceptional attitude was that the main and subcontractor companies that built the dam were among the most prominent enterprises in Turkey. This situation once again showed how vital the RNM was for the counter-discourses. The DM newspaper presented one of the most ambitious and powerful notions of counter-discourse and de-legitimization in this incident. Still, its impact was relatively limited despite such strong arguments, and even the bodies of five out of 10 workers were still missing. If the RNM continued its usual attitude, much different results could have been found.

These two graphs complimented with the CDA data reveal that the situation that started with Karadon and intensified, especially with the Soma incident, had a manipulative purpose in enacting many laws regarding occupational safety. The government does not address the problem strictly as a societal issue, but purely within the framework of specific individual interests regarding several occupational safety regulations and laws, the privatization of inspection authority, the recruitment of occupational safety expertise to firms, the implementation of ILO conventions and the union law. The government claimed that it performed at its best in most cases but that these actions did not turn into practice for "some reasons." According to the government, similar to Bromley and Powell's (2012) means-ends decoupling description, formal policies were adapted and also implemented to daily practice, but it is said that the desired result could not be achieved. This situation has also been addressed by ministers and prime ministers in the following incidents:

- Ömer Dinçer's discussions (Minister of Labour) regarding trade unions and privatization discussions in the Karadon,
- Ömer Dinçer (Minister of Labor) and Melih Gökçek's (Mayor of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality) remarks on the supervision of Organized Industrial Zones in Ostim and İvedik incidents,
- Veysel Eroğlu's (Minister of Forestry and Water Affairs) statements on the privatization of controls in the Gökdere incident,

- Faruk Çelik's (Minister of Labor) explanations of labor law and discussions on clientelism in Esenyurt incident,
- Faruk Çelik's (Minister of Labor) speeches about the inspectors' professional ties with the firm in the Soma and Torunlar incidents,
- The Prime Minister's "fatalism" and "nature" statements in the Soma incident,
- Faruk Çelik's (Minister of Labor) explanations on subcontractor and performativity, inspection, and the investigation of inspectors in the Torunlar case,
- Faruk Çelik's (Minister of Labor) remarks on clientelism (50 people issue), the small mine and inspection issues in the Ermenek-II case,
- President Erdoğan's statements about the decoupling of companies in the Ermenek-II incident and related discussions.

This data verifies that means-ends decoupling is also valid in the Turkish context and is implemented at a governmental level. The government enacts all the laws on-demand with its majority in the parliament as a legislative body (formal policies) and implements them as an executive organ (daily practice). Still, the intended outcomes presented in the office cannot be achieved because the goals presented to the public as intended outcomes do not coincide with its agenda.

Bromley and Powell (2012) described policy–practice decoupling as **ceremonial adaptation** and means-ends decoupling as **ceremonial practice**. Both of these decoupling types are implemented by organizations and the government in the context of work accidents. Furthermore, the government allows companies, especially those with close ties, to adopt the necessary regulations only on paper, and perform ceremonial practices by omitting the necessary implementations and inspections, despite these regulations. It was determined that the government had implemented a different strategy in suppressing anger with political polarization, social anger-rebellion feelings, and the frequency and severity of similar incidents reaching their peak after 2012. The government sought to quell, or rather channel, social anger by implementing a relieving strategy by complaining about decoupling of companies.

The government either put all the relevant laws on its agenda or enacted them, particularly after 2014. It even signed the two most controversial ILO conventions (167 – constructions and 176 – mines) and ratified them on 23 March 2015. However, as Figures 2.2 and 2.3 illustrate, there has been no decrease in work accidents or related deaths. On the contrary, both numbers increased, because although the government immediately enacted

the relevant regulations after these incidents, it did so again only to appear as if they had done their part. Thus, they formed the content of several legitimizing discourses starting with "We did it, but..." In other words, thanks to decoupling, on the one hand, the government has given space for manoeuvre to the companies close to it even if preventive laws come out, and the government has created a space for itself by separating its official policies (formal policies) and practices. On the other hand, when it was in a difficult situation in the future, the government tried to save itself by complaining about the decoupling of companies, especially in the Ermenek-II case.

Similar to what MaClean and Benham (2010) have stated, the government attempts to legitimize itself by institutionalizing abuse of power and manipulation. Since this situation mostly occurred in the post-incident period, it has been associated with the latency phase.

The use of this decoupling as part of anger channelization and manipulation seems to work as follows:

- i. Necessary regulations and laws are enacted to suppress anger.
- ii. They are ratified and rapidly implemented in practice.
- iii. However, companies are tolerated in inspections.
- iv. Thus, the government has the notion of manipulating the circumstances if there is a problem while companies are satisfied with the government.
- v. If there is an issue, the government introduces a new law and re-produces the whole process from the first step.

In sum, the government has turned a blind eye to the malicious practice of decoupling by companies and has also utilized it to hide the real purpose behind their actions. The government's utilization of decoupling was statist polity, clientelism, economy-oriented mentality, failure to apply the principle in separation of powers.

Milestones in the Development of the (De)Naturalization Process

While denaturalization started to be used as a theme for the first time after Küre with CHP member Anadol's rhetoric "not an accident, but murder," naturalization was also used as a discourse in Dursunbey-I by Minister Dinçer with a statement as "*Such things happen in mining.*" Moreover, the PGM group followed a dominant naturalization attitude after the minister's statement while they processed denaturalization in Küre and Gediz incidents. The scatterplot with the ratio of the denaturalization themes in the total theme (Figure 5.9) reveals

that the DM has exhibited a solid denaturalization stance since the Küre incident. All themes that the DM processed were for denaturalization. The RNM-2, RNM-1 almost always denaturalized, and RNM-3 has completely denaturalized the incidents before Gökdere, as the RNM group seems to utilize both strategies after Gökdere. In the RNM group, RNM-2 and RNM-1 almost always makes news for denaturalization, and RNM-3, while primarily for denaturalization before Gökdere, dealt with both contexts after Gökdere.

There is no direct (de)naturalization in the Küre and Gediz incidents. However, using the phrase "not an accident but murder", which was used for the first time in Küre and later became a slogan, is reflected in the data (see Figure 5.9). Although this discourse is also a theme in these incidents, it stands out as a situation-based discourse, not a systemic criticism similar to later uses. The fact that this slogan became a system criticism was built on the statements made by Minister Dinçer for naturalization in Dursunbey-I and took its current form with Davutpaşa.

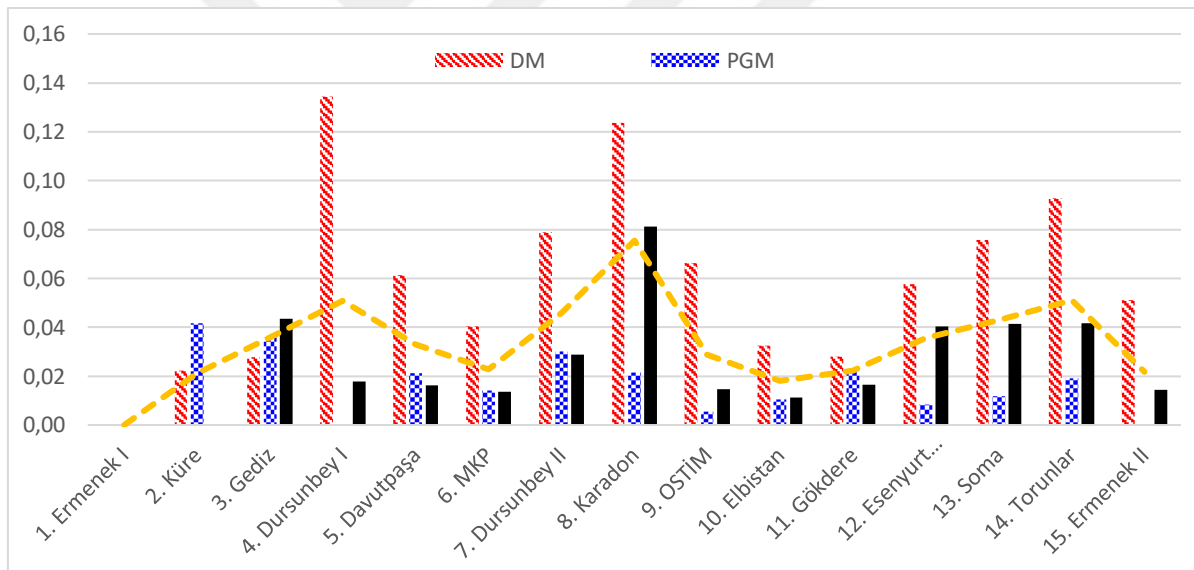


Figure 5. 9: The intensity of (De)naturalization themes

The (de)naturalization themes reach the highest levels during Dursunbey-I and Karadon incidents. The following statements by the Minister of Labour Dinçer in Dursunbey-I and Prime Minister Erdoğan in Karadon were seriously considered by the DM newspapers as an attempt to naturalize the incident and caused intensified denaturalization:

Dursunbey-I (Minister Güler):

- "Such things happen in mining. (*Normalization*)

- There seems to be no omission in the explosion. All the measuring devices are okay, and measurements were made before the explosion. It is difficult to determine where methane gas is accumulating. **Still, what is required will be done.** (*Rationalization and normalization*)

Karadon (PM Erdogan)

- This is the fate of this profession. (*Moralization & normalization*)
- They enter the profession knowing that such things can happen. (*Rationalization and normalization*)
- This is the destiny of this profession. This is the nature of this profession. (*Moralization and normalization*)
- I had an explanation. I said, "This is the fate of this job." Immediately, fate event was made the subject of mockery **in known circles** (*delegitimization*). Gas will explode, fate; something will happen, fate, they said. Do not worry; I did not explain the belief in accident and fate. In that regard, I know your temperament [meşrep] as well as your creation [cibiliyet] (*delegitimization*). This is in the nature of this profession. (*moralization*) Methane gas explosion, these tragedies **are not only valid for Turkey. It happens everywhere.** (*normalization*)

As seen in these statements, government officials try to delegitimize "them" and legitimize "us" by applying many legitimacy strategies and by manipulation with the US & THEM comparison, especially the overall interaction strategies, and with offensive accusations. Besides the legitimacy strategies the study benefits, it was observed that the minister and prime minister normalizes the incident and therefore naturalizes it by constructing a structure similar to Toulmin's reasoning model (evidence, warrant, claim) (1969 as cited in Green, Li and Nohria, 2009) especially in their last statements such as "accidents happen everywhere" (evidence), "they happen here too" (warrant), "so it's normal" (claim). This construction is also evident in the Prime Minister's statements on the Soma incident.

These naturalization elements revealed that the denaturalization process is the structure utilized in the naturalization of work accidents. It was determined that legitimacy and manipulation strategies had critical roles in the functioning of the process in this naturalization process, while decoupling had a role in its repetition. This study utilized legitimacy (Vaara et al., 2006) and manipulation model (van Dijk, 2006a) and the study data supported both models. Meyer and Rowan's (1977) policy-practice decoupling (*ceremonial adoption*) and Bromley and Powell's (2012) means-ends decoupling (*ceremonial practice*) concepts are verified by this attempt within different contexts.

CMS and Its Principles

One of the other significant problems in this study is the consideration of CMS and its principles for work accidents. It has been revealed in the denaturalization process that work accidents were legitimized and therefore naturalized through references to nature, necessity, rationality, etc., to which CMS rejects, in the work accidents examined by CMS-based questioning of the power relations that exist under any circumstances. A short discussion for anti-performativity and de-naturalization principles as sub-problems might elaborate on this deduction.

Denaturalization Principle

The denaturalization process is a separate concept from the principle despite a strong association. The denaturalization principle of CMS refers to being opposed to the idea of the seemingly immutable ‘realities’ and ‘rationalities’ of managerialism. In the context of this principle, although there is no a direct typical description reflected in the data, there are numerous notions of naturalization that appear to be appropriate in this context. The rationalization and normalization themes utilized regarding the private sector, with descriptions such as "the private sector does not have ...", "the private sector is good in ..." particularly in cases where privatization policies are emphasized positively in the PGM and RNM newspapers, besides the mainstream management thoughts, the private sector mechanism appears to be naturalized. The Energy Minister Hilmi Güler and Labour Minister Ömer Dinçer’ statements since the first incidents were included in this category. For instance, the Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, Hilmi Güler, *“Security is followed very seriously in private enterprises. I do not guess that the accident was due to it”* said on the first day and hours of the incidents before any expert assessment was received, in the Küre incident. Moreover, his remarks in the Dursunbey-I incident as *“Such things happen in mining”* expose solid naturalization notions. The data from the findings and denaturalization process also show that this continued throughout the process. It is noteworthy that naturalization was particularly used for processing “importance of industry/private sectors” and “priority of money and capitalist order” themes.

However, the counter-discourse criticized these naturalization efforts much more apparently and tried to denaturalize them. It was found that the following themes stood out in this context:

- Criticism of System/Order/Mentality

- Profit/Money Ambition: Greed, Labour Exploitation, etc.
- Protection of the Company/Private Sector
- Wild Capitalist System, Capital That Sees Nothing but Profit
- Comparison With Other Countries
- The Safest Workplace Is the Most Efficient Workplace

Moreover, these themes often highlight anti-performativity. The main arguments created by the counter-discourse on these themes are that work accidents are normalized and naturalized by companies and the government for several reasons, but primarily because of an economy-oriented mentality. The focus is on refuting the arguments that the government wind rationalizes and naturalizes, especially with themes of *the comparison with other countries* and *the safest workplace is the most efficient workplace*.

In summary, naturalization vs denaturalization has an important discursive role in the context of work accidents. The naturalization efforts of the dominant power are tried to be refuted by a strong denaturalization discourse of the dissident elements. While the success of the denaturalization process is only possible with the interest of the mainstream media to the issue, it is understood that the principle of denaturalization can be worked in any dissident context. Furthermore, it has been proved that the denaturalization concept can be successfully applied not only in academic texts but also in texts with a larger social foundation, such as the printed news media. Therefore, this attempt revealed that, besides the denaturalization process introduced in this study, the analysis of the denaturalization principle with non-academic texts presents the potential to make significant contributions to the field.

Anti-performativity

The data hints at much-needed insights in terms of performativity vs. anti-performativity. The performativity was not directly processed and always addressed as anti-performativity for criticism in all three newspaper groups. The anti-performativity stance, which has been one of the main arguments of dissident groups since the first incident, has been processed in almost every incident. It became an undeniable reality with the Minister of Labour, Çelik's statements in the last incident.

The following statement by CHP Kastamonu Deputy Mehmet Yıldırım at the Küre incident is the first example of the discourse against the performance-oriented mind being expressed with words of dissidents: *"All the blame is on Ce-Ka Company. Necessary*

measures were not taken. *They acted with the logic of giving less, taking more.* However, the result was a murder.”

The anti-performativity was mainly associated with performance-oriented working and more money/profit-orientation themes while it was processed in almost every incident. The frequency of these themes (Figure 5.10) revealed that they were rarely processed until the Davutpaşa incident while becoming common then for each incident. The RNM had the least interest (15%) while the DM (68%) showed the most interest in the subject. It is noteworthy that The RNM’s news showed the mildest criticisms against performativity and did not generalize this situation, although it was criticizing. It is thought that this attitude of RNM is due to the companies it is affiliated with.

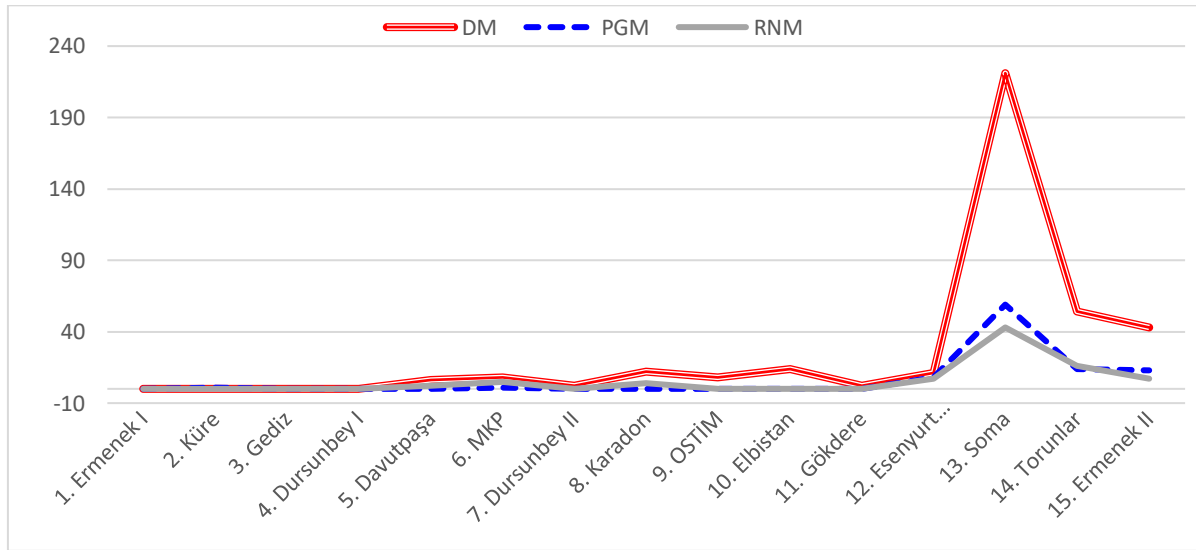


Figure 5. 10: Performance-oriented working and more money/profit-orientation themes

It is usual for the Soma incident to be studied much more, quantitatively and qualitatively, in almost every context. However, there is another reason why it is investigated this much in the context of anti-performativity than other incidents. Alp Gürkan, CEO of Soma Holding, had an exclusive interview with Vahap Munyar from RNM-1 (Munyar, 2012) 1.5 years before the Soma incident. He said that his company had reduced the cost of coal from \$130-140 for a ton when it was managed by TCE to \$23,8. He hinted at the working style of the private sector when asked how he achieved this (Munyar, 2012). This interview was presented as a performativity critique (as anti-performativity) of all newspapers in the Soma period, leading to much more processing of these themes.

It becomes clear that performativity had deadly consequences in the Turkish case considering the performativity (mainstream management theory), anti-performativity

(Fournier and Grey, 2000), and critical performativity (Spicer et al., 2009) contexts. How is the situation in the context of anti vs critical performativity? First, the newspapers almost always exhibited an anti-performativity attitude. A few exceptions were observed in the RNM newspaper that can be considered as critical performativity. It is thought that PGM's anti-performativity-supporting attitude was adopted because it was in line with the thesis of reducing the incident to the company.

Moreover, the RNM group was closer to the critical-performativity (CP) side, while the anti-performativity stance is one of the main arguments of the DM in Turkey. Spicer et al. (2009) defined critical performativity as completing the unfinished business of CMS and stated that CP cares about the managers' opinions but still challenges them. They emphasized that performativity is not inherently wrong and that the main idea is discussing what kind of performativity is necessary. Therefore, they emphasized that the performativity they wanted was critical performativity, which had an affirmative stance, the ethic of care, pragmatism, potentialities, and normative characteristics.

The sort of performativity should be detailed with the Turkey data. These five characteristics are very constructive and meaningful while they are challenging to achieve. A few arguments, their rationale, and compatibility with the Turkish case might be discussed to show why these are very difficult.

First, CP researchers reject CMS' attempts to present powerful systems as fully integrated, all-powerful, singular entities. They state that it should be considered a complex of different institutions and as many actors and interests with different logics, constantly separating themselves from each other. Second, according to CP researchers, a critical performative CMS is more crucial than just facts. It is interested in the potential and going beyond criticizing the existing contemporary management practices and trying to create an optimum idea.

These two approaches are essential to grasp the gist of the model and represent an "ideal" situation. However, to what extent does "reality" fit with this ideal? Are there several actors and interests in Turkey that constantly separate themselves from each other? Besides, what are the future potentials given the current realities?

The collected data indicate that the performativity stance cannot be executed in the Turkish case, despite the few examples that support critical performance. The data hints that there are not several actors and interests in Turkey that are strong enough to separate each

other constantly. The government can almost execute everything on its own, and there are no mechanisms to prevent this. The government has taken complete control of the unions, courts, and media, or limited their functionality. A small number of dissident elements have only reached those who are essentially oppositional and those who have a tendency in this direction. Thus, no matter how strong counter-discourse they build, they can only reach this limited segment. The potentialities created by these realities offer a projection limited to this context. As a result, the data suggested that anti-performativity should be considered a "must" in the Turkish setting.

Some country-specific and vitally important mechanisms of infrastructural features should be sought to apply the five features of CP stated by Spicer et al. (2009) in reality. The rigid principle of separation of powers, mature and independent institutions that can control each other, the rule of law in practice, functional trade unions, similar to the worker representative system in Germany. The worker representative system, a type of which is implemented in Germany, is a system in which a worker is elected as a representative in each workplace, and this selected worker has various autonomy as a "representative or spokesperson". These workers have a kind of right, which Foucault refers to as the parrhesia (fearless speech) right, which is very effective in protecting workers' rights, and this right cannot be denied in any way. It is also effective in increasing the effectiveness of unions and protecting workers, even against the unions. Otherwise, the performativity stance can be directly equated with worker deaths, as in the Turkish case.

It is not possible to conclude that if the government acts upon this, the companies will do the same. However, considering the 15 analysed cases, it might be argued that these companies did not employ workers in a situation that could be attributed to "slavery" in only one incident (Dursunbey-II). It was determined that the companies employed workers in unacceptable conditions with a full performativity mentality in the other 14 cases. For instance, 'the exploitative & malevolent behaviours of the employer' and 'unacceptable working conditions' themes, dealing directly with this subject, were processed in all incidents. The performativity and performance-oriented mentality were consistently highlighted as the main problems in processing these themes.

The research data revealed that the CMS's anti-performativity principle is necessary for not only the academic context but also in practice in Turkey. The concept of critical performativity causes serious problems in practice due to the lack of basic structural

mechanisms. It must be processed and studied similar to Wickert and Schaefer's (2015) progressive performativity concept to flourish as a counter-discourse in academic studies.

Corpus

Corpus data and thematic analysis data are parallel with each other. Similar movements are observed in Figure 5.11 for almost all incidents. Despite this parallelism and the total keyword count is never less than the total theme count. It was found that the analyses made with keywords alone neglect a crucial part of the issue. Since specific keywords always point to a particular subject, it is unlikely that they might be omitted in the analysis. However, the data show that it is common to thematize an issue without specific keywords, so analysis with keywords alone is likely to miss some significant notions. On the other hand, it was also common for previously themed issues to be reminded only through specific keywords or processed between the lines without re-thematization, especially in the PGM group. Analyses on only the themes also overlook these aspects. Therefore, corpus and thematic analyses complement each other with their unique features. Both are much more useful as auxiliary analyses that support the primary research design rather than implementation as the main method. This supports the fact that it is a more accurate approach for the study to use them both as auxiliaries.

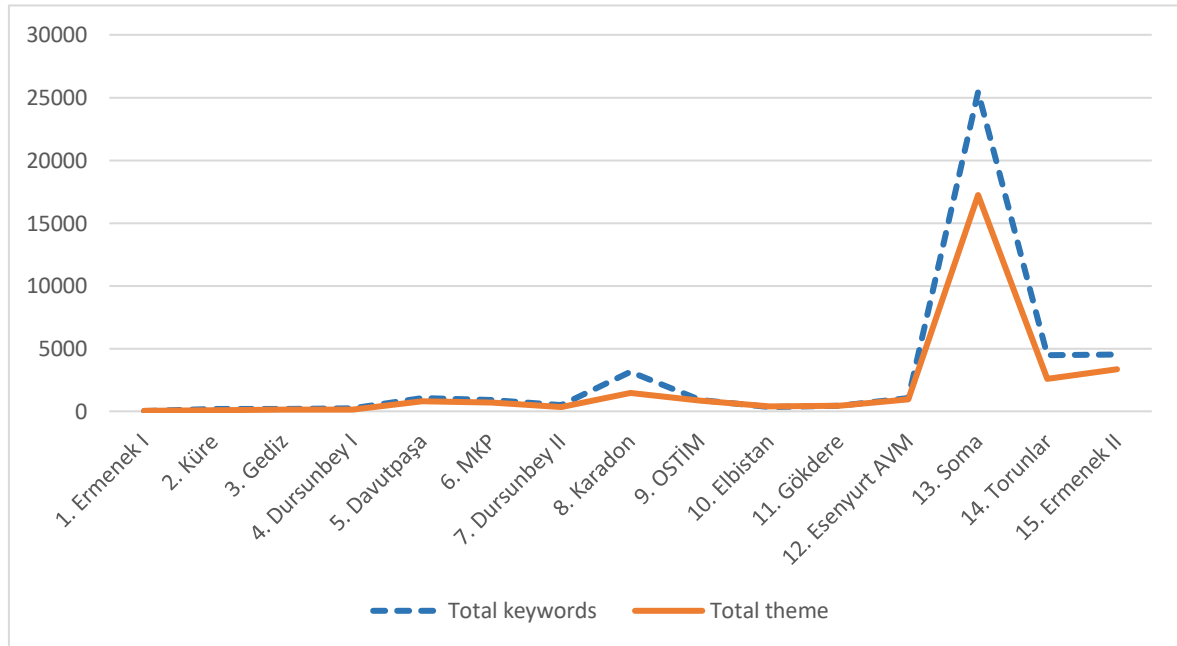


Figure 5. 11: Incident-based comparison of total themes and keywords

Keywords considered in the corpus were chosen and grouped because they directly refer to an issue or an actor. Three of these nine groups are related to actors and six to issues. Only the factors are elaborated on for the following section, as others were detailed before.

Considering the first three groups of actors, government, dissidents, and unions, it is unclear whether they were referred to in a neutral context as simply actors or for criticism. However, three newspaper groups' approaches to the actors and incidents, in general, are known. Thus, it is clear in what context most keywords are used. For instance, while DM is negatively emphasising even when using government neutral, PGM does this for all dissident elements. This also applies to issues. For example, the Fate/Destiny/Act of God keywords group is always used in the DM for criticism and denaturalization. In contrast, they are mostly used for naturalization, even if presented neutrally, in the PGM group. Besides, they were always used for denaturalization in the RNM group within neutral or critical processing. The keywords already grouped according to a context as a dichotomy reveal this more apparently such as AKP vs. AK Party, Accident vs. Murder, Inspection vs. Lack of Inspection, and Protest vs. Provocation dichotomies. Therefore, keywords should be analysed considering their context.

The presence or absence of a term in any text can also reveal specific details. It might indicate how much an issue is considered and how active an actor is. The relevant actors indicate that government-related actors, cited 10350 times, are the main actors in this context. This situation coincides with expectations since these actors had numerous statements and actions. However, in the AKP vs. Ak Party dichotomy, the use of AKP (841) is much higher than the use of Ak Party (267). The AKP keyword is mostly used in the DM group (5442-53%), while the PGM was the group with the least tendency towards it. This also reveals that it is used for criticism.

The "opposition" terms, including CHP and MHP, the opposition parties in the parliament in all the related incidents and were analysed regarding the dissidents, which were used 1192 times in total. The collected data revealed that the CHP stands out as a critical opposition element, and the MHP does not significantly impact this context. The MHP remained very weak in eight other incidents while it did not make any statement on such vital issues in seven incidents. As a matter of the fact that the 79 of the MHP term-usage, of 115 times in total, were processed in Soma. In other words, the term MHP is used on average five times in the other seven cases. The CHP, on the other hand, was used 962 times in total and was not cited in only two cases. The term CHP was used an average of 31 times in

incidents other than Soma. It is determined that the MHP, as an opposition party, showed little interest in this issue and was not active as there is no concrete data on the potential reasons.

It was observed that DİSK, which is used 258 times, is the most effective actor in this context, while 458 uses were found among unionized actors. Türk-İş, which is used 182 times, follows DİSK, while Hak-İş, which is used only 18 times, comes last. Moreover, DİSK received more than 500 and Türk-İş nearly 300 references with the references made to the sub-unions affiliated to these confederations, while Hak-İş was again and only 18. Hak-İş was so passive that it is mentioned only five times, even in the Soma incident, which brought the most citations. Therefore, it has a very appropriate attitude towards the yellow union. However, only five of the “Yellow union” mentions were directly named and targeted a union, while the term itself was used 12 times, and in these five uses, the sub-unions affiliated with Türk-İş were targeted. Hak-İş was even not given enough attention to be targeted.

The increasing number of members of Hak-İş was noteworthy in the literature review section, but opposite results were reached. Why is the number of Hak-İş’s member workers increasing even though it is substantially less effective in protecting workers? The data clearly shows that, for example, in the case of Maden-İş in the Soma incident, it is the employer and/or the government but not the employee, that is decisive in the selection of trade unions. It has been processed in several cases where employers have made statements that they will not hire workers who are not members of a particular union, while workers have frequently stated that they have to be members of a particular union to apply for a position. It was determined that employers used the union as a control tool in managing the workers. Therefore, there is an entirely employer-driven structure and negativity beyond the yellow union description.

The situation is slightly complicated for Türk-İş, which has the second-highest membership count considering other unions. Türk-İş has different attitudes in different periods while Hak-İş always functions as a pro-government and yellow union. Türk-İş, which stood out with its oppositional influence until Karadon, continued its pro-worker statements with the notion of opposition in the following periods but cannot prevent the yellow union criticisms directed at it. Türk-İş was directly targeted, especially in the Karadon and Soma incidents that were noteworthy with protests against its members in these two

incidents. There is no direct accusation other than being directly designated as a yellow union in two cases.

DİSK, with the least members' headcount, stood out as the only active union with priority to workers' rights throughout the entire process. Its discourse and arguments were quite strong with a positive difference through the analyses and reports on all critical issues, especially factors and the naturalization process. However, DİSK cannot have the same level of influence as Türk-İş, which was quite successful when it was on the opposition. Türk-İş has a background with political and bureaucratic support within the state and had greater abilities to change things, especially before 2014. However, the counter-discourse and arguments DİSK has created were limited and could not find a more accurate and broader social resonance since it did not have this much influence.

It is also necessary to mention the consent production. The unions were choosing the workers instead of the other way around, which is indicated by the increase in the yellow union characteristics of the unions. This situation is directly related to why workers gave their consent to work in such deficient working conditions. It is evident that there is no consent production in practice, and it is understood that the workers had to work out of necessity in the desperation between working under these conditions and dying of starvation. States such as agriculture's demise to extinction due to the government's agricultural policy, other limited job opportunities' inability to support a family, and making them suitable candidates for mines and constructions with the destruction of labour and working-class consciousness forced the workers to work under these conditions. The lack of an effective unionization that protects the workers' rights stands out as the primary mechanism behind this whole process. In sum, there is no evidence of any consent production and process, and it was found that a working-class needs work entirely out of desperation.

Since corpus data on issues besides the actors are in line with CDA and thematic analysis, only the following three issues will be highlighted here:

First, although keywords are specific, their usage purposes often differ. The keywords such as murderer, massacre, murder, and police violence were always used for the same purpose. In contrast, the ones such as fate/destiny/act of God, martyr/martyrdom, and lack of inspection, negligence, police, production, and provocateur/provocation were always context-specific. The DM used these for criticism, delegitimization, and denaturalization,

while the PGM group utilized them for support, legitimization, and naturalization are in question.

It was discovered that specific words played a critical role in manipulating an issue such as “comeuppance, kick and slap” keywords in the Soma incident. Moreover, the use of order/mentality, slave/slavery keywords in the PGM was also frequent for manipulation.

Finally, it was observed that the demonstration vs. protest dichotomy is widely used and exemplified in the literature. However, the data revealed that such a dichotomy is not valid for work accidents as the protest vs. provocation dichotomy is much more substantial.

Concluding Remarks

This study sought to answer the question, "How are work accidents (de) naturalized in Turkey?". To reveal the naturalization process is the essential aim of this thesis, and together with explaining how denaturalization can be done, it will make significant contributions to the field. However, in the end, the primary purpose of this thesis is to reveal how naturalization, which is one of the primary mechanisms in the high incidence of work accidents, works. Considering that the power of the government, which is the dominant power in the context of the study, and the PGM under its command, have been increasing and holding power in every sense in recent years, revealing the naturalization process has become more essential. Therefore, it is necessary to emphasize once again how the government and PGM do naturalization.

Dominant power, which focuses only on "incident themes" in the mutual mourning phase, aims to hide the background info rather than emphasizing the incident. It follows a "softening" strategy by using typical discourses such as "whatever is necessary will be done", "our government will not give up to follow this matter", "no one will be disregarded if there is negligence". In the attribution phase, in framing why the incident happened, it is manipulate the background of the incident with various manipulation and legitimacy strategies. Thus, the incident is presented as an isolated incident by being reduced to the relevant company only, and it is tried to be hidden that it is a structural problem. In the polarization phase, while trying to legitimize the dominant power (government) with various strategies according to the severity of the incident and the public's reaction to the incident, all kinds of opposing views are ignored or de-legitimized. Except for Prime Minister/President Erdogan, no dominant power representatives (senior government officials and PGM) directly use naturalization discourses such as "it is in this professions'

nature," "destiny/fate," "Act of God" in this phase, and such discourses are not reported despite Erdogan's statements⁸. Instead, it focuses on discourse, statements, and news that target opposing views and whose sole purpose is to de-legitimize them. It focuses on US & THEM comparison with the use of intensive manipulation and legitimacy strategies. Manipulative news, such as the diversion of the issue from the main event and the "comeuppance" issues, are taken forward in the post-Soma period by targeting dissident people and institutions in a much more open and direct manner. There is no questioning news, and the incident itself is always secondary. The arguments and facts presented by dissident groups during the polarization phase are usually ignored during the sedimentation phase, which focuses solely on incident themes and employees' life stories. In the latency phase, the least news is observed in the PGM group, and only if there is an important trump card for manipulation, then the intense news flow is observed. It is seen that the five legitimacy strategies and the nine strategies in the manipulation model are frequently used and, these strategies are mostly processed by PGM in both contexts. The primary purpose of all manipulation and legitimacy notions is to naturalize the issue by reducing it to an isolated incident and preventing it from being associated with the government. This is also supported with keywords.

In addition to determining the (de)naturalization process, concrete and solid findings in the context of performativity, which has been the most discussed principle in recent years under the CMS umbrella, have been exposed. The most critical of these findings is that critical-performativity is not yet a viable contextualization in Turkey since performance-oriented mentality and its legitimation, namely performativity, is the main motivation behind naturalization. Moreover, for the other principle, denaturalization, the criticisms that the researchers in the field focus only on academic studies and that there is no standard operation have been justified. This current study also claims to contribute to the field in this sense by going beyond academic data and addressing the issue through newspaper reports.

Since the study covers a period of 20 years, it was deemed necessary and possible to develop CDA, which is the main analysis method of the study, in some respects. Three improvements have been made to the CDA to compare accidents that occurred at different times using the same criteria. First, thematic analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006), which enables a standard theme classification and comparison, was incorporated into the CDA's

⁸ That is why, According to corpus analysis, these discourses are used much more in DM because DM, unlike PGM, makes critical news using these terms directly.

macrostructure analysis. Secondly, specific keywords analysis in the corpus context was added to the microstructure analysis of the CDA since it aimed to make a standard comparison due to the criticality of words and expressions (i.e., Abdel-Raheem, 2021; Brookes and McEnery, 2020; Resende, 2020; Wing-Chun Ng, 2020). Finally, the manipulation model developed by van Dijk (van Dijk, 2006a) was added to the CDA to understand whether there was any manipulation and what kind of change it went through in different incidents in the long term. This model has come to the fore in this context by pointing out essential findings, especially in the statements of government officials.

As a result of the researches, it has also been understood that the four factors are effective in the high number of work accidents. In the literature, these four factors have mostly been dealt with individually, and the context has been created outside of work accidents (i.e., Gürcan and Mete, 2017; Özen and Akkemik, 2011; Pamuk, 2017; Sayarı, 2014; Simaku, 2021; Yıldırım, 2020). Therefore, this study both dealt with these four different factors together and subjected them to an analysis in the context of work accidents directly. These factors are a) political context, which stands out with its clientelism and strong politician-business world tie features (i.e., Çeviker-Gürakar, 2018; Özen and Önder, 2020; Özen and Akkemik, 2011; Özveri, 2015; Pamuk, 2017; Sayarı, 2014; Simaku, 2021; Yıldırım, 2020), b) Neoliberal policies specific to Turkey, which are highly influenced by the political context and still show intense statist polity features (i.e., Balkır, 2008; Ercan and Oğuz, 2015; Gürcan and Mete, 2017; Sarı Mehmet Duman, 2019; Yeşilyurt Gündüz, 2015), c) Weak and politicized trade union system (i.e., Gürcan and Mete, 2017; Sarı Mehmet Duman, 2019) and d) Dysfunction of law (Büyükbay, 2014; Çetin and Karatay Gögül, 2015; Tekin, 2014)

These four factors have been disclosed following the purpose of the CMS, which aims to counteract all kinds of domination and inequality. However, although the negative impact of these factors is obvious, they shed more light on the antecedents of the issue. Moreover, under the typical application of the CMS, this study, which has been carried out through the CDA, has only been able to reveal the premises of the problem. The purpose of CMS is not only to reveal the problem and its causes but also to provide constructive criticism for a better society. Although it cannot offer a solution and prevent the problem completely, it can also offer tools and arguments that can be used to combat it (Spicer et al., 2016). From this point of view and considering the criticisms against CMS (e.g., Alvesson, 2021; Butler et al., 2018; Cinque and Nyberg, 2021; Leca and Cruz, 2021; Prasad et al., 2015; Reedy and

King, 2019; Tourish, 2019), it has been concluded that it would be more appropriate to analyse the study over a broader social context, rather than just analysing data based on academic studies. Considering the relevant period, it has been understood that the data that can best analyse the wider social context over work accidents is in the print news media.

By analysing how and why the related news of national newspapers with different backgrounds and political views is reported through the CDA, it has been revealed that all four factors in the literature have a direct and significant effect on the high number of work accidents in Turkey. In addition to confirming the factors with study data, it has been observed that the procedures and motivations for news-making varied across newspaper groups. DM and RNM newspapers aim to delegitimize and thus denaturalize work accidents and related deaths by claiming that they are a much more critical and macro-dimensional structural problem that cannot be reduced to an isolated incident, while also frequently processing and analysing the factors behind them. On the other hand, PGM, whose primary purpose is to reduce work accidents to an isolated issue and prevent them from being associated with the government and the system, always reports to legitimize and naturalize the issue. Therefore, it has been clearly demonstrated that naturalization vs denaturalization opposition in work accidents divides the printed news media into two.

Considering the national newspapers in Turkey, DM is always the weakest and least read group during the study period. While RNM was the strongest group for a long time from the first incidents, it gradually lost its strength with the sales or shutdowns in 2010, 2012-2014 and 2018. However, after the mass sale in 2018, it could not resist any longer against the PGM group, which has been increasing its power every year and dominating 95% of the media as of 2018 (Dağtaş, 2019). In other words, as of 2018, the PGM group dominates the media, and the influence of counter-discourses is weaker than ever. Therefore, when the strongest counter-discourse has developed in the most recent periods, the effect of de-naturalization on the social base has gradually weakened, while the effect of naturalization has reached its peak.

The essential concern of CDS, as well as CMS, is the fight against the legitimacy of an abuse of dominant power and its dominance over all or a portion of society (Amoussou and Allagbe, 2018; Dursun, 2007; Fairclough, 2015; Fairclough et al., 2011; Özer, 2018; van Dijk, 1995, 2001b; 2015a; 96; Wodak, 2001; 2014). Therefore, in the context of work accidents, it is critical for both approaches to illustrate how the process of legitimation and naturalisation, which is the most fundamental foundation of the dominance that employers

and the government want to impose on employees, may be denaturalized. The analyses made for this purpose revealed a naturalization process consisting of five phases, namely *mutual mourning*, *attribution*, *polarization*, *sedimentation*, and *latency*, and that it can be denaturalized with a counter-discourse created through the same process. In addition, the effects of legitimacy, which stands out as the basic mechanism in the naturalization process, and decoupling, which is understood to have an effect on the continuous repetition of naturalization at different times, were also discussed.

In summary, when all the findings are taken into account, the following findings and developments stand out in this study. Firstly, the naturalization process has been revealed with all its stages, and it has been determined how any naturalization issue can be denaturalized. In this naturalization process, how legitimization, decoupling and manipulation were used effectively have also been discussed. Secondly, empirical analysis of all prominent factors in the literature has been done holistically for the first time. In addition, with the methodological additions of thematic analysis, corpus analysis and manipulation model in the context of CDA, the related analysis has become more suitable for massive data and longitudinal studies. At a glance, the main reason for such fatal work accidents in Turkey was the naturalization conducted not to harm the applied policies and factors that ensure their functionality.

6. CONCLUSION

The primary aim of this thesis was to question how the work accidents are naturalized in Turkey. Moreover, the study focused on why work accidents and related deaths are such a severe and non-preventable issue in Turkey and what are the factors behind them. The studies carried out in this context, and their main findings are as follows:

First and foremost, this study has shown that work accidents with such severe consequences do not receive proper reaction due to the naturalization of work accidents at the community level. How this naturalization is done and how to denaturalize with the construction of counter-discourse have also been determined through the five phases of (de)naturalization process revealed in this study. In addition, it has also been revealed that legitimization has a critical role in the functioning of these phases, which are called (de)naturalization process, and decoupling plays an active role in the continuous reuse of (de)naturalization process.

Secondly, a conclusion has been reached in tandem with the literature by revealing that the primary factors, which are political context, neoliberalism characteristics peculiar to Turkey, legal and union issues, determined based on the literature review are effective and valid in the context of work accidents. However, these four factors are antecedents of the problem and do not explain why work accidents do not receive an adequate social reaction and how they are justified and legitimized at the community level, and this can be explained on by the naturalization process.

In addition to the analysis of work accidents, the data obtained also pointed to significant findings regarding the two main principles of CMS; anti-performativity and denaturalization. First, it has been understood that although CMS researchers have always mentioned the denaturalization principle, they have not supplied sufficient evidence on how the principle should function, and the limited related studies have only been conducted on academic studies. This study also contributed to CMS by focusing on an analysis unit outside academic studies and revealing the denaturalization process, which contains essential notions about how the denaturalization principle can be carried out. On the other hand, in the anti-performativity vs critical performativity issue of the CMS, which has been the most

debated issue in recent years, it has been revealed that critical performativity recontextualization is not possible under current conditions due to the existence of significant structural problems in Turkey. Therefore, the study data showed that either the anti-performativity principle should be adhered to or the recontextualizations such as critical and progressive performativity should be given a structure that prerequisites certain systemic conditions.

If the findings should be evaluated briefly, the national printed newspapers used as the analysis unit were divided into three groups: dissident, pro-government and relatively neutral, and it was revealed how and why which newspaper group made the relevant news. It has been revealed that all three groups, but mostly the DM and PGM groups, make ideological productions and reproductions in the news discourse. It has been observed that PGM newspapers hide the government's responsibility related to the issue by making manipulative and ideological news and reducing the issue to an isolated incident.

In PGM, the themes and frameworks used to justify the incident were equipped with profound constructions and used as a legitimation tool, which caused the issue to become naturalized in the eyes of society and the reader: PGM has made a justification and framing in both macrostructure and microstructure that the responsibility was assigned only to the related companies via a reductionist approach. PGM has hidden the economic and political reasons of the issues, and thus it has naturalized by manipulating the incidents in terms of background and context. However, contrary to what PGM framed, here, as a result of the comparison of the incidents with those other similar ones, it is seen that there is an isomorphic structure both in the way incidents occur and in the mechanisms behind them in terms of macrostructures. This isomorphism has mainly driven by legitimacy processes at the national level, and the underlying mechanisms are similar. As a matter of fact, it can be easily seen when various incidents are compared and examined together, for which the series of rules with many correct processes on paper has no place in practice. This circumstance demanded a thorough investigation into why the laws and regulations had stayed only on paper, although they had changed numerous times. It turned out that the main reason behind this was the decoupling strategy implemented by the government due to its excessive economy-oriented mentality.

Although the DM group exhibited a counter-ideological attitude as a counter-discourse, they were able to reach the society only as much as those who intend to read these newspapers. This was due to the serious obstacles of the dominant power trying to suppress

almost all media. In addition, it was noted that DM-3 differed from other DM newspapers both qualitatively and quantitatively and was the newspaper that made the most unsuccessful counter-discourse work. DM-3 is the most widely read DM newspaper, and this stands out as one of the most critical factors that cause the counter-discourse not to reach the wider society. RNM newspapers, which continued their existence under the umbrella of Doğan Media until 2018, prevented this deficiency from reaching much worse extents. RNM also tried to prevent the naturalization of the issue in all incidents, with few exceptions, and in some cases, they adopted a very similar attitude to the DM newspapers.

In summary, although the arguments for denaturalization with many crucial counter-discourses have been getting stronger and stronger, the only naturalization has become visible and effective due to the dominant power's constantly increasing power. The government, which has a high level of media control, can more easily prevent all kinds of de-legitimization and de-naturalization arguments developed against it from finding a response on the social base, especially after taking over RNM-1. Thus, while denaturalization discourses reach only a certain group, naturalizing discourses reach the majority of the society and prevent the emergence of effective social opposition to work accidents.

There are also some critical limitations in this study: First of all, due to the purpose of the study, the data obtained from the focused period and newspapers are very comprehensive. It took a long time and effort to compile and edit them by a single person. Since such a comprehensive study requires researchers with different fields of expertise, such as theorists and methodologists, it is much more appropriate to benefit from different supports if used for the thesis or evaluated as a project as a team. Also, the fact that the newspaper archives in Turkey are not good enough and that the pre-2010 archives are only available digitally in Cumhuriyet newspaper has caused the data to be collected from various data sources and caused the data to be collected very long time. This has led to the risk of data being out of date and overlooked. In addition, although the internet news was far behind the printed text, especially before 2010, during the period in which the study focused, its increasing influence after 2010 draws attention. For this reason, the fact that incidents in 2014 are not covered in both printed and online news appears to be a constraint. Therefore, it is recommended that future studies should take these limitations into account.

On the other hand, the socio-cognitive approach of CDA developed by van Dijk for news analysis was used as the primary method. This method is very advantageous in news

analysis. However, during the study, it was realized that it may have some limitations in longitudinal research and may cause some crucial problems and complexity, especially in comparing accident data in different periods and places. In order to overcome these potential problems, it has been discovered that the various model articulations used in this study facilitate the necessary comparisons and make the model considerably more efficient. Therefore, it is recommended that future studies, particularly longitudinal ones, benefit from the model enhancements achieved in this thesis in the context of CDA. These improvements are thematic analysis added to macrostructure analysis and corpus-assisted version added to microstructure analysis to develop the lexical style. In addition, if it aims to reveal manipulative notions about any actor or phenomenon, the use of manipulation models added to the CDA will increase the study's effectiveness and efficiency. Considering these limitations and suggestions for future studies will help their work to be more effective.

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