Abstract
There have been bloody clashes among opponents and Syria government for two years in Syria. Insurgents in Syria continue persistently their struggles which aim to overthrow Bashir Al-Assad’s government and establish Independent and Democratic Syria State. Although these struggles and clashes are accepted as internal problem of the country, sometimes they can affect neighbor countries of Syria negatively. The most affected country event proving this proposition is that 5 citizens of Turkey were killed in Akçakale in Urfa because of shell fired from Syria. Consequently, Turkey started to implement some precautions in order to prevent these kinds of unwanted situations and events. Beside diplomatic precautions, Turkey applied to North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) to make a more secure its Syria borders by deploying patriot missile batteries on that region. First news about deploying patriot batteries on Syria borders of Turkey was presented in American and European presses. Initially, Turkey rejected this news but after a while it accepted truthfulness of the information. Patriot demand of Turkey from NATO was confirmed by some groups but it has become an international topic criticized by national and international political actors. Why Patriots are criticized persistently in Turkish and world public opinion is that they are most effective antiaircraft and missile defense system. Another topic criticized comprehensively in public opinions that for which purpose Turkey will use patriots. According to some point of view Patriots will be used for a military intervention to Iran.

In this study it is aimed that how Turkish press reflected the topic of Patriot missile systems which were demanded from NATO by Turkey in order to deploy its Syria border. Properly with purpose of the study, newspapers from different political and ideological perspectives were selected in order to analyze. Purpose of the study focusing on how different newspapers from different point of views reflected this important event makes it so important. The study also focuses on time period in which public opinion criticized the situation intensively. That is why, time period among 20 November- 20 December 2012 were analyzed because of so many news published in Turkish press about the event. In order to analyze these news, discourse analyze method of Teun v. Dijk was used in content of the study. Discourse Analyze Method is so suitable and beneficial method for analyzing the meaning and discourse of news produced in different political and ideological contexts.

Keywords: Turkey, Syria, Patriot Missile Systems, Discourse Analyze.
oppositions of Western countries have affected the relations strategically with Syria. During the Prime Minister Erdogan’s visit, free trade agreement was signed between Turkey and Syria. Thus, Turkey clearly showed that it would not support the international pressures on Syrian regime (Ayhan, 2009: 29). The High- Level Strategic Cooperation Treaty was signed during the official visit of Esad to Turkey on September 16, 2009. The Strategic Cooperation Council is an important agreement since it consists of movements that will help improving the relations between Syria and Turkey in every aspect, and it also consists of concrete steps (Ayhan, 2009: 31).

The crisis in Syria which occurred by the conflicts that has been going on from March, 2011 and nearly caused the death 10.000 civilians showed how fragile the regional alliances are in this part of the Middle East region (Ertugrul, 2012: 1). The public notes developing in the Middle East countries from January 2011 have affected the relations between Turkey and Syria in a different way. Turkey offered a route map for rapidly changing conjuncture while the Arab Spring going forward in the North Africa, and it hoped that the government of Esad would accept the difference in the context of the agreements contracted before. On the other hand, the government, the family of Esad, Baas Party, el- Muhaberat, Nusayris and the activeness of the secular elements of the society in Syria paved the way for suppressing the protests or rebellions in a bloody way. Under these circumstances, the hopes of Turkey about the possibility of peace and amendments that would be placed in Syria gave its place to disappointment and also to anger due to increase in the number of civil protestors killed by unbalanced force (Cemrek, 2012: 62). “The relations between and Syria that went on cooperatively until the March of 2011 were shaped firstly with the attitude of Turkey that supports the studies of reform in Syria. It was obviously seen that there was a change in the relations between Turkey and Syria on April 2011. Turkey’s opening its gates to immigrants, the meetings of opponents that took place in Antalya and Turkey’s criticizing Syria in a clear way affected the relations. In November of 2011, the Turkish government officially declared that it would substantiate economic sanctions for Syria, and it would suspend some of its cooperation (Maden, 2012: 53).” Turkey’s military plane’s being crashed by Syria caused the relations become tenser. Turkey deprived Syria of potable water coming from the rivers Firat and Dicle by closing the gates of the dams, and this situation caused Esad to live days full of pressure in July 2012 (http://euobserver.com). The cannon ball from the Syrian side fell to Akcakale town of Sanliurfa and caused four children and a woman to die, and this terrible event made the relations get worse. As a result, Turkey demanded Patriot rockets from NATO to deploy on the border of Syria. The reason why these rockets are demanded is to prevent the borders from a possible danger from Syria and to provide the security on these borders. It is possible to divide the Turkish policy of Syria between March 2011 and May 2012 into three categories: a) Pressure to Esad government for constitutional reforms b) Gathering opponent groups under a single roof and searchings for international sanctions c) Returning to solution seeking methods of UN (Annan Plan)

Although Turkish government insisted on saying “We can not keep silence about the human tragedy next to our borders” during this process in terms of humanistic level, the policies followed by the government showed that Erdogan’s expressions like “Syria is not a foreign matter for us, it is an internal matter” turned into expressions, such as “The Annan Plan is an opportunity for Syria” (Ertugrul, 2012: 1).

The Attitude of Turkish Media toward The Patriot Rockets Deployed on The Border of Turkey and Syria

In the practice part of the study, it is aimed to confirm the way that the newspapers that have different ideological orientations portray the progresses about the Patriot rockets deployed on the Syrian border. Accordingly, a month’s issues of the newspapers that pressed during the most intensive process of the event are studied.

Method

The critical discourse analysis method is used in this study with reference to the claim “It is more understandable to analyze the unsaid things rather than studying on what is exactly said on the text” (Van Dijk, 2007: 170). The discourse analysis is a perspective that results from both methodological and cognitive elements. The effort of showing how ideologies take place in a certain discourse is an advantage created by discourse analysis (Sozen, 1996: 1544). Van Dijk tells about the macro and micro structures of the news in his self-titled model, and he tries to explain the ideological discourse of the news through these macro and micro structures (Akca, 2009: 98). In macro structure analysis there are elements, such as titles, the way of entering the news, the main event, the resources of news, the context and background knowledge and the analysis of the events made by the parties of events (Van Dijk, 1988: 30; Ozar, 2011: 83-84). While macro structural features of the news include the way of presenting the news, micro structural features includes elements, such as word choices, the sentence structures, the relations between the sentences, the way of persuasion of the news, special meanings in the text, connotations and some codes (Akca, 2009: 98).

The study on how the news is presented on Turkish media about the Patriot rockets deployed on the Syrian border is limited between the dates November 20, 2012 and December 20, 2012. The newspapers, such as Cumhuriyet, Milliyet and Yeni Safak are chosen as examples with the perception that different ideological approaches may be active while reflecting the news. Only the news not the other materials in them is examined. Mostly, the elements, such as word choices, sentence structures, and the way of persuasion, special meanings in the text, connotations and codes are emphasized in the analysis. It is seen at the end of the result that the number of the news presented is as follows Cumhuriyet 45, Milliyet 109, and Yeni Safak 51.

The way of the Cumhuriyet in Presenting the Patriot News

As soon as the claims made about the Patriots going to be deployed on the Syrian border, Cumhuriyet started to press news about it. Besides giving the opinions of both the ruling party and the opponent parties, Cumhuriyet reproduced the aim of bringing Patriot rockets with the discourse of CHP (Republicans People’s Party).

The things that distract the order of the day are whether there is a demand of patriots or not, the importance of this demand and for which aim the demand serves, and these things are discussed in this way. Firstly, the Turkish government contradicted the claims and declared that they did not demand such a thing, but during the following days, they confirmed the claims and they made the case for it as security against a possible danger. All the press reported these declarations as news, and Cumhuriyet pressed the news with following sentences: “Turkey officially demands Patriot 3 systems from NATO against the chemical weapon threat of Syria” (November 22, 2012). Cumhuriyet that reproduces the reasons of the government about the rockets with the same expressions at the beginning, and in its following days, it strengthened its idea of the reasons by giving the discourses about the events.

“Patriot demands for Kurecik” (Headline) (Cumhuriyet- November 21, 2012)

“Syria is not the priority of NATO” (Main Heading) (Cumhuriyet- December 15, 2012)

“If the main aim were the public, gas masks would have been distributed” (Main Heading) and “Patriots are for exponents” (Title) (Cumhuriyet- December 15, 2012)

The Cumhuriyet newspaper that has produced discourses against the reasons claimed by the government and carrying these to its headings has followed the same attitude in its news texts. In its news titled as “Patriot demands for Kurecik” Cumhuriyet reproduced the discourse of Farkh Logoglu (The vice president of CHP) telling that the government’s aim of demanding Patriots is for Gaza. Cumhuriyet told about the following discourses Logoglu, and by strengthening these discourses it criticized the government ruled by AKP (The Turkish Ruling Party): “The actual reason why the top of the agenda is not the tension between Turkey and Syria, its real reason is the new environment shaped by the Israel’s last attack to Gaza. In parallel with the Gaza attack, Iran and Syria increased the rocket threats targeting Israel. The radar of Kurecik functions as an important part of Israel’s air defense system”. The newspaper gave place to the news later on, and it used the news with the main heading as
“Syria is not the priority of NATO” and with the title as “Patriots are for exponents” (December 15, 2012). In the text of the news, it mentioned the comments of Naci Koru (The Deputy Foreign Minister), and Rasmussen (the General Secretary of NATO). Cumhuriyet transmitted these following expressions: “While Koru told that the aim of deploying Patriots is not to protect the public but to protect certain facilities”, Cumhuriyet mentioned about the same news in a detailed way in its interior pages, and it used the main heading of “If the main aim were protecting the public, gas masks would have been distributed”, and it used the title of “Patriots for exponents” o December 15, 2012. In the text of the news it mentioned about the following expressions: “Yusuf Buluc, who is the one of the former undersecretaries of the Turkish Foreign Ministry and is a retired ambassador, told that the aim of deploying Patriots is not to protect the public but to protect certain facilities, and he also told that gas masks would not be distributed. The newspaper carried the most important part of Buluc’s discourse into its title, and it meant that they agreed with the idea of him. Cumhuriyet also published the news that ment.ons about the possible dangers that would happen by deploying the rockets. To support this discourse of itself Cumhuriyet carried the reactions of the countries Russia and Iran to its title as in the following sentences: “Patriots are secret threats” (November 22, 2012), “Do not exaggerate the appearance of Patriots” (November 28, 2012), “Patriots are secret threats” (November 27, 2012), “Patriots may cause a world war” (December 16, 2012). It is observed that the details of the titles are studied in the news texts. It gave a detailed place to the ideas of Russia in the news titled by the main heading “Russia reacts against Turkey” and the title “Patriots destabilize” on November 23, 2012. It is also mentioned in the text that the Prime Minister Erdogan declared that patriots were just for defense, and the decision about the places that they would be deployed would be deployed would be made by Turkish Armed Forces. In the next parts of the news, the following expressions of Huseyin Celik (The Vice president of AKP and the Government Spokesman): “The proprietor of patriots is NATO, but the trigger will be pulled by our soldiers”.

On the issue pressed on November 29, Cumhuriyet carried the reactions of Russia to its pages, and it used the main heading “Russian Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Denisov demanded the real reason why Patriots were deployed” together with the title “Patriots are Secret Threats”. Firstly, Cumhuriyet emphasized that patriots are secret threats, and it used the following discourse of Denisov to mean that patriots will not save problems, but they will cause more problems: “We dislike the idea of deploying Patriots on Turkish borders, and we can see a secret threat under this idea”. “It made a threatening news from the discourse of Putin (The Head of the Russian state) during his visit to Turkey and used the following title: “Erdogan and Putin kept their positions about Patriots” and “Warning with Chekhov” (December 04, 2012).

Turkey’s demand for Patriots disturbed not only Russia but also Syria and Iran, and two of the countries made the declarations about the events. Cumhuriyet announced the news by the following main headings and headline on November 24, 2012: “An official from Syrian Foreign Ministry tells that Turkey’s demand for Patriots is a new provocation” and “Patriots are provocateurs”. The declaration of Syria about the unsuitability of Patriots decision is reproduced by Syria with the following with the following lines: “There is no reason to panic. Syria is respectful to sovereignty and holiness of Turkish lands and to the benefits of Turkish public”. It announced the reaction of Iran by carrying the most striking sentence of Iran Chief of Defense into its headline: “Patriots may cause a world war” (December 16, 2012). It tried to take attention to the greatness of the danger. Although Germany was one of the countries that supported Turkey about Patriots, Cumhuriyet claim in a newspaper in Europe to the order of the day. It tried to mean that Germany does not support Turkey by using the title “Germany: Do not exaggerate the number Patriots (November 28, 2012). It gave place to the following words of Grabor Kitarovic (The Assistant General Secretary of NATO): “We will shoot from Turkey (December 17, 2012), and it mentioned about the process of approving Patriots by NATO with following titles: “NATO visa for Patriots (December 05, 2012), ‘German government approves Patriots (December 07, 2012) and “Soldiers to Turkey from Obama” (December 15, 2012). Cumhuriyet produces a discourse defining the situation in these titles and news texts, and it is contented with giving the latest news.

Presentation of Newspaper Milliyet about Patriot News
Milliyet, which usually makes situation definitions about the subject in its news consistently, makes the reasons of Turkey’s attempts order of the day. The newspaper has emphasized that the reason of such an attempt is exactly collateralizing the security of Turkish society. The newspaper that always informs about the flow of the process has developed a new discourse by ranking opinions of both government and opposition sides.

Milliyet, with its headline “NATO is waiting Turkey for Patriot “, right by reproducing the discourse “Deploying rockets on the border reinforces capacity of air defense which used on the purpose of protecting Turkish people and its lands. We believe that rockets will attribute to defend on the border of southeast part of NATO”. Newspaper that often includes news about the purpose of rockets reproduced the words of Prime Minister “Patriots are for exponents” (November 15, 2012). Milliyet produced the news by the headline “The decision by transferring Volkan Bozkır’s (The President of Foreign Affairs Commission of Parliament) discourse as follows: “Unfortunately, we face with an assassin President who assassinated more than 40 thousand of people, who is completely in a bad situation in terms of psychology and coherence and who behaves unpredictable because he is stalemated. Everyone is anxious about that this man may rocket over Turkey for revenge at the last moment while he is leaving his country. Thanks to this Patriot system, it will be possible that Turkish people and domain will not be damaged. If God lets, that will not happen, but we will say, fortunately Turkey took measures and benefited from NATO when there is such an attack” (November 22, 2012). Milliyet reported opposing view about this matter as follows; Russia: “The main target of Patriot rockets which will be deployed in Turkey is Iran not Syria” (December 14, 2012), “Patriots for another war” (December 15, 2012), Iran: “Patriot will cause a world war” (December 16, 2012), Iran: “Patriot rockets will raise regional war” (November 25, 2012), Vural for MHP: “Whom will these patriots be brought to protect?” (November 22, 2012), Russia: “We see a secret threat in Patriots” (November 25, 2012). Bahceli: “Who dares to protect us?” (December 1, 2012) “Patriot warning from Russia to Turkey”(November 23, 2012) and “Do not make a show of force” (November 23, 2012), Milliyet using these headlines mentioned the view of Iran about this matter as “We warned Turkey” (November 26, 2012). The newspaper stated the owners of the discourses in headlines. This sets the newspaper only in transferring situation, and shows that newspaper does not lay claims to discourse.

The newspaper which used the headline “Provocative message from Iran to Turkey” (December 15, 2012) in its another news, mentioned the words of Ali Ekber Sezgin (The Minister of Foreign Relations of Iran) about the Phrase: “We are not deployed in Turkey as follows: “ A provocative action that will result in unexpected situation”. In this news, Iran’s threat to Turkey was stressed and created a meaning that did not approve this discourse. The members of NATO showed that they are allied with Turkey by developing a discourse supporting Turkey opposed to those views. The newspaper mentioned the views of Rasmussen with the headline “Harsh Turkey reaction from Rasmussen with silly thoughts” (December 17, 2012). Under this headline, the newspaper stressed that Turkey is not alone with those words of General Secretary of NATO, Rasmussen: “I censure these claims. We are there to protect our ally, Turkey. We do not have any aim to attack”. In another news, Milliyet using the headline “if there is a attack, NATO will not be late” (November 30, 2012) reproduced the discourse of NATO commander, Hodges that says, “ the border of Turkey is border of NATO”, and used this discourse as a warning to Syria. Milliyet which used NATO’s statement, “Russia should not be surprised for our protection over Turkey” (December 4, 2012) emphasized the importance of Turkey for NATO. Milliyet announced the explanation of Ahmet Davutoglu (The Minister of Turkish Foreign Affairs) against a foresaid worries, “Russia’s worries are unnecessary” (November 24, 2012). The newspaper put forward the discourse of Davutoglu: “If Turkey will go back when the risk of security ends”(November 25, 2012) for Turkey’s demand with the headline of “Patriot approval from NATO” (December 9, 2012). It replied the discussions about the authority of Turkish Army Forces in the demand of Patriots by the speeches of authorities as follows: “Erdogan: Turkish Army Force will decide the location of Patriots (November 22, 2012), “We will
deploy the Patriots together with NATO (November 25, 2012), and it produced the meaning that Turkish Army Force’s importance about this decision by the following title “The decision is made together with General Staff about the Patriots” (November 25, 2012).

How Yeni Safak Represents the News

The newspaper Yeni Safak that has an Islamic ideology mentioned about the news of Patriot rockets deployed on Turkey. It always used the discourse of “The ally of NATO” for Turkey. It reproduced the discourses of the ruling party during the process of discussing whether these rockets were necessary or not, and it developed a discourse that approved the need of these rockets. It did not mention about the discourses of the opponent parties; thus, it chose the way of ignoring them.

It announced the demand of Turkey for Patriot as follows: “Turkey demands Patriots officially (November 21, 2012) and “Turkey demands Patriots” (November 21, 2012), and it gave the reasons for demanding by mentioning about the discourses of both Turkish officers and members of NATO. It announced the reasons for demanding Patriots by the speech made by Turkish Army Forces as follows: “For possible threats” (November 26, 2012), and it also announced it with a title as follows in another news: “Patriot rockets will also protect the citizens in Syria”(December 5, 2012). In the text of the news it used the National Security Expert Alexandra Toma’s discourses as follows: “Patriots will also protect the public who rebels against Syria and be supported by America. The rockets will strengthen the border security, and it will make Turkey and Syrian rebels relax for the possible air attacks coming from Syria”. It emphasized with this discourse that Turkey’s demanding of rockets was not only to provide the security of Turkish republic but also to protect the Syrian public. Yeni Safak also mentioned about the speeches of foreign countries to justify the Turkey’s demanding of rockets. It carried the following expressions Schröder (The Former Prime Minister of Germany) to its title as “Turkey’s demands for Patriot should be meet” (November 23, 2012), and it reproduced the discourses of him in the text of the news as follows: “Turkey is one of the countries we ally in NATO, and NATO members have to support the country. We have to take part with our ally Turkey as Germany”. It tried to justify the reasons defended by the ruling party, and it emphasized that Turkey is one of the allies of NATO by using this discourse.

In the news titled as “Patriot Expressing of Germany” (November 20, 2012), Yeni Safak tried to accept the following discourses of Meizere (The Defense Ministry of Germany) as a reason for justifying Turkey’s demands of rockets: “Although Turkey encountered provocations of Syria due to the civil war, it always stayed calm. It always pleased us, but we understand the anxieties of Turkey. It is a naturel thing to demand Patriots, and we would react in the same way if something like that happened in our country. That’s why, we will support Turkey”.

In another news, it mentioned about the USA’s supporting Turkey. In the text of the news titled as “the USA: We are positive for demand of Turkey”, the newspaper mentioned about the discourses of Mark Toner (The Spokesman of the USA’s Foreign Ministry) as follows: “We take the security of Turkey, which is one of allies of NATO, seriously, and we are positive to demand of it. Of course, we want to do everything for the security of our close ally.” With this discourse, Turkey’s alliance of NATO is emphasized, and it tried to show that Turkey is not alone and without defense.

The newspaper emphasized that NATO considers Turkey’s demand important in the news titled as “NATO interviews about the demand of Turkey urgently” (November 26, 2012). In the text of the news titled as “NATO approves Patriots” (December 5, 2012), it remarked the threat to Syria in the following expressions of Rasmussen (The General Secretary of NATO): “Do not even think about attacking Turkey”. After NATO accepted the demand of Turkey, it carried the events into its title as follows: “NATO approves the demand of Turkey” (December 04, 2012). It mentioned about the latest news as follows: “400 soldiers and 2 Patriots from the USA”(December 14, 2012), “Germany soldiers arrive at Kahramanmaras” (December 18, 2012), “Germany approves Patriots” (December 6, 2012), “NATO committee in Turkey” (November 7, 2012), “NATO committee explores Patriots” (November 28, 2012) and “NATO committee explores the locality of Patriots tomorrow” (November 26, 2012). It is observed that in both headlines and the texts of the news, the newspaper defines the situation.

NATO’s meeting the demand in a positive way satisfied Turkey. Yeni Safak mentioned about this satisfaction with the headline “Turkey is satisfied with NATO’s decision” (December 4, 2012). In the spot of the news, it used the following expressions: “With the purpose of defending Turkish public and its lands and calming down the crisis in the border of alliance, the North Atlantic Council agreed on the reinforcement of Turkish air defense. As it is clearly seen in the spot of the news, the newspaper produced an expression that showed its approval of the agreement.

The positive decision of NATO accordingly drew attention of some of the countries like Russia and Iran. To the attention of these countries, Yeni Safak makes the representations that came from NATO countries as news. Towards the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs “From NATO to Lavros: Missiles are for security” (November 23, 2012) title is used by newspaper, about the representation of chief of defense as “Patriots can cause a world war”, a meaning was produced as “Harsh reaction from NATO” (December 17, 2012). The newspapers reflected the needlessness of these reactions towards these attentions are reflected as they were said from Turkish officials, also newspaper placed the statement of the Minister of Turkish Foreign Affairs Davut Goluoglu “When threats are eliminated, we will send Patriots” on its page. Yeni Safak produced statements as responsive about the reactions of the Patriots that were deployed in Turkey. The newspaper placed in the news which was titled as “TAF will decide the location of Patriots, the vice chairman and the spokesman of the ruling party Huseyin Celik; “The possession of the Patriots belongs to the NATO. There will be soldiers and experts from abroad, but if you ask who will have the cock, it will be us. Cock will be at our soldiers” statements and placed in the title of “Who will remote Patriots?” (November 24, 2012), and the Minister of Defense Ismet Yilmaz’s statements as “The remote of Patriot missiles will be propelled with European ally power commandship in which TAF has authority. Yeni Safak gave information and produced meaning as Turkish soldiers are not out of the situation, and it has the authority, and tried to eliminate anxieties.

Conclusion

The extension of the Arab Spring the riots in Syria has negative results for Turkey at times. The issue that Turkey’s deploying the Patriot rockets on the Syrian border is analyzed in this study with its presentations on Turkish media and on the three different ideological newspapers as Cumhuriyet, Milliyet and Yeni Safak. The facts showed that newspaper’s ideologies affected declaration of statements. The newspaper Cumhuriyet mentioned about its anxieties of Patriots deployed on the Syrian border both using the speeches of authorities and producing negative meanings about the events. Although it produces a discourse criticizing the decisions of the ruling party, it approves the reactions of Russian, Iran and Syria, and justifies the rights and purposes. Milliyet announced the developments an-bout the matter from the beginning of the event and adopted a discourse that affirms deployment of the rockets. The newspaper, which usually does situation identification in its news, gave place to opposite ideas on its pages, but produced a discourse for the necessity of approval of the deployments of rockets. The newspaper created this meaning in accordance with statements on the behalf of Turkey by NATO officers.

Yeni Safak ignored the opinions of the opponents and discourses of allies’ parties in Turkey because it is a newspaper that belongs to the rightist ideology, and it showed an approach that reproduces the government’s discourse about the deployment of Patriots. Even it tried to remove concerns about Patriots inside and outside the country, so it reproduced the discourses of NATO officers for that purpose. The newspaper emphasized the alliance of Turkey and NATO against threats from Russia, Iran and Syria and created a meaning that Turkey is not alone.
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