

RISE OF CITIZEN JOURNALISM: CONTENT ANALYSIS ON TURKISH TWITTERSPHERE

A Master's Thesis

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Ankara
May 2022

ÖZEN AYŞE ÖZBASA RISE OF CITIZEN JOURNALISM: CONTENT ANALYSIS ON TURKISH TWITTERSPHERE
Bilkent University 2022

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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN MEDIA AND VISUAL STUDIES

THE DEPARTMENT OF
COMMUNICATION AND DESIGN
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

May 2022

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts (in Media and Visual Studies).

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ABSTRACT

RISE OF CITIZEN JOURNALISM: CONTENT ANALYSIS ON TURKISH TWITTERSPHERE

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May 2022

Abstract: With the advancement of technology, increasing use of social media, and declining trust in mainstream media, which is dominated by moguls, as well as the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak which has taken hold of the world, various journalism practices have undergone some changes. In this process, ordinary citizens have sought alternatives; the citizen journalism concept in digital media platforms has emerged and started to be used progressively. This thesis focuses on the Turkish Twittersphere and delves into the influences of citizen journalism, which has eventually led to mainstream media outlets' presence on the Twittersphere. Ordinary citizens engage in plentiful debates and discussions by contributing to overall interaction, whether active or passive. In that context, mixed content analysis is employed by retrieving data in four up-to-date categories, namely health, climate, economy, and Europeanization. Coding data according to engagement rate and several other categories, the findings of this study reveal that citizen journalism is on the up and has gained the trust of other users in the Turkish Twittersphere compared to prominent traditional media outlets. Thus, in addition to highlighting why citizen journalism has emerged and gained prominence to such a

degree, this thesis also demonstrates the declining credibility of mainstream media and its reflections.

Keywords: citizen journalism, mainstream media, propaganda model, Turkey, Twitter



ÖZET

VATANDAŞ GAZETECİLİĞİNİN YÜKSELİŞİ: TÜRKİYE TWITTER’I ÜZERİNE İÇERİK ANALİZİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Medya ve Görsel Çalışmalar

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Mayıs 2022

Özet: Teknolojinin ilerlemesi, sosyal medya kullanımının artması, medya patronlarının hakim olduğu ana akım medyaya duyulan güvenin azalması ve tüm dünyayı etkisi altına alan Covid-19 pandemisi ile birlikte çeşitli gazetecilik uygulamaları da değişime uğramıştır. Bu süreçte sıradan vatandaşlar alternatifler aramış olup dijital medya platformlarında yurttaş gazeteciliği kavramı ortaya çıkmış ve giderek artan şekilde kullanılmaya başlanmıştır. Bu tez Türkiye'deki Twitter dünyasına odaklanmakta ve nihayetinde ana akım medya kuruluşlarının Twitter dünyasında var olmasına yol açan yurttaş gazeteciliğinin etkilerini araştırmaktadır. Sıradan vatandaşlar, ister aktif ister pasif şekilde, genel etkileşime katkıda bulunarak tartışmalara ve fikir alışverişlerine katılım sağlamaktadırlar. Bu bağlamda, sağlık, iklim, ekonomi ve Avrupalılaşma olmak üzere dört güncel kategoride veriler elde edilerek karma içerik analiz kullanılmaktadır. Verileri katılım oranı ve belirlenen diğer birkaç kategoriye göre kodlayan bu çalışmanın bulguları, önde gelen geleneksel medya kuruluşlarına kıyasla yurttaş gazeteciliğinin yükselişte olduğunu ve Türk Twitter dünyasında diğer kullanıcıların güvenini kazandığını ortaya koymaktadır. Dolayısıyla bu tez, yurttaş gazeteciliğinin neden ortaya çıktığını ve bu derece önem kazandığını vurgulamasına ek olarak ana akım medyaya duyulan azalan güvenilirliği de ortaya koymaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Twitter, propaganda modeli, yurttaş gazeteciliđi, Türkiye, ana akım medya



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my heartfelt gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Asst. Prof. Dr. Lutz Peschke for supporting me, being there during this challenging process, and letting me become his research assistant and be a part of a Horizon2020 project called EUMEPLAT. I am proud to be a part of the project and indebted to the whole EUMEPLAT team for their support and allowing me to use the project's data for my thesis.

Secondly, I would like to sincerely express my gratitude to my committee members, Prof. Dr. Bülent Çaplı and Asst. Prof. Dr. Ergin Şafak Dikmen for their guidance and invaluable feedback in making this thesis this thorough. I also wish to express my gratitude to Asst. Prof. Emel Özdora Akşak, for her guidance, always constructively contributing to my thesis with her genuine comments.

I also thank my mother, the most powerful human I know, for always letting me chase my dreams. Her perseverance always keeps me going further. Also, my father, my biggest supporter, who taught me to be independent, always believed in me. Though he is not with me anymore, and I miss him tremendously, I always want to make sure that I make him proud. Thank you is a tiny phrase to convey my gratitude for making me who I am and raising me to be good, do good.

I appreciate my sister and brother-in-law for always being there and bringing two lovely babies into this world, calling me ‘tata,’ the cutest sound for the last three years.

And my chosen family... Kadir Demirci, I am grateful for his unmatched support and his endless encouragement during this weary period. Furkan Yaman, I am indebted for his patience and kindness. Ezgi Hamamcı, my pisces-twin, I am thankful her for bearing with me, and making me laugh. Cold weather got nothing on us! Erdem Özmen, I appreciate his enormous efforts for keeping me on track through all the ups and downs, making the best coffees in town, making me love coffee which was next to impossible, teaching me do's and don'ts of it, and making this period more bearable. Special thanks to İrem Ataş, my best friend, for making my life so much better. Özgür Akpınar, Anıl Altun and Arda Kelleci, I want to thank them for being a light in dark times. I am indebted to my dearly loved Yaris, being my companion for the last seven years. Second to last, I am grateful to my dearly departed dog, making my life better for eight years and all the stray animals for making me smile and keeping me company.

Last but not least, I want to thank me for believing in me, having literally no days off, and never quitting. So long, and thanks for all the fish.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

With the first enhancing technological developments leading to the increasing use of social media in the mundane everyday life of an ordinary citizen, numerous media practices have undergone some changes. As a fundamental right for all humanity, freedom of information has gained more importance, and some tactics, as it was introduced by de Certeau (1984), were put into practice. Within this context, the importance of social media platforms, in this case, as one of the significantly popular platforms and this study's corpus, Twitter has become a hot topic in numerous research as it paves the way for a change in society by giving voice to the ordinary, unheard citizens.

Several factors can explain the rapid increase in Twitter use worldwide (Statista, 2021; Beveridge, 2022), such as the rapidly advancing technology, our increasing dependency on it, citizens' strong urge to access credible information due to the monopolized entities in traditional news media and journalists' inability to relaying information to the society. Additionally, grappling with the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak which has taken hold of the world, making isolation restrictions obligatory has increased the need for information transfer. Hence, social media has achieved "rapid knowledge dissemination" (Chan et al., 2020). Twitter has recently become a place for citizens to express and spread their

opinions, exchange views with other users and even form a public opinion which once was introduced as an entertainment tool, providing ‘escapism’ to the users. For the last two decades, we globally witnessed a successful use of Twitter for various purposes, such as spreading the word, asking for help, forming a public opinion, crossing borders, and even making a change on an official level. Los Indignados (2011), Occupy Wall Street (2013), Black Lives Matter (2013), G20 Summit in Toronto (2010), or Tahrir Square Protests can be adduced as an example. Thus, Twitter has created accessible and omnipresent information between authorities and the public, by reaching different strata of the society and helped increase awareness by informing and alerting the public by mobilizing citizens (Bennett, Segerberg, 2013; La Rosa, 2014; Panagiotopoulos et al., 2016). Besides its mobilizing and raising awareness capabilities of the online individual and collective actions, Twitter also offers a strategy of low-cost documentation for individuals who seek social change (Andı et al., 2020; Tufekci & Wilson, 2012).

Within the framework of this study, the elements shaping Turkish society’s communication patterns and mainstream media practices are taken into account. Having access to reaching a broader audience, mass media have been utilizing many services, and advertisements to promote government policies which will help to develop their business areas. This situation directed ordinary citizens to social media platforms. Quantitatively, now, Turkey ranks the sixth country based on the number of Twitter users (Statista, 2021). Considering its matrix, which is 2013, we see a significant offline protest, which has remarkably reperculated on social media, particularly on Twitter. Now, with citizens, with the emergence of online newspapers, mass media accounts and even politicians, the platform has become more popular. Principally, it should be noted that

Twitter was banned in Turkey in 2014 and 2015 by the Government. However, now the platform includes different types of users from every walk of life. Here, the question of why Twitter was preferred as a means of communication was asked and academically answered several times as it is a user-friendly platform allowing all users to benefit from the freedom of speech and engage in content whether passively or actively (Akser & McCollum, 2018; Demir et al., 2020; Farro & Demirhisar, 2014). However, many studies (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2009; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Sümer & Taş, 2020; Tunç, 2018; Yüksel, 2018) focused on the Government's attitude and did not consider the strong impact of propaganda model brought to life by media moguls and inadequacy of journalists. These profit-driven media outlets' impact and what could be the consequences of their actions were overlooked. Also, what this problem might have brought about for the better for the citizens has not been studied comprehensively in the Turkish Twittersphere context.

Twitter's strategies with its more independent environment compared to traditional media, has transformed the existing obsolete standards by allowing multivocality. The power relationship between media and who finance it has become more visible. As seen in the propaganda model (Herman & Chomsky, 2002), now traditional media serves anti-democratic practices by prioritizing the profit. Hence, individuals sought alternative forms of participation and engagement to make use of their communication rights. These actions stem from the diminishing credibility towards traditional media has mapped out a new route on social media, now recognized as citizen journalism. Even though this term does not have a strict definition, it is used to describe the news produced or analyzed or reported by citizen-generated contents (Allan & Thorsen, 2009; Wall, 2015).

The concept of citizen media is an on-demand topic for most studies in Western cultures, whereas it is not highly studied in Turkey, yet it is getting strongly prevalent. Several research studies focus on the situation of Turkish mainstream media (Kaya, Çakmur, 2010; Grigoriadis & Karabıçak, 2021; Yıldırım, et al., 2020). However, the increasing resort to social media, particularly Turkish Twittersphere, is a relatively raw research area. Furthermore, not much research has been conducted regarding ordinary individuals finding more place in news-producing roles in Turkish Twittersphere due to the effect of platformization. Plus, the fact that citizens' efforts are also a consequence of media moguls and conglomerates who only aim for increasing their profits should be emphasized more. Hence, this study concentrates on the increasing role of citizen journalism caused by the monopolized mainstream media by asking the following questions:

RQ1. What are the consequences and reflections of monopolized mainstream media outlets and media practices with regards to Turkish Twittersphere?

RQ2. How and to what extent do the analyzed tweets in Turkish Twittersphere indicate the influence of citizen journalism and the future of mainstream media outlets?

This study finds answers to questions with detailed mixed content analysis, and a category about thematic analysis offering flexibility to the researcher is used to find out common patterns of tweets to make a classification of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006), this study examines tweets with the highest reach received by a Horizon2020 funded project called EUMEPLAT during September 2021. The project involves 10 EU member

countries plus Turkey, and it aims to learn more about news production, citizen journalism in social media platforms and their platformization effect.

By extracting EUMEPLAT data, this study aims to find out the propaganda model's influence on Turkish Twittersphere by looking at different categories of tweets including engagements, attitude, visual use, and unfold the growing impact of citizen journalists and their increasing reach and impression. I will be focusing on the distribution of professional and user-generated content targeting the idea of the transformation of journalism practices and producing news. This study has an important place since ordinary users dedicate their time to Twitter and become a part of something better than traditional media outlets, by trying to overcome selectively prepared news that they expose constantly. Not only do the mainstream media should know more about the strong dominance of ordinary citizens, but they also should change their 'strategies' to gain the credibility of the people. Hence, with the corpus composed of tweets, this thesis examines the influence of digitalization and platformization for the traditional news media, and the increasing impact of citizen-journalists in news-producing through content analysis.

When it comes to limitations, Twitter describes engagements as the "total number of times a user interacted with a Tweet, including retweets, replies, follows, likes, links, cards, hashtags, embedded media, username, profile photo, or Tweet expansion." Hence, Twitter explains engagement rate as "the number of engagements divided by impressions." Nonetheless, because of the data privacy concerns not all of these metrics

have been used. Seeing that, in the study, the engagements received by the EUMEPLAT project data on the CSV are limited to retweets, replies, reach and impressions.

Keeping these in mind, Chapter II explores the propaganda model put forward by Chomsky and Herman (1988) to provide an insight into the monopolization of mass media. In the chapter Turkish media sphere is investigated by taking a closer look at big media conglomerates and their political ties, transition to social media, Twitter and more particularly Turkish Twittersphere. The chapter ends with the emergence of citizen journalism with its examples, its causality by also touching upon the Covid-19.

Chapter III, discusses the applied methods, namely the content analysis, briefly thematic analysis and the source of data, EUMEPLAT Project. In this chapter, the details of the coding sheet which is employed to decode the data according to categorization, is introduced with its operational definitions, and the previous research regarding the coding sheet is explained.

Chapter IV analyzes the corpus composed of tweets during September 2021, under four different sections and interpret the data accordingly the metrics defined in the coding sheet, supported with visuals, such as graphics and charts.

Chapter VI completes the study by discussing the findings, interpreting outstanding results and touching upon future prospects of the study for the sake of defined concepts.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter examines the media structure of Turkey starting from establishing the first private channel in Turkey, gives background information about mass media, their transformation and discusses the transition to digital media from traditional media, focusing on its reasons with the existing patterns. Emphasizing the importance of platformization and the media hybridity theory, the increasing use of social media in Turkey pinpointing Twitter use based on previous research and studies are approached from a citizen journalism perspective.

2.1. Propaganda Model

Along with the influences of globalization and more liberal policies, the wealth and power accumulated by few elites in the media sector. In time, this has caused the monopolization of the media industry globally. In order to explain the calculating relationship between a government¹ and media power, Chomsky and Herman (1988) have developed an analytical framework namely the propaganda model (PM). According to this model, “the media serve, and propagandize on behalf of, the powerful societal interests that control and finance them.” (Chomsky, Herman 2002, p.12). Now, politics,

¹ Here it is important to note that in this study, the focal point is government, the administrative body responsible politically, instead of the state, which is a more general term comprising defined territory.

economic affairs, and media form a system ruled by elites. As responsible for both producing and distributing, big corporations have obtained a significant amount of power on what to tell people, serving anti-democratic practices (Herman, 2000). According to the propaganda model, the media demonstrates the distribution between wealth and power. Those who possess the capital and the power have a say over those who do not by blocking accessing credible news. A government may transmit its message through its media branches that are supposedly objective but act according to the economic interests. By impeding the objectivity, media monopolization has become a challenging problem, it grasped the right of being sovereign from the citizens, hence; they have left no choice but to choose among what few elites offer. This model outstandingly applies to Turkey; similar to the US system, having several big companies managing the media such as Disney Time Warner, Sony, NBC, in Turkey, the situation is not different either with Turkuvaz, Demirören, Kalyon media conglomerates. The citizens are exposed to several big conglomerates' content in the mainstream media and left no choice as "the mutual interests and relationships between the media and those who make the news and have the power to define it and explain what it means" (Chomsky, Herman, 2000, p.12).

Chomsky and Herman (1988) have created five filters to explain the PM, which applies to any country where media practices are partial. These filters, consistent with economic and political elites, do not change the output but are used to explain their formation. The filters are as follows: (1) the size, the ownership of mass media firms, meaning the wealth and the influence of the owner, (2) mass media's income and funding sources, such as advertising and those who cannot keep up with market's conditions have to withdraw, (3)

mass media's reliance on the government meaning the close ties between media practitioners and government, businesses as an information source causing producing content with as less effort as possible, (4) "flak" as a tool of disciplining media practices, intensifying the position of the hegemonic power via news sources and rendering the opposition voice meager, hence making them seek alternatives, and lastly, (5) control mechanism in terms of nation, religion, and anticommunism emerged after World War II and caused some journalists to be condemned for their different ideologies and excluded (Chomsky, Herman, 2000; Çakmak, 2021; Pedro, 2011; Robinson 2015). According to Chomsky and Herman, these filters are connected and boost each other, conforming to the condition.

As the journalists are also affected by some structures within the media sphere caused by the relationship between politics and media, the news reflects the beliefs and ideology selections of journalists and those for whom they work (Pedro, 2011). That is why the citizens exposed to content cannot elaborate on the event properly due to a lack of credibility. Considering the Gulf War, which was the first televised war in history, several thinkers (Baudrillard, 1995; Chomsky & Herman, 1988) expressed their discontentedness about the event, even questioning its reality. To exemplify, the way it was televised proposed looking at the event from only one perspective. For example, even though the US forces' use of chemicals during the Gulf War was reported in the media, the agenda changed quickly (Chomsky & Herman, 2000). Hence, only the elites' ideas were conveyed to the reader and the viewer.

Some scholars criticize this model today; because it might be considered obsolete now, or ignores the capability of the audience (Rai, 1995), offers a pessimistic and polemical view on media (Herring & Robinson, 2003; Klaehn, 2009), and does not analyze every aspect (Pedro, 2011). However, the propaganda model can be considered thoroughly relevant considering today's conditions. Chomsky and Herman have proposed this model to explain the lack of democratic practices in the traditional media. A great sign of the propaganda model is "the monopolistic control over the media, often supplemented by official censorship, makes it clear that the media serve the ends of a dominant elite." (Chomsky & Herman, 2000, p.100), which causes profitability over quality. Thus, in the long run, it has led people to seek for alternatives. Consequently, in time, these big media conglomerates have forgotten to address all segments of the society and provide a credible piece of information to all the citizens (Pedro, 2011).

Afterward, although the triangle of media, economy, and politics has a considerable amount of power over ordinary citizens by restricting their actions remarkably with biased content, the Internet has changed citizens' relationship with media practices (Robinson, 2015). The Internet has offered more independent approaches with free platforms, instant notifications, and simultaneously reaching thousands. Hence, as Chomsky and Herman put it in the new edition of the book: "Internet and the new communications technologies are breaking the corporate stranglehold on journalism and opening an unprecedented era of interactive, democratic media" (2000, p.18) and they also argue in the newer edition that the model is more essential even more than it was in the 1990s (Herman, 2000).

Privatization of media, lack of multiple voices, and promoting elite perspectives have dominated the ‘freedom’ of the press. What has happened between globalization’s penetration into our lives and the emergence of microblogging platforms has made the media environment eligible for the propaganda model. The problem is that the traditional media offers an idea, but a citizen cannot be sure of its accuracy (Chomsky & Herman, 2000), hence; people have sought alternatives. With the increasing use of the internet and its integration into our lives remarkably, now, the viewers can see better how limited the mainstream media content both in print and in broadcasting and benefit from the plurality and more democratic ways of being informed (Robinson, 2015). As the Internet offers a more independent environment, users have tilted to digital media to eliminate the domination of the hegemonic powers in news flow. This has led these mainstream media moguls’ entrance to social media platforms as well. Hence, now the citizens can speak up via digital media, reflecting different points of view than those of elites. However, the citizens’ trust in them is open to discussion. The visible long-lasting application of propaganda media in Turkish media sphere has started to change its course recently due to digitalization. With its existing rules of traditional Turkish media, citizens’ transition to digital media, focusing on Twitter, and rapidly rising citizen journalism concept can be evaluated as the outcomes of the long-practiced propaganda model in Turkey.

2.2. Turkish Media Sphere

2.2.1 History of Turkish Mainstream Media

Along with the Covid-19 crisis, there are some existing elements making the Turkish media sphere challenging. With its increasingly polarizing nature due to numerous

reasons from economic unrest to migration flux that has been going on since 2016, and globalization which is dominating this age in terms of political, social, and economic life can be listed as some of the reasons making traditional media practices in Turkey arduous (Chomsky & Herman, 2002; Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2009; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Sümer & Taş, 2020).

In general terms, according to the UN's General Comment No. 34 and Article 19, media freedom is binding and "indispensable conditions for the full development of the person and essential for any society" (2011), yet its application decidedly differs. For this reason, some societies' media freedom might be higher than others. To exemplify, Norway ranks first, whereas Turkey ranks 153 in the 2021 World Press Freedom Index published by Reporters Without Borders. Hence, in general, it is not highly likely to expect some standards for the traditional journalism and communication practices for each society as many factors should be considered while evaluating a society's media system. Yet, in Turkey's case, given other reports and indexes considering media freedom, its ranking is underwhelming (Freedom House 2022; GovData360 by the World Bank Group, 2021; Statista, 2021).

The reasons why Turkey's ranking differs from other societies' journalistic and communication practices have been studied. According to most of the research, it is due to the restrictive attitude of the current government, AKP (the Justice and Development Party), towards journalists and the media sector (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2009; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Sümer & Taş, 2020; Tunç, 2018; Yüksel, 2013). However, the tremendous impact of media conglomerates and their actions' consequences they have

brought about is studied little and can be regarded as a scorching topic in today's Turkey. Therefore, as most studies often signify the heavy influence of the government on current journalistic practices, few studies show other reasons apart from or in addition to the Government's approach, such as the media moguls who only look for tripling their profit by ignoring some standards and distorting some realities (Akser, 2018; Bulunmaz, 2011; Iseri et al., 2019). This approach, an example of the PM, only aims to create strong ties with whoever is in power and maximize the profit.

For this reason, it is vital to question why some media outlets have been growing bigger, strengthening their influence, and remaining untouched by the authorities. In the meantime, ordinary citizens are obliged to live in echo chambers, which can be described as being repeatedly exposed to a tailored opinion (Cinelli et al., 2021) which makes them look for alternatives. As in any other system, monopolization, hence, the strong presence of media owners in the mainstream media, might damage the concept of democracy in journalism as it impedes its functioning by limiting the voices and imposing their own agendas (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2009; Irvan, 2001).

Freedom House, a non-profit US Government, funded organization carrying out research related to freedom of politics, media, and democracy, gave 32 points to Turkey out of 100 based on several criteria, including freedom of expression (2021), claiming that "the mainstream media, especially television broadcasters, reflect government positions and have often carried identical headlines." Looking at other studies and statistics, we see that some pessimistic points of view emerged à propos de media practices in Turkey as "it is

believed that Turkey is neither in a multi-vocal nor multi-colored structure and will not be so in the near future.” (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2009, p.9)

In order to analyze the factors more comprehensively, the Turkish media sphere should be read with its cornerstones. The media sector has been in demand for a long time now by wealthy businesspeople even if they do not have a media or communication background. Indeed, this happens globally, and the urge to yield more profit has become a severe problem for the media system, but, in this case, this study focuses more on Turkey. As it produces great earnings thanks to the corporate amalgamations, government policies and competition, and the influence of advertising, the sector has been monopolized. Thus, politics, media, and the economy have interbedded more in modern societies (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010). Particularly with the increasing globalization effect and the urge to multiply the profits, the media sector has been used as a means of reaching these goals. Looking at Turkey, what is happening in politics, finance, and traditional media have been in sync since the opening of the first private television channel. Before that, only Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) existed a state-owned channel founded as a radio channel in 1964 and headed to TV in 1974. However, there were no alternatives, hindering the voice of democracy. Hence, privatization and globalization meant the end of an era, more specifically, the end of the single state-owned channel TRT and the ‘mushrooming’ of private channels and stations (Sümer & Taş, 2020; Şahin & Aksoy, 1993).

After that, the liberal economy has brought in a perfect place for competition between the 1980s and 1990s. Consequently, Turkey has advanced its media sphere thanks to some

developments in the infrastructure, as well as the free-market environment and neoliberal policies and being more open to the outside world (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2009; Çakmak, 2021; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Sümer & Taş, 2020). Hence, eventually, the investments increased towards this sector, bringing about an increase in the number of media outlets correlatively. At the beginning of the 1990s, shifting to globalization, which has numerous, regularly updated definitions, can be described as “increasing interconnectedness of people” (Şahin & Aksoy, 1993, p.31), enabled many opportunities with different channels for Turkish viewers. The viewers were relatively free to hear other voices through many selections.

Notwithstanding, this rising has also created some problems. Some holdings and groups have appeared that have no background in media as they wanted to squeeze the orange as the sector looked fruitful, and several foreign broadcasters emerged. With that in mind, in time, the mergers, the urge to increase profit and capitalism’s profound effect to dominate more, damaged this environment, which was supposed to entertain, inform, educate the viewers by ensuring the media freedom (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2009). Then media have become a tool to impact socio-political structure which created a need to solve many confusions on how to control these media practices (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010). In that sense, a regulating body was required to define the standards and address the problems but encountered a bureaucratic obstacle and was established only in 1994 (Çaplı, 1994) as politics acted as the powerhouse in the functioning of media. When The Supreme Board of Radio and Television (RTÜK), the regulating body was established to watch out for

the contents and content-makers, it hardly executed its power independently but abided by one-sided views (Kurban & Elmas, 2012; Sümer & Taş, 2020).

One may think that with a regulative body, the functioning of media would have fallen into place. However, what happened in the Turkish media was the opposite, and media moguls have started to be more apparent in political decisions by using this powerful mainstream media that is also called “fourth power,” coined by Edmund Burke (1787) as a tool of democracy, coming after legislative, executive and judicial power to restore order and ensure the even functioning of democracy (Council of Europe, n.d.). However, “the fourth power” is challenged by the capitalism and the strong urge to earn more, rather than supervising the system and letting the citizens benefit from it (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2009). This inability caused mainstream media to have negative connotations by making certain people richer, known as ‘moguls’ which can be described as “who has built up, owns, or operates a major media empire and runs it with a distinctive management style,” (Chandler & Munday, 2011). Media monopoly can be considered as a timeless practice in Turkey whose initial aim is to make a profit by making the public think about what these wealthy people would like to impose by taking possession of different media channels. Most of the time, what they convey has the same connotation in other channels. Also, monopolization can be realized with different types.

The concentration of the conglomerates varies and can be classified under three headings vertical, horizontal, and cross. These integrations in media have caused the concentration of power by the elites and restricted the contents (Daws, 2009). In more detail, vertical

monopolization signifies the broad range of activities from producing content to its distribution and retail activities. In that way, the company has total control of its environment and has a chance to maintain its activities in the market steadily. Horizontal monopolization means merger activities in media-related activities and is extremely common in the Turkish media sphere (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2009; Çakmak; 2021). Cross monopolization means operating different areas of media as well as other business opportunities, which is also prevailing in the Turkish media sphere. More concretely, Star TV, the first private channel in Turkey, was opened by the Uzan family who has a considerable amount of wealth (who later opened their political party called ‘Young Party’) with former Prime Minister’s Turgut Özal’s son Ahmet Özal in 1989 (Sümer & Taş, 2020). However, due to the political problems with that period’s government, Star TV eventually passed in other hands. As this proves, being wealthy is an excellent indicator in the media sphere, now even expanding to digital media. In other words, the moguls commonly expand their presence within the media sector. Thereof, the media moguls have become more dominant in Turkey’s media sphere causing a loss of trust, even before the AKP’s coming into power.

Indeed, it might turn into a chicken and egg problem, as seen in other examples, such as a famous global example: the Bloomberg. Michael Bloomberg, who is the founder of Bloomberg TV, was also the 108th mayor of New York and one of the richest men in the media sector and paid the highest to the most renowned, well-known journalists (Enda, 2011). The free market caused monopolies, and in time, companies turned into “industrial complexes” (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2011, p.1). Rather than bearing the responsibility

of the *fourth power* to make life easier for the ordinary citizens by informing, educating, and informing them, media have turned into the competition in these moguls' hands to get the largest profit, making media the significant player in the economy and politics equation.

2.2.1. Turkish Media Outlets

In Turkey, several exchanges between media outlets and politics have taken place.

Heavily influenced by the external impacts driven by money and power, by the time we reached 2007, Merkez Group's assets and in 2008 Ciner Group were seized by Savings Deposit Insurance Fund of Turkey (TMSF) and sold to Çalık Group, as well as others, sold to pro-government groups and conglomerates (Ataman & Çoban, 2019; Sümer & Taş, 2020). Hence, with the opening of a first private channel, the concept of 'media mogul' has emerged, and it was possible to feel the dominant presence of Çalık, Doğan, and Çukurova Groups but for a limited time as these media power relations swiftly shift with status-quo (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2011).

Based on all these particulars, the dynamics in traditional media evolve rapidly as it is shaped by what politics financial well-being brings and reflects a biased sector. This proves the control of mass media is a crucial factor for the sake of the political economy (Chomsky & Herman, 1988; Maier, 1987), involving sociological elements that include misleading citizens' right to information. To sum up, as of March 2007, "Doğan, Çukurova, and Merkez were the three major media cross-media groups in Turkey" (Sümer, Taş, 2020, p.41), dominating Turkish media sphere by enlarging to horizontal, cross and vertical dimensions (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2011). Later on, Çalık's assets

were released to the market, and with the involvement of the AKP Government, it was sold to a construction company called Kalyon which is known as one of the “top 10 companies in the world to receive public tenders” now (Media Ownership Monitor Turkey, 2021).

Moreover, Aydın Doğan, a businessman, who is not related to media in any way, bought the top Turkish newspapers by circulation, namely Hürriyet, Milliyet, and Posta, in addition to some magazines, a -still top-rated- national TV channel called Kanal D, countless mergers and purchasing which made Doğan Grup “the most prominent media mogul” (Dikmen, 2017; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Sümer & Taş, 2020, p.42). As a capital-driven businessperson, Doğan made his employees cut their ties with syndicates, which is a sign of a “profit over people” system (Chomsky, Herman, 2002), proving their influence in the media. As the third biggest media conglomerate in Turkey (Kaya, Çakmur, 2010), has sold most of its media branches to Demirören Grup in 2018 whose closer ties with the Government are well-known. It was argued that it was because Doğan’s conflicts with the Government which made Doğan pay vast amounts of taxes, and step back, leaving its place to ‘pro-government’ Demirören Holding (Ataman & Çoban, 2019) which supports the idea that a media outlet is supposed to create closer ties with the Government in order to exist or develop their business.

Now, thanks to the close ties built with the Government, Demirören Grup has currently been operating in many different sectors from media as “Turkey’s leading, Europe’s fourth-largest media organization” (Demirören, 2021) to education, energy, real estate to construction, mining, games on chances and industry. These types of developments might

be seen as typical which expand the communication technology opportunities and increases the number of products by different types of mergers and expansions, whether they are horizontal or vertical. This versatility of conglomerates can be found in many pro-government companies and groups. Even though the arguments generally shape around the AKP (Justice and Development Party) government, it is safe to say that these tremors involving big wealthy men competing for more profits have been damaging the Turkish media sphere since the opening of the first private channel by hedging off journalism principles, such as impartiality and accuracy.

2.2.2. Justice and Development Party's Coming into Power

Founded in 2001 with a conservative background but claiming its reformist side, the Justice and the Development Party (AKP) gained a victory in 2002 when a stock market crisis hit some economies, including the UK and the US. The AKP founding leader, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the Prime Minister back then, stated that “the crisis did not hit Turkey” (Madi-Sisman, 2017). AKP has managed to convince the citizens that the economic signs are stable. Moreover, after a very long time, the inflation rate decreased considerably, Turkey has started to attract foreign direct investments (FDI) with the help of privatization (Aydoğan, 2017; Cambazoğlu & Karaalp, 2014). Plus, Turkey's positive economic developments were proven, as seen in that period's OECD reports (2004): “The economy continues to grow at a fast pace. Successful stabilization underpins improving expectations” (OECD Economic Outlook, 2004). Looking at their political agenda, with some reformist and integrationist ideas, AKP was rooting for the pro-

European idea by also addressing people from intellectuals to minorities, big, medium, and small enterprises with its Islamist roots and in power since then (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Öniş, 2007). Some scholars have argued that with rightist tendencies, AKP owns its success partly to media by having closer ties with several media outlets (Çağlar, Çakar-Mengü, 2011). Accordingly, the number of channels and newspapers rooting for the AKP Government has increased parallelly.

It is also important to note that regardless of who holds power in their hands, these big media conglomerates tend to turn their faces to them, to be on the more lucrative side by intensifying their domination in the industry, as mentioned. In that way, the public is informed about daily events in the direction of interests of media conglomerates, and they are alienated because they have no right to say in their formation unconsciously as what is required is conforming with the Government's discourse, whoever is in power. As the media conglomerates found their way out by seeking closer ties with the Government, a new term has emerged to describe these media type called "pool media," which openly indicates a pro-government media financed by construction moguls who also operate in media as well as other sectors (Sümer & Taş, 2020; Yetkin, 2015). After the emergence of these moguls, and the involvement of the Government in the Media, things have changed to the detriment of the Turkish media sphere which might justify numerous scholars' arguments' on the media autocracy, limiting media freedom is commonly associated with the AKP (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2011; Kaya & Çakmur, 2010; Öniş, 2007; Sümer & Taş, 2020; Tunç, 2014; Tunç, 2018; Yeşil, 2018). However, instead of considering it as a problem solely caused by the current ruling power, the pragmatists, who would like to take advantage of the ruling party to yield profit, should also be held

responsible for the current restricted position of the Turkish media sphere. Instead, it can be said that these moguls use the media to enhance their “property development.” (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010, p.532).

One can hardly find solid standards in journalism practices in Turkey, and it is valid for the regulative body to make concrete decisions. Because it is essential to note that in politics media’s role is the sine qua non, particularly in Turkey’s media sphere. These improvements justify the politics, media, and economy triangle and are used heavily by the media conglomerates (Pedro, 2011). These conglomerates exercise their power via different branches through media.

In the end, possessing and operating different media causes repeating the same message repeatedly in different channels or newspapers. Consequently, one is exposed to the same content through different media. Therefore, the mainstream media has become a place in which the oppressed people’s voice remained unheard and “the idea of a free market of ideas loses its validity and is replaced by a journalism driven by sensation, conflict, and entertainment” (Ataman & Çoban, 2019, p.173). Now with the singularity of the media sphere in Turkey, we witness the media’s power belonging to the media conglomerates who serve accordingly to the conjuncture (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2011), and mergers and groupings damage the journalism and media’s integrity may flash through the mind. As a result, this situation made people seek alternative types of journalism, and it has been gradually decreasing in value rather than being the “fourth power” (Edmund Burke, 1787) which people may benefit from in order to be informed. Hence, a media product is also a reflection of a culture, therefore what they signify explicitly or implicitly gives an

insight into the overall media culture of a society (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2011). Thus, we can create a simili: consuming content as an individual's eating. As the famous saying goes you are what you eat. If we are fed the same messages through all 'different' media channels, our minds are shaped accordingly, damaging the integrity of journalistic practices and the media's credibility. Forming echo chambers all around, the power of an owner hinders the will to access the truth.

2.2.3. Partiality in Turkish Mainstream Media Sphere

As we are constantly exposed to the media content and before the digital media, we tend to believe what we see, especially when the content is repeated in every media channel and/or newspaper. Considering this, what media powers put in front of us these dominant presences have created their own strategies and now have a significant say when conveying a piece of information. Hence, their actions are not only limited to the production but also how the minds and opinions are shaped through manipulation. As the fourth power, journalism practices in the mainstream media are expected to create a bridge between citizens and the government by providing objective information flow, yet, citizens' reality is constructed making reality a consistency measure (Luhmann, 2000). Therefore, the problem of describing the 'objective' and 'objective for whom' bring about a significant challenge in the Turkish media sphere. Therefore, the media can take control to communicate its own agenda by promoting its ideology. The new media can transform society, and when it is merged with political power, it might have irreversible impacts on society (McLuhan, 1964). It should be noted that "mass media do not focus on truth, but on informativeness, and are therefore constantly suspected of manipulation" (Baraldi, et al., 2021). In that way, mainstream media achieve their social realities by

adjusting the agenda based on their realities, ideologies, information flow and expect them to be adopted by ordinary citizens. Statistically speaking, “out of 10 most-watched TV channels, 9; out of 10 most read dailies belong to the government-affiliated companies” (Media Ownership Monitor, 2021). Considering Turkey’s media sphere, in which the citizens think that “media is censored and not free” (Center for American Progress, “New Nationalism in Turkey” survey, 2020), media is also distanced and alienated from society considering the wealth of these conglomerates.

Also, these conglomerates may exercise their power for harmful deeds for society, including limiting the information flow by using their ownership rights. To exemplify, what is happening can be hidden by those as we have seen in the Gezi Park protests, in order not to lose their profits (Çağlar & Çakar-Mengü, 2011; Rogstad, 2016). As propaganda model indicates, media outlet owners keep media in their hands to secure other enterprises they own, in fact, the system they operate. Even though the mainstream media have been losing its value due to its singularity, for these big media moguls, it does not pose a threat as most of these companies operate in different sectors and might use media to make public their other operations which increasingly vary as mentioned above. Hence, the commercialization of journalism and media poses a threat to the right to communication. According to research (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010), it was found that journalist accepted that even though the media conglomerates assure the people about their objectivity as a ‘watchdog,’ these media outlets mostly make news in line with the opinions of the owners’.

Considering Turkey's current media sphere that intends to shape society's opinions through business and profit concerns, monopolization, lack of qualified journalists, and loss of trust in mainstream media have become unavoidable (Ataman & Çoban, 2019; Çakmak, 2021). Plus, the opposition media have been losing power since the beginning against the economic and political elites. Moreover, unionization in Turkish media remains remarkably low (Kurban & Elmas, 2012). As Chomsky and Herman (2000) argue, these big moguls have expanded their business areas and dominated numerous spheres of life, as well as changing the agenda and making their ideas the prevailing ones. This challenge has led citizens to conduct their own practices through alternative media. This might even turn into alternative collective media accounts that are now common on Twitter.

2.3. Alternative Media: Transition to Social Media Platforms

Alternative media, in this context, can be called "tactics" as put forward by de Certeau, meaning "responding to different situations that characterize every day" (Highmore, 2010, p.148) or "e-tactics, affiliation with social movements social movement organizations" (Earl & Kimport, 2011, p.9). through these tactics, ordinary citizens have become more engaged in digital platforms to overcome the strategies implemented by mainstream media and/or the government by holding power as the producer of power (de Certeau, 1984). Even though television is still the most preferred source of news in Turkey, research shows that citizens have turned to digital media alternatives (CAP National Survey, 2018) because the political conjuncture heavily influences journalists as they work for a company that also possesses a specific ideology (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010). Yet, it should be noted that microblogging platforms, also used by journalists, are helpful

for that sense for creating an environment for a change (Lasorsa et al., 2012). These microblogging platforms have started to become a part of everyday life: “As traditional media become significantly dysfunctional, the virtual world has become a journalistic oasis” (Ataman, Çoban, 2019, p.185). Therefore, citizens who would like to seek to speak up or to be informed via different channels have started to transfer to social media platforms for a couple of years now (Sümer & Taş, 2020) for some, the transition from traditional to digital was inescapable as “the emergence of the pro-government ultra-partisan and propagandist news media as the only remaining mass media, brought an end to professional journalism” (Ataman & Çoban, 2019, p.172).

With the advancement of technology worldwide and the emergence of Web 2.0, some digital microblogging platforms were created to address the people’s needs, and many platforms were established, such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and YouTube. Each social media platform has a different ‘tactic’ to attract users, and thus, their usage area differs accordingly (Dennis, 2019). In time, in addition to its entertaining perspective, social media have been used to make mundane everyday life easier with its numerous features such as being informed instantly, building a community, sharing ideas independently, using as a diary or some sort of a log, connecting people all over the world. It started initially to entertain the users with the idea of escapism providing a distraction to dismiss the real-life problems and more effective communication with friends, as well as logging and sharing personal details was achieved (Blight et al., 2017; Hoffmann et al., 2017; Phua et al., 2017; Vorderer et al., 2004; Yee, 2006). The modes of communication have drastically changed ever since with its mobilization effect, bringing about political influence, creating collective efforts in the quest of independent and

credible journalism (Bonini & Sellas, 2014; Chadwick, 2013; Khan et al., 2014; Madison & Klang, 2020; Pătruț & Pătruț, 2014). Individual efforts have gained importance and found their voice in the online world. For example, a study conducted (Rogstad, 2016) found that regardless of the profession, such as bloggers, ordinary citizens, politicians, or comedians, they have established their communities online without pursuing a particular goal. Hence, today the influence of social media in everyday life has become more visible in many spheres of life.

Their impact on the mobilization of citizens for social movements has become more visible and prevailing. As the mainstream media have become monotonous, traditional forms of civic engagement have lost their power, and new modes of participation have emerged. (Bonini & Sellas, 2014; Pătruț & Pătruț, 2014). As social media can be considered as a means of promoting democratization due to its more independent, accessible nature by making it possible for everyone to speak up because it furnishes “non-hierarchical, broadly distributed, and flexible networks” (Chadwick, 2007, p.6). Plus, in addition to being only the consumers of content as we have been experiencing with the mainstream media, on social media, ordinary people have also become the producers of contents (Pătruț & Pătruț, 2014; Ataman & Çoban, 2019). Some activities require little effort to engage in politics, such as signing an e-petition, “liking” a tweet, Instagram post, or Facebook page, or even adding a frame to a profile picture to support a cause or promote an idea that can be classified as ‘low-threshold’ information exchange (Chiluwa & Ifukor, 2015; Dennis, 2019; Pătruț & Pătruț, 2014; Madison & Klang, 2020). For example, just adding a frame to pictures, a website was created called Twibbon defines itself as “your very own microsite where users can support your cause, brand or

organization in a variety of ways.” Individuals have started to integrate social media into their lives, and the media have changed the way individuals practice everyday life. This might be attributed to the increasing use of social media by the young population, particularly Generation Z, which can be defined as the people born between at the end of 1990s and the beginning of the 2000s, as they are thought to be born to a world of technology. Even though this transition is also connected with age groups, it is safe to say that many people, regardless of their age and generation, have started to benefit from digital media’s opportunities. For example, in a study conducted, it was found out that both Generation Y and X also access their social media platforms via their smartphones, a sign of catching up with the advancement, hence, justifying the increasing role of alternative media in our lives (Kuyucu, 2016). To sum up, we see a growing tendency to use social media regardless of age group. But indeed, as generation Z has already been born into technology, and as a transition generation, social media have become an efficient alternative for news sources for them, which may result in an increase in participation without being dominated by a form of power (Ypulse, 2021). Social media platforms’ popularity has been rapidly growing worldwide, and particularly in Turkey. In this case, they can be regarded as a threat to mainstream media, as it offers a more independent environment to the users, without specific authority. In the end, it does not mean that mainstream media have lost their all popularity, instead, they have gained a highly formidable adversary by increasing their competitiveness. Because social media allow “offering information shortcuts to those who may have become marginalized or excluded from political life” (Dennis, 2019, p.47). These digital alternatives act as a mechanism to spread ideas to a broad audience that may involve raising awareness of a

particular topic with individual efforts and connective action by enabling transmission of information way easier like a snowball effect (Bennet, Segerberg, 2013; Demirhan, 2014; Lasorsa, et al., 2012; McGarry, et al., 2020).

With the many traditional habits giving way to digital patterns, including the journalism practices, the traditional mainstream media's credibility has started to decrease due to their not-so-instant, and more dangerously, biased structure in the favor of the government or authority (Pătruț & Pătruț, 2014; Poell, Borra, 2011; Robinson, 2015; Williamson et al., 2012). These mainstream outlets were trying to save their businesses by benefitting from the advantages of technology, and their targeted perspective caused social media to emerge as a cost-efficient alternative that addresses people with different beliefs, ideologies, and values (Abbott, 2017). Hence, those who attach great importance to accessing the truth and unbiased content have turned their faces to the alternative media (Bennett 2008; Çoban & Ataman, 2015). Here, the definition of truth varies including a representation form, but it can be regarded as more credible information. Thanks to the interconnectivity regardless of the profession, age and agenda, social media platforms have ensured a shift in some cultural practices by promoting citizen culture. The collective action achieves these individual protests awareness campaigns and also allows expressing an opinion without being attached to some rules or obligations; hence, paving the way for exchange of views independently and instantly (Bennett 2008; Bennett; 2011; Dennis, 2019; Kuyucu, 2016; Rogstad, 2016). Consuming news habitually may enhance the knowledge of users in terms of societal problems, challenges and contribute to their political participation. It was found out that the number of adults "citing social media platforms as their primary source of news have increased from 32%

to 39% between 2015 and 2018” (Andi et al., 2020). Following that, a positive relationship was determined between the time spent on social media use and protest behavior (Earl & Kimport 2011; Valenzuela et al., 2012). With this improvement, individuals have started to find more place for themselves and their personal ideas, which may lead to the mobilization of the greater public. Over the years, certain protests and movements occurred thanks to social media platforms, particularly Twitter. In a qualitative, interpretive study conducted between 2009 and 2010, it was found out that young adults are keen to be informed via social media platforms (Williamson et al., 2012). Hence, they have become a means of framing personal expressions more independently and “a dominant space where collective activism is currently constituted and negotiated” (Thorston et al., 2013), as cited in Velasquez and LaRose’s article (2014).

Also, one cannot assume that social media is only used by citizens who look for alternatives; instead, social media own its success in addressing everyone from a high school student to a highly controversial politician or a journalist as the citizens’ purpose of using social media considerably differ (Dennis, 2019). Indeed, media has a preeminent role on the political agenda, used by mainstream media outlet owners for years now (Walgrave & Van Aelst 2006). To this end, while looking at journalistic, or more simply, the practices of following the news, one may ask the place of actual, professional journalists’ role in social media. Indeed, as independent platforms, their use also differs. The user can remain professional or personal, and lastly, both. In a research analyzing the journalists’ tweets, it was found that journalists’ tweets are connected to those of politicians’ as journalists also quote politicians’ tweets while making news, which again

has an influence on setting an agenda (Metag & Rauchfleisch, 2016) and can be considered as put-up-job.

Plus, the increasing use of social media that enable interaction among everyone, journalist or politician or a sports player, and a simple citizen, has rendered it possible to reverse the negative influence of agenda-setting practices of media conglomerates (Metag & Rauchfleisch, 2016). As the popularity increases accordingly, the expectation of profiting from the alternative media has also been growing. This causes the big media moguls to also participate in this environment where their domination might not be considered as high as print or mainstream media. However, this environment is used by these conglomerates for advertisement purposes to again increase their profit by addressing users' consumption needs (Kuyucu, 2016). That is why first creating dominance in the print, later in mainstream media, has led the emergence of these outlets' to move to social media as well making big media companies' presence on Twitter is noticeable.

Used by different actors, while tweeting, we might experience two types of participation, namely, macro and micro (Bennett et al., 2011; Dennis, 2019). As its self-explanatory nature, micro-level participation can be regarded as a drop in the ocean: "Digital micro-activism often makes up just a single tactic in the vast strategic repertoire of political activism" (Dennis, 2019, p.55). However, it should be noted that many examples are turning into snowball effects as written under Citizen Journalism.

Hence, platforms have developed newer features to attract more users and enhance communication in the not-too-distant past. There is also a boom in social media users,

with more than 3.8 billion users in 2020 (BroadBand). Consequently, social media developed new features shaped by the users as “tactics” (de Certeau, 1984). Focusing on Twitter, they have put forward significant developments such as creating hashtags opening ‘live’ sessions, which enable users to broadcast a live feed just like a regular journalist. Users have become more engaged in digital platforms to overcome the strategies implemented by mainstream media’s not-so-objective manner and limited information flow (Bonini & Sellas, 2014). As the mainstream media has been bird-dogging the Government discourse, the producer of power (de Certeau, 1984), citizens who could not find what they expected have turned their faces to online alternatives. In that way, platforms have become a part of everyday life. Another reason why people have turned to digital platforms is the “long history of activist efforts to create communication” (Poell & Borra, 2011, p.696), and these platforms facilitated the process with simultaneous and instant sharing strategies and low costs for participation and organizing.

Traditional mainstream media’s generally negative coverage of these movements/protests causes an increase in the interest of social media platforms. (Bennet & Segerberg 2013; Valenzuela, 2013) These types of social activist movements have broader repercussions on social media. Hence, social media contribute to political activism thanks to the low-cost tactics implemented by the users. Plus, the presence of traditional media outlets on social has also been increasing. Thus, it can be said that “the old and new co-exist” (Rogstad, 2016, p.142), leading media hybridity concept. It can be concluded that Individuals, social groups, “non-structured organizations and civil platforms are the main actors of the new social movements.” (Demirhan, 2014, p.288).

In this case, Twitter is a notable example of this phenomenon since it provides the users with a chance to communicate with others, including authorities, or be informed of a protest or an event that happens in the other hemisphere simultaneously. These are designed to appeal to emotions by sharing values and identities (Ozduzen & Korkut, 2020). Twitter offers self-presentation of users and mingles their both personal and political spheres of life by providing them a platform to express their personal political beliefs through social media that have become a part of the mundane everyday life in which conventional organizations' role is a lot less (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Tufekci, 2013; Valenzuela, 2014). Plus, it provides newer forms of communications for the politics as both individual and collective, and the disengaged get a chance to participate in the discussions of societal problems, for example, "42% of U.S. adults on Twitter say they use the site to discuss politics in some way" (Pew Research Center). As self-presentation may come in different domains, Twitter is also used for tactics developed for political efficacy that serve to online protest behavior, which may later turn into an offline version. Moreover, as the citizens have started to move Twitter, media moguls have become more active on Twitter as well.

2.4. Twitter

Within the social networking services (SNS), the microblogging platform Twitter with its improved features, has been used for self-expression and raising awareness in the context of political societal problems that leave a mark in everyday life. Notionally, Twitter, founded in 2006, is a free platform allowing users to post their ideas in the form of tweets, which was initially 140 characters, but currently increased to 280 characters (Demirhan, 2014; Tunç, 2018). The platform also allows users to send private messages,

tag others by usernames, like and retweeting by with or without adding comments by providing textual data and provides instant notification regardless of the place in a remarkably dynamic environment for content sharing (Bonini & Sellas, 2014; Robinson, 2015; Rogstad, 2016; van Vliet et al., 2020). This relatively new use of social media contributes to collective efficacy through individual efforts. Hence, these features can be analyzed in the light of de Certeau's (1984) tactics and strategies. As a microblogging platform, its use in emergencies or some crises provide users to participate in several discussions that have a positive influence on creating dialogue among citizens, raising awareness, or just speaking up (Bonini & Sellas, 2014; Java et al., 2007; Kavanaugh et al., 2011, Larsson & Moe, 2011; Lasorsa et al., 2012;) Another advantage Twitter provides is one may easily be exposed to a content that they usually don't consume, which helps to spread an idea of an average person. For this reason, recently, the popularity of Twitter which can be considered a micro-blog platform, has increased remarkably (Lasorsa, et al., 2012, Rogstad, 2016). Statistically, Twitter represents one of the fastest growing social networking sites in terms of gaining an audience, and in just one second, 10.000 tweets are posted (Internet Live Stats, 2021).

2.4.1. Twitter in Everyday Life

Twitter has become a part of many people's mundane everyday life and changed how online political expression is shaped within the current mediated environment by contributing to the daily discussions in the Turkish Twittersphere with the collective-connected digital actions (Dal, Nisbet, 2020; Deuze, 2011; Bennett & Segerberg 2012; Rogstad, 2016; Theocharis, 2015). Individual beliefs and expressions are uttered via Twitter, and in time it evolves into a collective act, without a central power but with a

common act. With self-organization, either online or offline movements, or both, ‘loose organization, low-cost collective action’ (Bennett & Segerberg, 2013; Earl & Kimport, 2011; Rogstad, 2016; Tunç, 2018) was achieved. Individuals have started to create collective efficacy with their participatory efforts. When individuals reflect their wish for a change, the actions turn into collective actions as tweets become a positive driving force on the way of achieving their goals which may later include some interest groups or organizations but not necessarily (Velasquez, LaRose, 2014).

Even though there are several main differences between alternative social media and traditional media, one of the most significant ones is that Twitter allows creating a discussion about an issue, whether it is old or new. In contrast, traditional media is mainly about day-to-day updates (Rogstad, 2016). Moreover, considering the mainstream media is able to cover some issues by bringing up about others that they want to convey in order to set a specific agenda, Twitter allows every voice to be heard. An ordinary user can experience self-efficacy applications that contribute to collective actions used as tactics, like hashtags. Twitter is capable of meeting users’ expectations as a communication tool that reaches wider audiences and provides self-efficacy (Panagiotopoulos et al., 2016). Whether it is a natural disaster or a revolt against the government, Twitter acts like an alternative, a credible journalism source by the individuals and protestors to inform, help, and spread information. It helps provide personalized content but is also not limited to that personal perspective and may become a part of something bigger for following the news (Demirhan, 2014; Kruikemeier, 2014; Meeks, 2016). Additionally, standards of journalism have been changing. To exemplify, we have become more dependent to our smartphones, we have a stronger urge to be

informed, and the monopolized system formed of echo chambers are not welcomed by the citizens. Now, thanks to the microblogging aspect of Twitter as it creates a platform to make a change through individual acts (Lasorsa et al., 2012). More concretely, individual efforts may turn into an alternative form of online outlets representing the opposition on Twitter (Doğu, 2017). Hence, whether for individual, professional, or organization use, these show that the users have adopted Twitter's tactics and embraced it as an alternative.

2.4.2. Twitter as a Worldwide Independent Platform

Before starting to analyze the Turkish Twittersphere under the influence of the Gezi Park Protests which has ignited the use of Twitter in Turkey, some examples could be helpful to show the power of Twitter in the mobilization context. Los Indignados (2011), Occupy Wall Street (2013), FIFA World Cup (2013), Black Lives Matter (2013), G20 Summit in Toronto in 2010, or Hurricane Sandy in 2012, Tahrir Square Protests drew attention globally and had a broad repercussion on Twitter, most of those protests criticized certain policies of the Government (Bennett & Segerberg, 2011; Poell & Borra, 2011; Vallina-Rodriguez et al., 2012; Tufekci, 2013; Sadler, Chapter 70, 2016; Westmoreland, Chapter 25, 2016; Thorsen, Chapter 3, 2016). These protests have proven that some may start with offline efforts and then receive climactic support from Twitter; hence becoming a hybrid form with “co-presence” of this tangible and digital, connective and collective unison (Earl & Kimport, 2011; Segerberg & Bennett, 2011). These protests also emphasized the importance of social media's role as the facilitator of individual political participation and engagement. Also, collective activism, images, tweets, and other forms belonging to recent protests have circulated worldwide rapidly and influenced each other

thanks to Twitter. So, they inspire others (McGarry et al., 2020) by sparking a fire online, which may turn into offline protests. Social media can influence collective action by mobilizing individuals and providing insights with user-generated content (Valenzuela, 2013; Velasquez & LaRose, 2014). Hence, digitally networked interpersonal communication enabled the exchange of views, providing necessary information such as tweeting about the legal rights of protestors, in case they need it, as seen during the Gezi Park Protests.

While spreading a word via Twitter, many “tactics” are used like hashtags which can be described as “a theme that converges all the tweets that contain it which is useful when creating a flux of conversation that allows debates among users about specific issues” (La Rosa, 2014, p .74). Now, the hashtags activism has become a form of activism that narrates a story and an agency that attempts to make a change that addresses users’ emotions through shared ideas and values (Ozduzen & Korkut, 2020; Dadas, 2017; Yang, 2016). Like a snowball effect, hashtags shape individual Twitter use, contribute to connective action and help to spread themes about problems (Bennett, Segerberg, 2013). All around the world, hashtag activism has gained acceleration, and many successful examples can be found. #BlackLivesMatter emerged against the excessive police violence started in the US, #BringBackOurGirls for the kidnapped girls, #OccupyWallStreet created by AdBusters who are famous for culture jamming implementations to protest economic inequalities, #JeSuisCharlie for protesting the murder of Charlie Hebdo magazine workers to promote freedom of expression, #OccupyGezi to protest against the government’s plan of removing a very well-known park, and #Jan25th used against the Egyptian security forces during Tahrir Square

protests to inform the protestors (Harold, 2004; Thorsen, Chapter 3, 2016; Yang, 2016) through Twitter hashtags such as #OccupyGezi and #DirenGeziParki. The initial steps of these offline movements were taken online, thanks to Twitter, and hashtag activism was used as a tactic to be a voice against societal problems.

It is possible to see a hashtag to be used for organizing an online protest, bringing both the online and offline movements together that is called “co-presence” (Earl & Kimport, 2011), as seen in the several hashtag activism examples. Hence, the low-cost participating opportunities, in other words, serve a great purpose with few connective actions that are regarded as positive by many social media users, and it might be the reason why this type of activism has become that popular in a relatively short time (Earl & Kimport, 2011).

2.4.3. Turkish Twittersphere

Getting away from its reformist approach, the Government in time has changed its stance towards Twitter. More concretely, Twitter was banned by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan when he was the Prime Minister in March 2014 pursuant to a court order when some audio recordings were leaked to social media platforms, and in 2015 was banned again by the General Prosecution Office when the visuals of a Turkish prosecutor was revealed, along with YouTube. Additionally, currently, media blackout implementations are also executed.

Plus, taking a closer look at the increasing use of Twitter for mobilization starting with the Gezi Park protests, we can say that its starting point was to criticize the Government's stance on urban development, which was abolishing a well-known, historical park to build a shopping mall at the heart of Istanbul (Özdemir, 2017; Sadler, Chapter 70, 2016). However, the protest rapidly turned into an utterly anti-government protest due to several reasons, such as excessive use of force, media censorship, and even an attempt to shut down Twitter completely (Oz, 2016). Here, it is important to note that during the Gezi Park protests, Erdoğan called social media platforms a menace in his speech (Huffington Post, 2013). Citizens have turned their faces to Twitter, and the question 'why' can be answered with numerous answers from offering many advantages to citizens who would like to be informed simultaneously (Kuyucu, 2016) to the fact that one of the most-watched news channels' broadcastings of a penguin documentary, simultaneously, when there were thousands of people on streets (Demirhan, 2014; Tunç, 2014). Hence, the lack of coverage in the mainstream media during the Gezi protests has actually fueled the flames on the way of creating citizen journalists in which the demonstrations were

shared, posted via an alternative microblogging platform, Twitter, with diverse types of users (Ataman & Çoban, 2019; Demirhan, 2014; Özkırımlı, 2014; Tunç, 2014). These protests' depiction on Twitter formed a perspective about the collective action in terms of societal and political problems taking a relatively vast place in individuals' everyday lives.

As a great example of a participatory protest with co-presence of online and offline movements which has brought together millions of protestors regardless of the ideological religious differences, Gezi Park Protests signified that collective organization could be created via social media, notably Twitter, with the help of hashtag activism (McGarry et al., 2019; Özkaynak et al., 2015). Plus, thanks to the individual online and offline efforts, without a central power or an organization, it was seen that individuals could be united for a common goal and prove the individuals' online capabilities, and everyone could participate (Demirhan, 2014; Velasquez, LaRose, 2014) that were turned into offline activism. Hence, it was an extraordinary incident and paved the way for shaping the Turkish media sphere.

In a consequence of what has happened while moving to digital media, the use of Twitter has increased in an unprecedented way in Turkey, during that period, the number of Twitter users in Turkey increased by nearly 2.4 million (Uğurlu & Özutku, 2014). Hence, it is safe to say that "Twitter became the obvious outlet for digitally literate people in search of information" (Tunç, 2014, p.14). Hence, Twitter also shapes public opinion by creating mobilization among individuals with its low-cost opportunity and instant access (Theocharis, 2015).

The platform was used mainly by activists (Sadler, Chapter 70, 2016) in order to promote their ideas and to be appropriately informed. Hence, it can be concluded that “the logic of the political spectacle, typical of mass media and mainly of television, seemed also be passed through the 140-character social media” (La Rosa, 2014, p.74). By vitalizing the online protest concept in the Turkish digital media sphere, in Twitter, hybrid Gezi Park Protests have given birth to social activism. Hence, the individual level of exposure and participation strongly influences political protest participation as Twitter helps activists create mobilization. Thanks to Twitter, people were acting in the capacity of independent reporters and able to communicate and inform each other, stay abreast of what was happening at that moment, create dialogues, create an environment for feedback and exchange of views and participate actively with their smartphones or other smart devices (La Rosa, 2014; Sadler, Chapter 70, 2016; Westmoreland, Chapter 25, 2016;). The increase in participatory media is helpful to express dissatisfaction with a government’s policy or regulation, its implementations, or its unjust approaches when the mainstream media restrict the information flow in order to protect their financial yields. As to fight against the dominance of these moguls, these “tactics” created are used to tackle civic problems without requiring a centralized power by reckoning on Twitter (Tunç, 2014; Tüfekçi, 2014).

As opposed to Twitter’s strategies which furnish a user-friendly environment, the Government may also develop some counter-strategies, including attempting to shut down Twitter completely or imposing a broadcast ban on a piece of news and its circulation on Twitter. Moreover, officials or police forces can track the users (Bonini, Sellas, 2014; Demirhan, 2014).

Yet as a safe port, people in Turkey still find a way to reach using this microblog to speak up and to get a broader international audience, without a central organization power but instead by taking part in connective action that serves the common good that helps self-validation (Bennett & Segerberg, 2011). A tactic used by the users is keeping their profile anonymous lest they are being watched (Ataman & Çoban, 2019). Counter to these arguable strategies; currently, as a platform that enables people to speak up freely regardless of the matter, Twitter has been adding labels to state-affiliated individuals or some media outlets' accounts to 'alert' the user about what to expect since February 2021. These accounts are shown with the label 'state-affiliated,' such as Sputnik, a pro-government Russian news outlet. Interestingly, Twitter does not apply this labelling to all countries but China, France, Russia, the United Kingdom, the United States, Canada, Germany, Italy, Japan, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, Honduras, Indonesia, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Serbia, Spain, Thailand, Turkey, the United Arab Emirates. Twitter justifies this policy by claiming that in these countries, "journalism and communication is heavily depended on the Government" (Twitter, n.d.), proving the heavy dominance of the specific media conglomerates on free media practices.

Within complex societal and political problems, Twitter has facilitated everyday life. Thanks to engaging in low-cost participatory activities, the users can now reach authorities by resonating with people. These digital acts might be criticized for serving a purpose as a temporal solution by including solely online activism in the sense of 'slacktivism,' which can be negatively described as trying to create or engage in some digital acts with little effort, which will highly likely do not influence actual political or social life (Earl & Kimport, 2011; Madison & Klang, 2020; Morozov, 2011) which

echoed in social sciences also as “techno-pessimism” (Fuchs, 2012) arguing that the new technologies will not be enough to make a change, on the contrary, will make people lazier. However, thanks to the little efforts, one does not require someone to do something extraordinary; instead, ordinary participants engage in any part of the process however they like, sometimes by just pressing buttons to show their contentment, or even passively, by just being exposed to content. Even though it can be seen as “micro-level” (Dennis, 2019), it can be used for sparking off an offline movement or helping it become widespread. When someone tweets, one does not have to expect a high interaction rate as it can still be a powerful message that many may appreciate (Dennis, 2019). As people have sought to find alternatives for several purposes like expressing themselves better, accessing more credible information, and enabling information flow to hear different voices, some scholars argue that these practices actually contribute to becoming more active citizens who have eventually led to the emergence of citizen media culture (Bennett 2008, Chadwick 2013, Papacharissi 2010).

Moreover, it is advantageous as it hinders people from being “dependent on information communication hierarchy” (Pătruț & Pătruț, 2014, p.5), enabling a more independent environment (La Rosa, 2014). Hence, it can still be regarded as an efficient method considering the recent successful online collective protests leading the way in the modern world’s structure. Hence, even though it is slammed for requiring micro-level activism, slacktivism can help become more aware of what is happening around.

Hence, as cited in Poell & Borra (2011), “Twitter can be considered as an awareness system” (Hermida, 2010, p.301) that can be used for statements, information seeking,

community appraisal, preventing rumors, informing protesters, and self-presenting (Panagiotopoulos et al., 2016). The way that mass media broadcasts the protests are criticized for overlooking the reasons for protests and what is happening. Moreover, Twitter came through with its real-time, omnipresent nature, and day-to-day activities can quickly be followed that have an essential role in the information flow (Panagiotopoulos et al., 2016; Poell & Borra, 2011). In that way, users have become the producers of content, undertaking the role of informing others, and Twitter has become a news source in the Turkish media sphere. Hence, as a public service medium, Twitter provides a place to reunite and connect users. To exemplify, apart from individual efforts, some collective movements have also appeared in the form of online newspapers. Finding a place in the mass media may require huge capital and lack of objectivity. That is why, in order to bring a breath of fresh air, individuals have gathered to produce content. By applying some principles, these online media newspapers have also transformed some journalism activities and moved them to digital by allowing other citizens' participation (Taşkıran, 2019).

Additionally, citizen journalism grants show another side of the coin as challengers of power networks by getting inside the track (Rone, 2016). Therefore, citizens' active involvement via Twitter can be used against hegemonic practices reigning in traditional media. Also, it will be the users who decide what to write, what to like, retweet or quote as Twitter requires the active involvement of its user (Rogstad, 2016, p.152).

Thus, in the process of providing information flow, social media has been used heavily (Cuellar-Garcia et al., 2020; Wong, et al., 2020). Looking more specifically to Turkey, we

see that the Turkish Twittersphere has been mainly about creating awareness and promoting the restrictive precautions taken for the sake of society (Tosyalı & Tosyalı, 2021). Considering the situation's urgency, which has made people get into a flap and restricted real-life interaction, these instantly available online communication solutions have been heavily used. They have created more exchange in the period of isolation, which started with people's heavy use of social media platforms (Wong et al., 2020).

2.5. Citizen Journalism

As a concept, 'citizen' which was initially used to describe the nation-related concept as Britannica defines: "relationship between an individual and a state to which the individual owes allegiance and in turn is entitled to its protection" and has numerous definitions present in different spheres of lives from sociology to law to media (Baker & Blaagaard, 2016). In the media context, a citizen has an influential role in promoting democracy by expressing individuals' ideas without requiring a central power, with or without pursuing a certain goal (Peschke, 2016a, 2016b). This is called citizen journalism or citizen media, a concept that was started used in the 1980s, today has become more prominent for the Turkish media sphere and has peaked globally for the last couple of years help raise a critical voice among citizens trying to make up the lack of coverage (Abbott, 2017; Allan & Thorsen 2009; Peschke, 2020; Stephansen, 2016; Tunç, 2014;). Now, what once was experienced in the streets to a large extent is experienced in little gadgets called smartphones, which may also turn an online movement into offline protest by rearranging the setting between mainstream and digital (Tunç, 2014; Hughes & Parry, 2016). For Correia (2012), citizen journalism gives voice to those whose voices are ignored or

suppressed as capable of producing content against the hegemonic power that dominates the media.

Several reasons have led ordinary citizens to seek alternatives. Namely, the increasing rate of digitalization, and as Chomsky and Herman argue (1988), those who hold power have an outstanding share in shaping the public opinion, left ordinary citizens helpless. Due to that, promoted biased ideas have needed a challenge, and this has brought about citizen journalism, also recognized as “participatory journalism, oppositional reporting, alternative journalism, social media activism” (Abbott, 2017; Baker & Blaagaard, 2016; Harcup, 2014). These problems are experienced in the mainstream media and with the advancement of social media. Plus, since 2020 March, with the pandemic outbreak in Turkey, the use of social media, particularly Twitter has become a necessity.

2.5.1. Covid-19's Influence on Citizen Journalism

The outbreak of Covid-19, “an infectious disease caused by the SARS-CoV-2 virus.” (WHO, n.d.) has taken hold of 114 countries by March 2020 (First et al., 2021) has paved the way for alternative solutions for more credible journalism and/or communication practices. To this end, the concept of citizen journalism has gained more importance than ever. With this outbreak, in many countries some lockdown measures have been applied in order to prevent the virus from spreading (Wong et al., 2020). parallelly, the use of social media has expanded as physical interaction has given way to social distance and many people had to stay at home for a considerable amount of time. Particularly during the lockdown periods, people have started to consider social media as a remedy (Chan et al., 2020) and also it is safe to say that “Social media provides a suitable environment for

risk communication studies in pandemics in the 21st century” (Tosyalı & Tosyalı, 2021, p.151).

The urge to inform others where mainstream media remain insufficient and a pandemic have existed for more than two years now make citizens fill in as journalists with a different style. More concretely, when traditional media are not started to be seen as the fourth power and lose its influence as the “watchdog” (Chouliaraki 2016; Harcup, 2014; Xin, 2010), journalism has some responsibilities but fails to fulfil them properly have created the need for a solution to tackle with deficiencies, a solution what we call citizen journalism. As Harcup (2014) mentions, for many scholars, citizen journalism is interconnected with political activity, and public journalism as a journalistic approach is used to enlighten the people collectively. It is in high demand because of the rising skepticism towards existing media practices (Abbott, 2017,) which directly or indirectly made people more actively participate in the issues. It is also helpful to increase the interaction among citizens, which may remain online, offline, or both; in a hybrid form (Guo, 2012).

Apart from the graveness of the Covid-19 situation, which caused the death of 5,646,118 people worldwide as of January 27, 2021, (Elflein, Statista, 2022), we have become witnesses of successful examples of citizen journalism worldwide. To exemplify, in China, where carrying on media practices is challenging hence the people have created a set of strategies to tackle the highly restrictive environment as ‘netizens’ as the government constantly traces citizens’ digital footprints. Moreover, we see other well-known examples such as Anonymous, Wikileaks, and its country-based counterparts such

as Bivol and NOligrach.com used in Bulgaria, or an exhibition of London bombings called We Are All Photographers Now, and as quoted in Chouliaraki (2016), Wollenberg and Pack (2013) state that during Arab Spring protest in Libya, social media has played a significant role in NATO's decision to intervene (Cross, 2016; Guo, 2012; Nordin, 2016; Rone, 2016). Additionally, Harcup (2014) talks about a non-profit media project called Mule, which was created for handling what traditional media neglect or ignore. They aim to generate skepticism in favor of the disadvantaged against those who hold power and control in their hands, like women and minorities.

In societies where we can clearly experience a propaganda model, in which the citizens need to benefit from tactics, citizen journalism is more likely to be used to enable journalism and media practices to function more appropriately. In this case, when we look at Turkey's media sphere, we see a highly vibrant online presence and community (Tunç, 2014). According to the statistics, 65.80 million internet users were recorded in Turkey as of January 2021, making the internet penetration rate %77.7 at the given period (Dara Reportal, 2021). Eventually, through the products of ordinary citizens', some existing journalism practices have transformed for the sake of independent media practices (Pérez-González, 2016). As in the traditional Turkish media sphere, the "profit over people" system (Chomsky) reigns, some initiatives have emerged on Twitter as well as their official websites to ensure independent journalism, such as 140journos, whose owners had no journalist background, or Dokuz8haber (Tunç, 2014).

Undoubtedly, professional journalists might not welcome this approach as citizen journalism follows no strict rules, no concrete structure, and no hierarchical order

(Abbott, 2017). Citizens prefer Twitter to express themselves independently frequently without pursuing a specific intention to reach thousands of people. But the stance of professional journalists is also open to discussion as they act to “self-legitimize their position in society” (Deuze, 2005, p. 446). Hence, for many scholars (Allan et al., 2009; Cross, 2016; Guo, 2012; Xin, 2010), the outputs produced in citizen media can be regarded as significant for the professional media as an intermediary between digital and traditional media sphere. Also, as a unifying power between the professional and the amateur by increasing the communication between professionals and amateurs as their way of framing might be different and both sides can take something to learn from each other (Guo, 2012).

It can be criticized in the sense that these citizen journalists have increased the media content, causing a constant information flow which may bring about the trivializing an issue that they have saturated the media environment (Rone, 2016). Plus, this division may polarize society by ignoring the possibilities of improving the whole media sphere, including traditional and digital. Additionally, the credibility of citizen journalism might be open to discussion as users can tweet anything as long as they log in and being a member of that platform. We might be exposed to biased content, lack of verification, misinformation, even hate speech (Mythen, 2010; Swasy et al., 2015); however, with the monopolization and monologic discourse of Turkish mainstream media, it can be regarded as a drop in the ocean because the citizen-generated content on social media plays a significant role in raising awareness and mobilizing action (Chadwick, 2013; Thorsen, Chapter 3, 2016). More concretely, in his article, Tunç (2014) states that one of the most leading survey companies in Turkey called KONDA conducted an interview and

found out that 69% of the participants told they found out about Gezi Park protests from social media, which implies a lot about the importance of citizen journalism. Also, as mentioned in an empirical study conducted (Stephansen, 2016), it was concluded that the content produced by the citizen journalists forms a significant part of mobilization for many purposes, from a political event to documenting worth sharing. That has a chance to challenge mainstream media in a collective, and now, also an online, connective way encouraging others with the emergence of a pandemic, and it thrivingly influencing the active users as well as the indifferent by opposing the monopolized traditional system (Baker & Blaagaard, 2016; Castells 2009; Lievrouw, 2015; Rodriguez, 2001; Stephansen, 2016).

The users of these platforms do not just talk about the problems but also become a part of a change within a dynamic process without the dominance of a particular entity, being a voice to the helpless (Harcup, 2014; Rone, 2016). For example, for Harcup (2014), citizen media, or as he calls it “oppositional reporting,” has some characteristics like provoking the utmost skepticism, letting the labor class speak loudly, and rioting in context by creating awareness in the social media eventually can be used for raising awareness and create a spark for a change. Regarding the limited contents of giant media conglomerates, citizen involvement in media has recently become more important to be seen and heard and engage in crucial issues involving politics (Thorsen, Chapter 3, 2016; Abbott, 2017). Citizens contribute to democratic practices in societies whose traditional media has been damaged by financial purposes and went astray to providing credible and independent information to citizens with a simple language structure that does not require much effort (Ataman & Çoban, 2019; Correia, 2012; Rone, 2016; Tunç, 2014).

Consequently, “the citizen’ is afforded a greater degree of sovereignty as a self-governing individual” (Cross, 2016, p.234). In that way, citizens become more aware of *compatriots* by actively taking part in their society. This point of citizen journalism was also emphasized during the Gezi Park protest, as one of the most famous slogans during Gezi Park protests was: “There are no media, we are all journalists.” (Tunç, 2014, p.14), which says a lot about the significance of this concept which has an incremental growth ever since, also with a pandemic’s negative impacts.

The organizations which are unable find a place within mainstream media, can create an entity on Twitter, acting as an opposition. Considering Twitter provides low-cost opportunity to inform people in a free environment, numerous alternative online media account have also emerged on Twitter (Doğu, 2017).

However, one should keep an eye on digital media’s fourth power features as well. Because In addition to all the conglomerate examples dominating the traditional Turkish media sphere, as well as starting to take place on social media, the problems, however, are not limited to media moguls on social media either. It is important to note that some online organizations are also transformed to respond to some users of that network (Chadwick, 2007). To exemplify, the active online journalism sites, particularly on Twitter, such as Mediascope, founded by a journalist called Ruşen Çakır, or Bianet are funded by international funds. A term called ‘crowd-funded’ has emerged to define it more appropriately. It means “a way of raising money to finance projects and businesses” (European Commission, n.d.) and damages the independency principle of journalism. Being funded may result in also promoting a view that contributes to another ideology if

not the government's (Ataman & Çoban, 2019; Erduran et al., 2018), considering the organization is owed to someone or some entity. Hence, all these ideological actions in the journalistic practices, in a way, made it obligatory to take part in individual efforts by several different motives such as the urge to be informed and to inform others, to reach the truth.

On the other hand, it is essential to acknowledge that “the engagement is a process, rather than an outcome” (Dennis, 2019, p.35). Users may just be exposed to certain content, and they might prefer not to like it or retweet it. In this case, even this passive participation might be helpful in making others see content that they do not usually see on the mainstream media outlets.

Hence, with the increasing use of social media and the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, people have sought to find a solution through these platforms. Eventually, these efforts, which start individually and may turn into collective actions, have contributed to a concept that was created long ago but has become a way of telling in today's Turkish media sphere.

All things considered, the increasing influence of the propaganda model, promoting of anti-democratic implementations with the monopolization of media have become more visible in the Turkish traditional media sphere. Trying to get rid of echo chambers, citizens' quest for alternatives have yielded fruitful results. Hence, social media have gained a newer perspective in addition to being a means of entertainment. Now, many citizens on the Twitter act as journalists, knowingly or unknowingly. In that way, they contribute to the practices seen in the Turkish Twittersphere by engaging in a discussion.

In addition to augmenting technology dependency, the right to be informed right away, now, with the severe health crisis, namely the Covid-19 pandemic, Twitter has become a crucial means of communication among Turkish citizens.

To this end, the research questions of this study aim to explore the influence of citizen journalism and what it has brought about. Hence, the first question of the study investigates the outcomes of the monopolized mainstream media outlets, consequently media practices, and their reflections on the Turkish Twittersphere. In that sense, Twitter demonstrates the users' common patterns by opening a window into mass media and Twitter use. Other question tries to unfold the visible influence of citizens on Twitter and exhibits the transition possibilities of mainstream media. The study seeks to demonstrate the inevitable changes in media practices as social media, particularly Twitter has started to overrule the monologic mass media.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This chapter will discuss the applied mixed content analysis research method, along with the thematic analysis and variables and measurements used to create the coding sheet. Considering the data used to analyze the unit of analysis obtained by a Horizon2020 project called EUMEPLAT, this chapter also explains the project and how the data is collected and processed. Hence, the methodology chapter goes into the influence of the propaganda model's impact on the Turkish Twittersphere by looking at different content units regarding tweets' various qualifications.

3.1. Content Analysis

This study's method will be a content analysis that is commonly and for so long to furnish prevalent themes and concepts in communication studies. In this case, this study analyzes the influence of citizen journalism in the Turkish Twittersphere, by also taking the professionals, as well as the traditional media outlets' online presence into account. The mixed content analysis will give insight into the Turkish Twittersphere's communication practices in both quantitative and qualitative forms. Hence, it offers a more comprehensive understanding of a vast process through corroboration and evaluation of findings (Suter, 2012). Indeed, content analysis is perceived and interpreted differently by different researchers. To exemplify, Berelson looks at content more quantitatively manner, claiming that content analysis is "a research technique for the

objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (1952, p.17), while for Downe-Wambolt (1992), it is more than looking at the frequency rather, “a systematic and objective means to make valid inferences from verbal, visual, or written data in to describe and quantify specific phenomena” (p. 314) and according to Krippendorff and Bock, it is a “research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use” (2009, p.18). This method has been used in sociology, psychology, and business, particularly in communication and journalism, which provide facts by bringing about quantitative outputs (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Krippendorff & Bock, 2009; Neuendorf 2002) and what is common in all these definitions about content analysis is their proximity to communication. In brief, content analysis, generally, is the understanding of expressions and sentiments via cultural forms concerning everyday life and political communication.

The use of content analysis has included looking at political content in news media, speeches, advertisements, campaigns, and recently social media and blogs (Neuendorf & Kumar, 2016) and, more recently, digital media platforms. Hence, employing content analysis will facilitate focusing the insight on the Turkish Twittersphere to make some inferences regarding citizen journalism and mainstream media. By looking at the propaganda model and its reflections on social media, this study aims to draw “valid and objective inferences about the message based on explicit rules” (Prasad, 2019, p.2). Considering that the qualitative content analysis is mainly based on the contextual meaning that puts more emphasis on the language, a significant number of

contents are examined according to the importance they represent (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Weber, 1990).

3.2.Dataset

3.2.1. EUMEPLAT

For dataset, this thesis will benefit from a Horizon2020-funded project called “EUMEPLAT, Platformization of European Media: Assessing Negative and Positive Externalities,”. With the platformization of news, the project aims to “analyze the role of media platforms in fostering or dismantling a common European identity” (EUMEPLAT, 2022, p.3). Consisting of 5 work packages, EUMEPLAT aims to find out the role of media, identify the practices, and give an insight into the media landscape, emphasizing the significance of the media for the European identity. Looking at production and consumption patterns in selected countries, the project aims to provide insight into amateur journalism’s influence on platformization and detect best practices in cross-European circulation. The data is explicitly obtained from Work Package 2 (WP2), which measures the ability of social media platforms’ news-making features. WP2 focuses on the platformization of journalism with a multidisciplinary view, combining history, culture, media, and statistics. Regarding WP2, user-generated content from the microblogging platform Twitter was taken with the consortium of the ten EU member countries, looking at production and consumption patterns. These countries are namely, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Germany, Greece, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, as well as Turkey, a non-EU member country, which has a considerably big media market with an 83 million population.

The data, which will be used through algorithmic extraction and analysis, was restricted to four different dimensions, namely, climate, economy, health, and Europeanization. I analyze the data with both qualitative and quantitative content analysis as it offers many benefits for a researcher, such as providing a content-sensitive method (Krippendorff, 1980), analyzing a large number of data, and allowing for closer connection among these interactions, and draw some conclusions about professional and citizen journalism. Also, focusing on a more qualitative aspect may pave the way for future research. Suter (2012, p.352) emphasizes that “qualitative data analysis is often performed during data collection with emerging interpretations, guided by a theoretical framework, and analysis evolves throughout the whole research project.” To this end, conducting content analysis would provide more precise insight into users and their aims and expectations while discussing and comparing these two opposite perspectives on the efficiency of Twitter.

3.3. Collecting Data

The open-source data was created by applying the following steps: Following the WP2 guideline of EUMEPLAT, each country team has prepared a lexicon formed of 30 words to extract data with social media analytic software used for tracking enormous data on digital media platforms, called BrandWatch accordingly to the authorized Application Programming Interface (API) based on the posts that have the most reach in the first month, namely; September 2021. As shown in Figure 1, the lexicon includes common keywords with their Turkish equivalences, such as vaccination = *aşı* (in Turkish) and what it evokes, like BioNTech, Pfizer, etc. Plus, words related to national debate such as violation (*ihlal* in Turkish) which signifies not complying with social distance measures,

as well as the obligatory mask use in public places is addressed as a violation within the national debate, are added. Per each dimension's lexicon, first-month data, involving the most relevant tweets with the widest reach was extracted by the Portugal team, namely the University of Lisboa. This thesis benefits from obtained raw data, meaning the unprocessed data belonging September 2021 which I manually decode according to the coding sheet I prepared to reveal the influence of citizen journalism.

Figure 1 Lexicon for Health Dimension

Lexicon construction				
Dosya Düzenle Görünüm Ekle Biçim Veri Araçlar Uzmanlar Yardım Son düzenleme birkaç saniye önce yapıldı				
100% € % .0 .00 123 Varsayılan ... 10 B I S A				
A1	A	B	C	AA
1	Common keywords	Most significant declinations	Common keywords	Most significant declinations
2	Keyword	Language = English (max: 30 keywords)	Language = Turkish (max: 30 keywords)	
3	1	astrazeneca	Pfizer, Biontech, Johnson & Johnson	Sinovac, Biontech, Sputnik, Turkovac
4	2	ambulance	paramedic	ambulans
5	3	clinical	clinic	ambulance
6	4	Lockdown	curfew	hastane, sağlık ocağı
7	5	covid	covid-19, covid19, coronavirus	sokağa çıkma yasağı, kısıtlama, karantina
8	6	DHSC	Department of Health and Social Care	kısıtlama
9	7	disease	illness, patient, patients	salgın
10	8	nurse	nurses, nursing, infirmary	hastalık, salgın
11	9	epidemic	epidemics, outbreak	salgın hastalık
12	10	pharmacy	pharmacies	hemşire
13	11	hospital		hemşire, sağlık çalışanı
14	12	infected	infection, infections	epidemi, pandemi
15	13	immunization	immunity	eczane
16	14	mask	masks, anti-mask movement, mask deniers	eczane, ilaç
				hastane
				enfekte
				enfekte, bulaşmış, bulaşı
				bağışıklık kazandırma
				bağışıklık, antikor
				maske
				maske, n90

3.4.Coding Sheet

3.4.1 Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this research is tweets collected in a defined period, September 2021. Analysis was restricted to the first hundred posts from each dimension with the widest reach, described as the number of users who see a tweet. Tweets can also be publicly found on Twitter. Also, to provide more uniformity while coding. Also, as this thesis' data source is EUMEPLAT, an EU Commission-funded project, it is essential to note that it complies entirely with the GDPR. Pursuant to Article 89, GDPR considers scientific research an exception in data collecting. Hence, in this study, data anonymization will be ensured.

Twitter data processed with BrandWatch provides detailed information, some not used in this study. Hence, I will be focusing on the distribution of professional and user-generated content “transformation in journalism and news production,” which will give an idea regarding the analysis of citizen journalism practices in Turkey. A hundred tweets from each dimension, four hundred tweets are included in the content analysis in total.

Once I had obtained the tweets with the widest reach belonging to four dimensions, I created a spreadsheet as a CSV file and started coding the data manually as they were not that voluminous. In this system, the tweets were analyzed according to different criteria. The coding sheet was first used to obtain statistical data and later used to analyze the data qualitatively. As shown in Figure 3, the code sheet comprised engagement, interaction-related categories, and variables.

Principally, a coding sheet was prepared to highlight the distribution of tweets in given categories and which qualities they commonly have. It is important to note that the categories reflect the current issues faced not only in the European context but also in Turkey, such as economic fluctuations, the pandemic outbreak, and the climate crisis. As the methodological tool, the coding sheet examines the detailed information regarding tweets. More concretely, who are the common actors receiving more interaction in the defined dimensions, what do these tweets include, such as hashtags or visuals, and their attitude towards the government. Firstly, EUMEPLAT's WP2 Codebook was taken as a reference to create the coding sheet. Here, variables have only an answer, such as yes (1) and no (0). Similar to the codebook, the text, the visuals, URLs, and engagement types in a tweet are considered. Engagement rate was measured differently in numerous studies as the data privacy is involved. Hence, the study benefits from EUMEPLAT's engagement categories, namely retweets, replies, reach, and impressions. In addition to these categories, the number of likes of tweets is manually added to the engagement rate formula to make it more comprehensive. Lastly, great importance is attached to coding data according to what is included in the tweet but not the contents external to the platform as stated in the EUMEPLAT WP2 Guidelines.

Apart from WP2 Codebook, previous studies were taken into account while creating the coding sheet. More specifically, studies regarding citizen journalism and its impact and the studies employing engagement rate as a metric were reviewed. The categories in the coding sheet are formed predicated on previous research regarding citizen journalism

and the defined metric, in connection with the study's primary focus revolving around the influence of citizen journalism based on the propaganda model.

Figure 2 Coding sheet categories

Q1. On or off topic (On topic=1, Off Topic=0)	Q2. Type of account (0= Sports Club / 1= Mainstream Media Outlet / 2=Politician/Politics Related / 3=Journalist / 4=Online Newspaper / 5=Citizen)	Q3. Verified Account (NO=0, YES=1)	Q4. Attitude of Tweet (0=Neutral / 1=Pro-government / 2=Anti-government)	Q5. Hashtag Use (No=0 /Yes=1)	Q6. Image (No=0 /Yes=1)	Q6.2 Video Use (No=0 /Yes=1)	Q6.3 URL use (No=0 /Yes=1)	SCOPE OF THE TWEET					Engagement Rate (Total number of engagement / total number of impressions) x 100%	Thematic Analysis
								Q7.1 Scope Global (NO=0, YES=1)	Q7.2 Scope European (NO=0, YES=1)	Q7.3 Scope National (NO=0, YES=1)	Q7.4 Scope Regional (NO=0, YES=1)	Q7.5 Scope Local (NO=0, YES=1)		

As a hundred tweets in each dimension were selected according to the reach, it is useful to look at their distribution according to account types and tweet owners. As previously studied before (Petrović et al., 2012), to label the tweet as on-topic, the tweet would have to mention the determined topic plainly. Hence, the first category starts with if that tweet is related to that category or not.

This study primarily focuses on the propaganda model, that is why, looking at how citizen journalism is processed in previous research is essential. For example, in a study (Fico et al., 2013), the aim was to determine if citizen journalism substitutes for newspapers regarding the news about the government. Randomly selected samples of traditional newspapers and citizen journalism websites have shown that citizen journalism played a complementary role. Hence, as citizens do not have to apply strategies of a media entity to engage in discussions passively or actively, a dimension about the type of account along with the attitude of a tweet is added.

More precisely, in a study conducted to determine the content diversity between citizen journalists and online newspapers, it was found that the contents produced by citizen journalists have more variety and are more interactive (Carpenter, 2010). Also, it is seen that professional journalists often use social media platforms to exchange views with other colleagues and share their personal opinions on things that do not interest or attract societal problems. (Molyneux & Mourão, 2017). Plus, in another study, Carpenter (2008) found that citizen journalists feel more independent and highly likely to express their views compared to mainstream media outlets. Hence, a column related to account type distribution was added as: Type of account (0= Sports Club / 1= Mainstream Media Outlet / 2=Politician / 3=Journalist / 4=Online Newspaper / 5=Citizen. As official accounts of the sports club are irrelevant to this study, they are directly marked as off-topic. Sports clubs are not a unit of measurement in this study to make inferences. Thus, they are marked as '0'. Politicians and politics-related entities and organizations mean that they are related to politics in a way, whether it is a politician, or the account belongs to municipalities or political parties' branches. Journalists responsible for informing and reporting to citizens are also added as they are publicly known professionals who are also active in the Turkish Twittersphere.

On the other hand, the online newspapers category is created explicitly for online newspapers, some of whom are only active on Twitter. Lastly, the citizen category also includes researchers, as well as ordinary citizens. As tweets are analyzed according to the words determined in the lexicon, the first rule is words' compliance with the lexicon, which are required to be related to Europe, meaning tweets should include words

regarding Europe. Under three categories (climate, economy, and health), some off-topic tweets belong to official sports club accounts. Hence, as they do not comply with the lexicon, they are marked as ‘off-topic.’ However, under Europeanization, as tweets follow the lexicon, tweets of championships and other competitions are marked as ‘on-topic.’ To exemplify, some tweets include ‘UEFA,’ and ‘European Football Championship’ which the Union of European Football Associations organizes, hence, belong to Europeanization dimension.

Another research regarding citizen journalism, whether they object to traditional media, are affected more by the mainstream media, organizational sources, and cite official or unofficial statements was carried out (Carpenter, 2008). The data were limited to daily newspapers and citizen journalism websites in the US. In conclusion, it was found that essential differences were observed between online citizen journalism and online daily newspaper publications in the sense that online newspapers rely more on routine applications. More importantly, it was found out that as they do not have to stick to any rules, online citizen journalists offer various views regarding societal problems compared to online journalists. Furthermore, to these differences between traditional media practices and citizens on social media platforms, as the involvement of visuals is known to increase engagement (Negrete & McManus, 2021; Beveridge, 2022; Taecharungroj, 2016), the coding sheet also includes the use of visuals as it also gives an idea about the mainstream media accounts and citizens. More concretely, a study was carried out to find out the use of visuals on Twitter during EU Parliamentary elections. At the end of the

study, it was found out that political actors heavily benefited from the visual use (Marchal, et al., 2021).

Numerous studies focus solely on citizen journalism practices by ignoring their overall engagement with their followers (Molyneux, Mourão, and Coddington, 2016). Hence, different studies have emerged within this context to enhance the metric engagement rate was developed and put into use. Lindner, Connell and Meyer (2015) examined if the concept of citizen journalism contributes to professional journalists in a way, and also their practices including different techniques such as benefitting from more facts than opinions, avoiding the first person, and putting forward legitimacy. With the content analysis conducted by analyzing the citizen journalism websites, it was concluded that some of them included former journalists, which confronts the idea of the overall citizen journalism image. Moreover, the view of ‘fact over opinion’ was observed, and lastly, it was concluded that with some advanced developments, more democratic progress could be achieved with citizen journalism.

Based on these studies focusing on the essential concepts of this study, a metric was chosen called *engagement rate*, which is calculated by dividing the total number of engagements by the total number of impressions and finding its percentage. As stated above, different engagement types have been used in various studies. Hence, in this study, the engagements are defined by how many times registered users interact with a tweet (retweets, replies, likes, reach, and impressions) (Zadravec et al., 2021).

Engagement rate is a prevalent technique used in numerous studies focusing on Twitter.

For example, to find out the marketing effect of the digital libraries, notably Qatar Digital Library, Alsarraj (2020) compared the online presences of different libraries by looking at their engagement rate. Also, it was concluded that tweets with visuals or additional links are more likely to increase engagement. Hence, while decoding, the influence of visuals and links are added to the code sheet as well. Plus, engagement rate defines the success of an account, regardless of its number of followers. More clearly, the study, which aimed to find out the practical features of spam accounts on Twitter (Lin & Huang, 2013), employed interaction rate by dividing the total number of tweets into the number of tweets' interactions. It was found out that because of the high interaction rate achieved by tweeting URLs and users' clicking on them, instead of getting likes, replies, and retweets, spam accounts will survive long even though Twitter tries to suspend them when detected.

Moreover, to find out the impact of the social crowd on Twitter, Thebault-Spieker, Xu, Chen, Mahmud and Nichols (2016) benefited from the outreach method and employed different types of engagement rates, such as dividing total impressions by engagements for Twitter ads and dividing all the tweets to engagements for the direct outreach manually. Consequently, it was found out that thanks to the interaction ways such as seeing a tweet, retweeting, liking, Twitter provides numerous ways to engage a subject. Moreover, it creates a collective effort around that subject. Hence, I benefitted from the engagement rate calculation based on retweets, replies, impressions, and reach. The engagement rate of impressions and reach are calculated separately as they differ significantly. Thus, making a distinction between reach and impression is crucial. As

Twitter defines it, impression refers to “times a user is served a Tweet in timeline or search results” whereas reach means “the total number of people who have seen the ad or content” (Zarzycki, 2018).

In another research, a content analysis was carried out based on tweets by health workers and researchers (Zadravec et al., 2021). To this end, the Twitter campaign called #365Papers created by the Clinical Exercise Physiology Lab was analyzed based on the data received by Twitter Analytics with descriptive statistics, and engagement rate was employed to see how the scientific discussion is evolved and evoked cooperation between peers. The engagement rate is calculated by dividing the total number of impressions by the total number of engagements and finding its percentage. Apart from this, how the engagement rate differs was also analyzed. It was found that a daily scientific Twitter campaign that is often accompanied by hashtags elicits both peer and public engagement regarding scientific discussions and publications. Furthermore, it was concluded that when an important person also participates in the debate, the engagement rate equally increases. More concretely, looking from the citizen journalists' perspective, the active engagement of users in politics and numerous societal issues has increased. Besides, professional journalists' use of Twitter has risen parallelly (Molyneux & Mourão, 2017). Additionally, in a study aiming to explore the concentration of media in Turkey, Anadolu Agency's interactions were analyzed based on the mentions, and retweets, which are considered engagements (Irak, 2016).

Looking from the government perspective, a content analysis was conducted (Henisa, Wilantika, 2021) to find out what type of content is regarded as interesting by the users

and make them become active participants. This study analyzed different platforms and found out that Instagram has the highest engagement rate. However, it is valid for all platforms that as long as the government gains the public's trust, it is reperculated on social media, which eventually increases the engagement rate. Here, it is crucial to take the propaganda model into account. To this end, Tunç's article (2014) theoretically contributes to the outgrowth of the propaganda model in today's media structure by analyzing the Turkish Twittersphere use by drawing some conclusions regarding mainstream media's credibility and attitude towards social media platforms. By giving detailed information about citizen journalism practices created on Twitter such as 140Journos, Dokuz8Haber.

Another aspect of social media is to gain new 'followers' in political and commercial forms (Bertoldi, Giachino, Stupino, 2018). Beng, Ming (2020) have researched museums' online presence on Twitter and Facebook to see their ability to attract 'consumers'. Here, again as the metric, engagement rate is used with this specific formula: $[(total\ number\ of\ replies + total\ numbers\ of\ retweets + the\ total\ number\ of\ favorites)/real\ followers\ on\ the\ last\ day] * 100$. The data gathered was analyzed with a statistics software to see the variability of the platforms, find out the relationship between followers, and compare Twitter and Facebook in that sense. Thereupon, it was observed that even a like or a reply is enough to increase the engagement; however, a comment is found more valuable than alike. Plus, they tried to find different elements contributing to users' engagement with the content and the significance of active participation. A florist's online trade actions were reviewed, and it was concluded that the higher the

number of contents produced, the higher the customer engagement becomes. However, regardless of the presence on the online platforms, the credibility attached to content by the users has great importance. To this end, the coding sheet involves the number of followers, as well as calculating the engagement rate.

Next to the last, Hwang (2013) analyzed the effect of the micro-blogging site Twitter by surveying Korean youth about the politicians who effectively use Twitter and found out that Twitter is a helpful medium to convey their messages. Considering four important dimensions concerning the globe and the lexicon created accordingly to map out the impact of citizen journalism, to this end, I used a metric that measures the scope of the tweet as global, European, national, regional, and local to see the extensity of a tweet.

Lastly, to better analyze the themes of a tweet, thematic analysis is employed, which has no strict boundaries and aims to describe the prominent patterns. Compared to content analysis which benefits from technology for studying Twitter, as a closer method to discourse analysis, thematic analysis possesses a flexible approach (Braun & Victoria Clarke, 2006).

In a study analyzing online activism's mobilization effect (Xiong et al., 2019), the MeToo movement on Twitter was analyzed by employing thematic analysis. To this end, they identified hashtag patterns with a feminist-oriented approach. Besides, in another study examining MeToo tweets again (Lindstadt et al., 2022), authors tried to put forward the notable patterns with regard to alcohol intoxication.

Considering all the previous research, before starting analyzing the data, it is crucial to point out a limitation. The lexicon created for the EUMEPLAT project includes the Turkish equivalence of the words of the four categories (climate, health, economy, Europeanization). The first category in the coding sheet is marking the tweet as on-topic or off-topic, and out of 400 tweets from four dimension, only 216 tweets are marked as on-topic. Idioms or some words are easily confused as they can be used as a part of names or surnames. To exemplify, as the climate lexicon includes the word ‘sun’ (*‘güneş’* in Turkish), some of the data includes Şenol Güneş, the Turkey national soccer team coach. Hence, these types of data were excluded.

The specified categories above have been used to create the coding sheet since they are easily applied to the scope and frame of this research. Even though several categories and numerous results are obtained, not to make this study exhaustive, only the most eye-catching results will be shared. To voluntarily check out the data and their decoding process, Appendix in which the examples are found can be consulted.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF TWEETS

This chapter both quantitatively and qualitatively analyzes tweets from September 2021 belonging to four different categories. First, each category is examined independently, and then the most salient results are deciphered within the scope of citizen journalism and propaganda model.

To make an analysis to demonstrate the impact of citizen journalism, the study requires creating a coding sheet composed of the values to be decoded in the spreadsheet. A completed coding sheet is then used to analyze the data with mixed-method, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The coding sheet enabled me to interpret the data according to the different variables. Before diving into describing the categories, how the data is collected will be discussed. In the corpus of this study, open-source tweets are first gathered from the EUMEPLAT project in a raw, unprocessed way under four dimensions which are health, economy, climate, and Europeanization. Tweets compiled in the project were collected via a media analytic tool called, BrandWatch, which allows the researcher to collect data for particular topics for both citizens and states globally. For this reason, the daily issues are included. It was essential to collect data that were news-worthy. Here can be described as the news concerning the majority. After determining these four dimensions, tweets are collected via the lexicon specified with their Turkish

equivalences. It is important to note that each lexicon category consists of thirty words determined according to Eurobarometer. It was found that citizens are mainly preoccupied with health, climate, and economic topics, which is the case for Turkey as well.

To exemplify a severe health crisis, Covid-19 is still a hot topic after more than two years. It has first appeared with discussions such as vaccination, restrictions, travelling, and other measures taken by the Governments. Moreover, with the supply chain crises and high inflation, the economy is trending, which is also included. Thirdly, as climate change has been a hot topic and various policies are put into effect worldwide over the last decades, the climate is a significant topic as well. Lastly, Europeanization is an influential topic for Turkey for democratic implementations and environmental and educational policies. More concretely, Europe-related issues and discussions are frequently encountered on Twitter. Hence, adding this category is vital to see the tweet distribution and look at the common themes and the attitudes of Turkish Twitter users towards Europe and Europeanization. In other words, the health dimension included terms like *quarantine, pandemic, ambulance, lockdown, medical, World Health Organization (WHO), immunization, and paramedics*. The economy dimension is based on words such as *unemployment, debt, agriculture, GDP, poverty, salary, funds, financial crisis, tourism, business, commerce, deficit, and social security*. The climate dimension included words environment *biodiversity, biology, climate, ecology, ecosystem, nature, oceans, plant, pollution, sustainability, global warming, recycling, Fridays for Future, policy, and agreement*. Significantly, the climate dimension also contains keywords

related with national debate. More concretely, considering environmental challenges Turkey has been facing recently, keywords like mucilage, forest fires, and drought were added to the list. Lastly, the Europeanization dimension comprises words like *Brexit*, *Europe*, *Merkel*, *Schengen*, *member state*, *European Central Bank*, *subsidies*, *EU Council*, and *EU regulation*.

Furthermore, apart from the lexicon created with thirty words, other related words under the dimensions ‘general connected with dimension’ and ‘specific connected with national debate’ are also added. To exemplify, in the climate dimension, the Sea of Marmara was added to the national debate because, in September 2021, the mucilage problem in the Turkish seas was getting severe. Or, in the Europeanization dimension, Istanbul Convention was added. Turkey being the first signatory to the Convention, withdrew from it. For this reason, this issue was discussed affluently on Twitter.

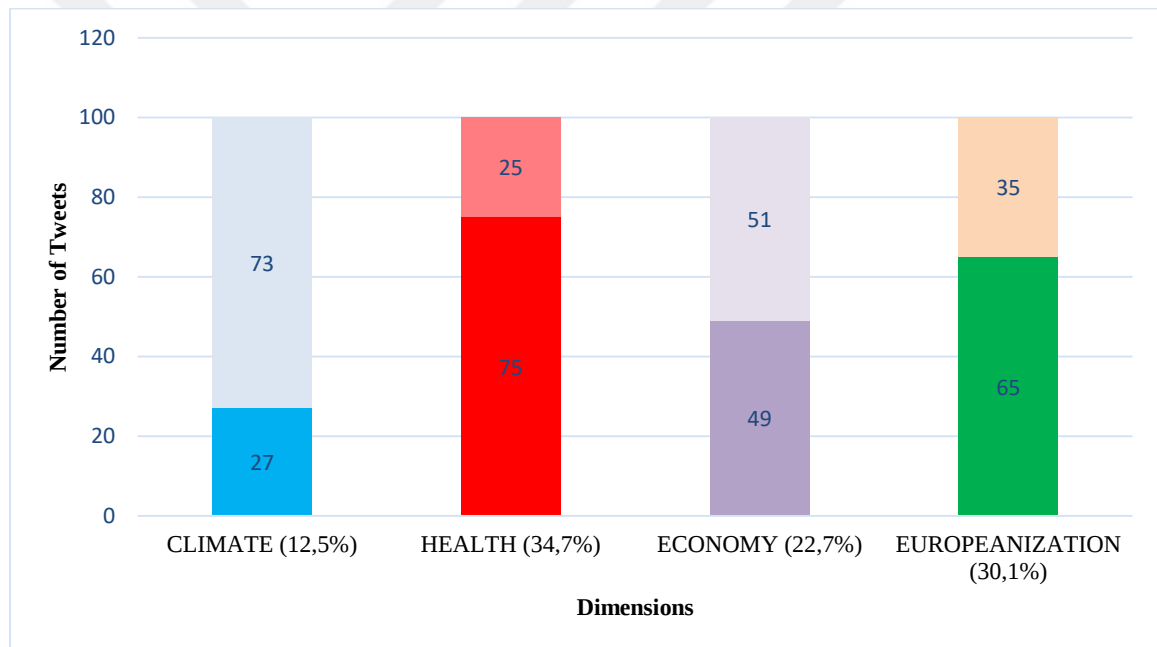
After the lexicon was completed, various queries were created with a set of keywords belonging to dimensions, combined with Europe. Consequently, the queries were inserted into BrandWatch, and data was retrieved in CSV format. With regards to data privacy concerns, citizens’ accounts will remain undisclosed.

This study benefits from mixed content analysis in both quantitative and qualitative manner. Hence, 100 tweets from four categories, 400 tweets in total, are gathered. A coding sheet was created to analyze the data, which is used to code values in a spreadsheet. The first question is about deciding if it fits its dimensions. Firstly, as seen in Figure 3, I marked four hundred tweets whether they were on-topic or off-topic. Overall,

out of 400 tweets, only 216 of them were on-topic. In order, health with 75 tweets (35%) in the category with the most significant number of on-topic tweets. Later, the Europeanization category with 65 tweets (30%) followed the economy with 49 tweets (23%). Lastly, the climate was the one with the least number of off-topic tweets, with 27 tweets (12%).

4.1.Distribution of Tweets by Dimensions

Figure 3 Distribution of Tweets by Dimensions



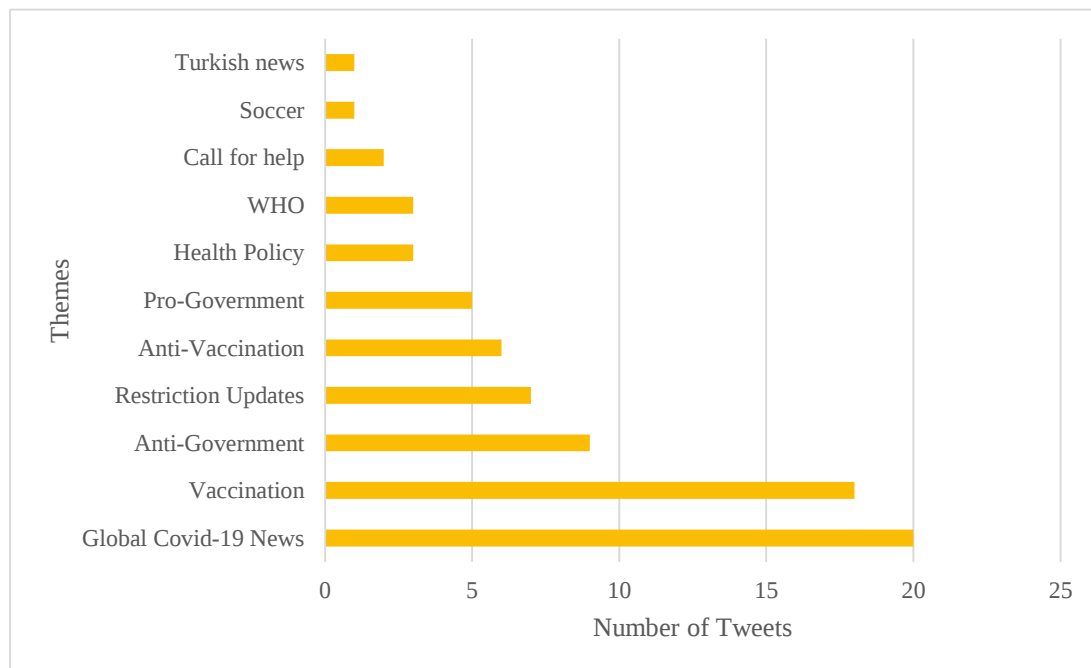
After analyzing the distribution quantitatively, I went over the tweets according to their themes. Each category was analyzed differently for the thematic analysis. Since each of the four dimensions has different focal points, their themes differ accordingly. To exemplify, the health dimension has many tweets about vaccination, whereas the focus was on energy prices and economic comparisons in the economy. It is crucial to note that even if a tweet is retrieved under the economy dimension, it may still be relevant to the

Covid-19 pandemic. Hence, to find the common patterns, I benefitted from thematic analysis as it enables interpreting data in a more flexible inductive and deductive way. Plus, it also allows adding personal knowledge to the theoretical information. While conducting the thematic analysis, the first criteria in this study were to look at their attitude towards the Government. Hence, the most obvious ones were marked as ‘pro’ or ‘anti.’ On the other hand, not all themes in one tweet cannot be shown, or a tweet may have a more neutral tone. Thus, the most visible patterns are reflected. Here, the distribution results of tweets, whether they are related to their dimensions and their thematic analysis, can be interpreted as follows:

4.2. Thematic Analysis

4.2.1. Health

Figure 4 Thematic Analysis of Health Dimension



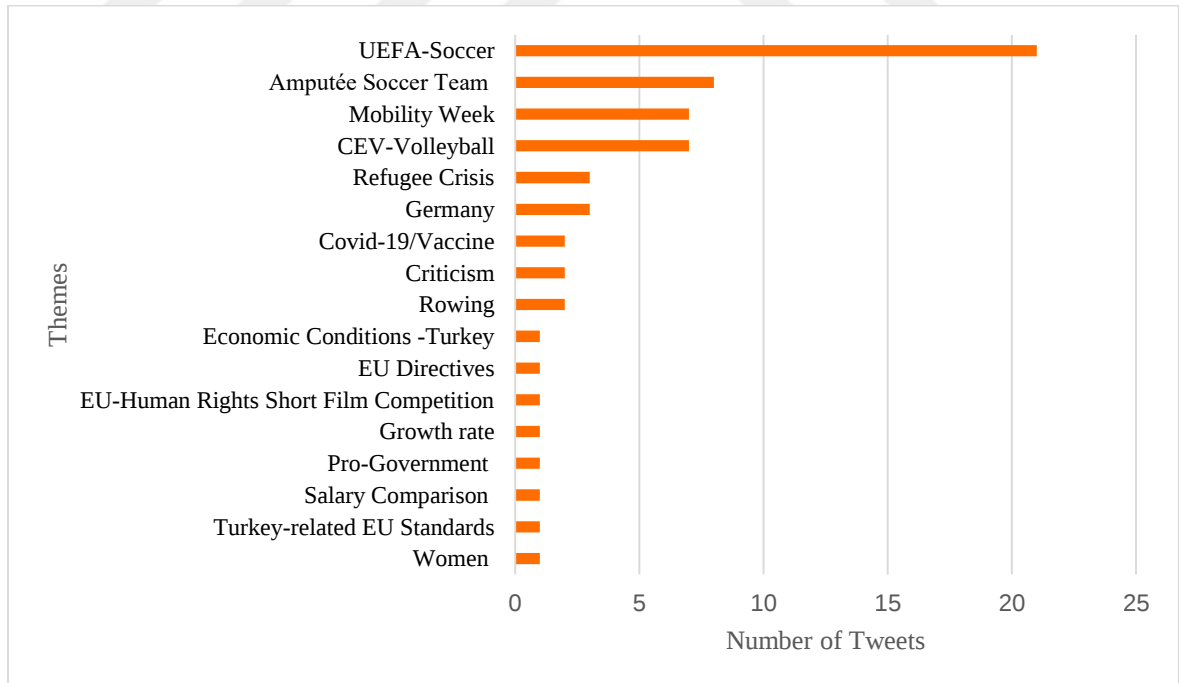
- Out of 100 tweets, only 25 of them in the health dimension were marked as off-topic, which made this dimension with the most on-topic tweets, hence the most related one to its dimension.
- Even though not all tweets in this dimension are related to Covid-19, the outbreak has a great dominance. With its adverse impacts that have been visible for the last two years, this result also demonstrates its seriousness in the Turkish Twittersphere. Moreover, the question of vaccines, which has divided society into two, is also evident in the given data.
- In the themes, ‘anti-vaccination’ refers explicitly to anti-vaxxers who strongly and clearly express their hostility against vaccination, whereas the ‘vaccination’ theme includes the latest developments and informative tweets pertaining to vaccines and their manufacturers, such as BioNTech Pfizer, Moderna, Sputnik, AstraZeneca.
- September 2021 was shaken with new variants, vaccine supply, different countries’ health pass systems, and mobile applications. Accordingly, global Covid-19 news was the most common theme, also in the Turkish Twittersphere. It is a great indicator that what is happening currently in the world has a broad repercussion on the Turkish Twittersphere as well.
- The restriction updates theme is solely based on the updates on Turkey. For example, this theme included tweets such as the UK removing Turkey from its red list.
- World Health Organization (WHO) has been an undoubtedly popular actor for the last two years, and as can be seen in the Figure 4, Turkish Twitter

users give wide coverage to their statements. As this severe health crisis also led to misinformation, particularly on social media with the instant dissemination of ideas, the fact that official statements of WHO found a considerable place in the Turkish Twittersphere might be considered essential.

- Even though the health lexicon consists of numerous words other than Covid-19 related ones, only two of them are about other health issues. This shows the gravity of Covid-19.

4.2.2. Europeanization

Figure 5 Thematic Analysis of Europeanization Dimension



- Out of 100 tweets, only 35 of them in the Europeanization dimension were marked as off-topic (35%). Even though it is the second category with the higher

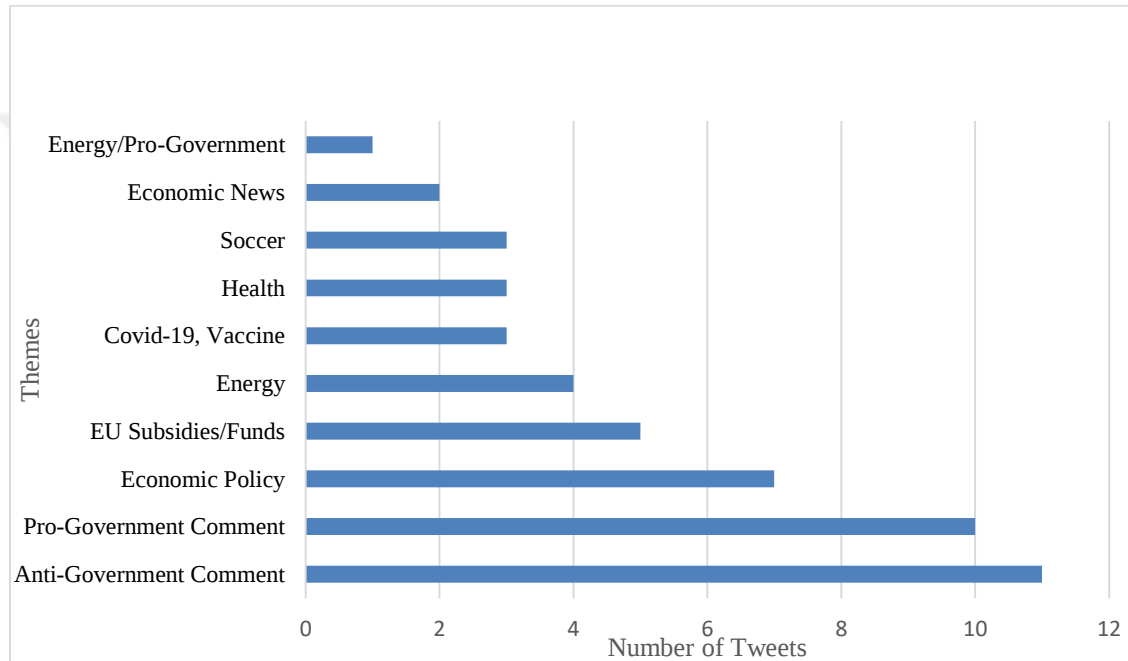
percentage, September 2021 period actually coincides with several sporting competitions, like soccer and volleyball.

- Regardless of the tweet owners, which will be explained in the upcoming paragraphs in detail, we see the superiority of sports competitions. More specifically, we see that soccer prevails. Aside from the amputee national team, which retained their European Amputee Championship, which can be considered a significant success, we see the minor success of Turkish teams participating in the UEFA competitions. Regarding the Turkish National Volleyball Team, who got third place in CEV EuroVolley 2021, we see that it has a weak reflection in the tweets. It is vital to note that the ‘volleyball’ theme also includes tweets pertaining to men’s volleyball. This might be an indicator that in the Turkish Twittersphere, the priority might be evaluated independently of the success. Moreover, it can be interpreted as fandom concentrated on soccer.
- Furthermore, the success of Turkish rowing team is also mentioned on Turkish Twittersphere. To be exact, Galatasaray’s two rowing players won gold medal in the 2021 European Under 23 Championships. However, they still fell behind soccer debates.
- Started in 2016, refugee crisis is still discussed on Turkish Twittersphere, which can be analyzed in a multifaceted way.
- Even though it is also a subject for economy, in the Europeanization section we see some tweets regarding salary comparison between Turkey and the EU countries. This might be an indicator of the dissatisfaction of the Turkish users.

- Germany is especially added owing to the fact that a direct comparison is made between Turkey and Germany in three tweets, which is worth mentioning.

4.2.3. Economy

Figure 6 Thematic Analysis of Economy Dimension

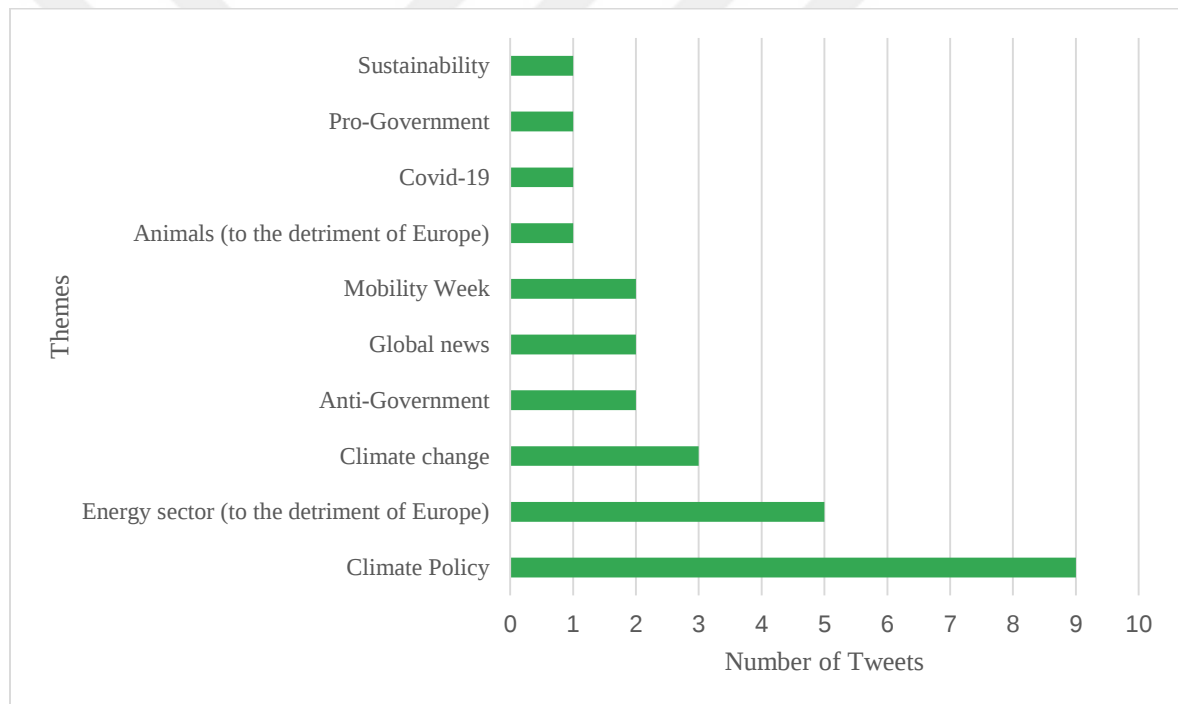


- Out of 100 tweets, 51 of them in the economy dimension were marked as off-topic. Considering what has been happening for the last two years, some of which are caused by the Covid-19, more concretely the unemployment it created, increasing accommodation prices, problems in the supply chain, this number could have been more significant.
- Several tweets are about rising energy prices in Europe, and the ones written with a pro-government point of view used a negative and acrimonious tone.
- The EU subsidies and funds find a great place in these tweets.

- Though it also has a place in the health dimension, the vaccine prices have also been mentioned in this dimension.
- Economic news has a more neutral and informative tone regardless of its owners.
- In this category, the anti-government theme has superiority.

4.2.4. Climate

Figure 7 Thematic Analysis of Climate Dimension



- Out of 100 tweets, 73 of them in the climate dimension were marked as ‘off-topic.’ Tweets in the climate dimension combined with words Europe, most of the results turned out to be related to soccer competitions, including ‘UEFA,’ ‘European Football Championship’ which the Union of European Football Associations organizes.
- Several on-topic tweets are related to the EU mobility week and its implementations in Turkey. Hence, most of these tweets were posted by the official accounts of municipalities.

- Other than that, many tweets talked about the rising energy prices in Europe, and most of them belong to media outlets' official Twitter accounts. Even though the type of accounts and what they share will be discussed in the upcoming paragraphs, we can note that media outlets with closer ties with the Government mostly made news about energy prices by denigrating Europe and praising Turkey.
- Regarding the lexicon, it was found that not many tweets were posted concerning climate change, which is a serious global problem. More clearly, words related to national debate was purposefully added to the lexicon, including mucilage, forest fires and drought. These are the problems Turkey has been facing and have enormous adverse impact on the environment. Regardless, tweets related to these concepts did not take part in the climate dimension of the retrieved data. This shows that the attention and the concern for the climate-related issues are not taken seriously by the users.
- It is worth noting that the anti-government theme is more common than the pro-government theme. To be more exact, in this dimension only one tweet has a pro-government stance.
- In a neutral way, the most common theme was detected as the climate policies of the Turkish Government with an informative tone.
- Considering the importance of sustainability concept is increasing more and more, it seems that it is not attached enough significance by Turkish Twitter users.

In brief, the distribution of on-topic tweets gives an idea of what Turkish Twitter users talk about. All things considered, the serious health crisis Covid-19 made the health

dimension the most on-topic themed dimension, which was predictable. Seeing Europeanization in the second might come as a surprise. However, when looked at in detail, most of them were about sports competitions, which signifies Turkish Twitter users' priorities. As a matter of fact, the UEFA Championship, in which the Turkish soccer team did not have an outstanding success, is a more common theme than European Championship holder Amputee National Team and the Turkish National Women Volleyball Team, who won the bronze medal for the The European Volleyball Confederation (CEV) tournament, which is a tremendous success. The economy dimension could have had more on-topic tweets considering both global and national economic turbulences. Lastly, the fact that the climate dimension was mainly comprised of off-topics demonstrates the importance attached to this severe challenge that could have been at the forefront of the daily conversations about our future.

4.3.Type of Account

After on-topic off-topic discussion with thematic analysis, the study concentrates on another category in which the type of accounts is analyzed according to their reach based on account types. In order to do that, WP2 of the EUMEPLAT project is taken as a reference, and small alterations were made. As this study would like to determine the increasing influence of citizen journalism, and demonstrate the propaganda model's presence, the categories were shaped accordingly. To elaborate, as seen in the off-topic on-topic category, many tweets were related to European sports competitions. Nonetheless, the study deliberates on citizen journalism and mainstream media effects in the light of the propaganda model. As a consequence, the accounts of the sports club were marked as '0'.

Later, mainstream media outlets' presence on the online platforms, in this study, particularly Twitter, has become more visible. Expanding on, as of September 2021, we see that the media channels that openly support the Government have considerable followers: TRT Haber has 3.9 million, Anadolu Agency has 3.3 million, Haber Türk has 4.6 million followers on Twitter. On the other hand, the openly oppositional media outlets are also followed by a large mass. Tangibly, Sözcü Newspaper has 3.2 million, and BirGün has 1.9 million followers. To this end, in the second category, mainstream media outlets were marked as '1'.

Now, there is an excellent transition to social media by all strata of society. Apart from the ordinary citizens' and media outlets' everyday use of Twitter, now politicians' dominant use of Twitter has also become more palpable. This includes the AKP members. It is a significant finding as Twitter was previously banned for a couple of times by the Government. However, now, we witness to their active use of Twitter. In particular, since the first case was recorded in Turkey on March 11, 2020, The Minister of Health, Fahrettin Koca, has been remarkably active on Twitter. Instead of their official websites or only broadcasting live on television, the Ministry of Health and the Minister of Health have played quite active roles, particularly on Twitter. More interestingly, and even agreeably, on April 10th, 2022, Fahrettin Koca had posted a tweet: *"We are going back to the days when we did not know Fahrettin Koca :) The number of Covid-19 cases today: 5,609."* Considering that the Minister posts this and acknowledges his popularity based on his online presence via Twitter, it demonstrates the significance of Twitter for

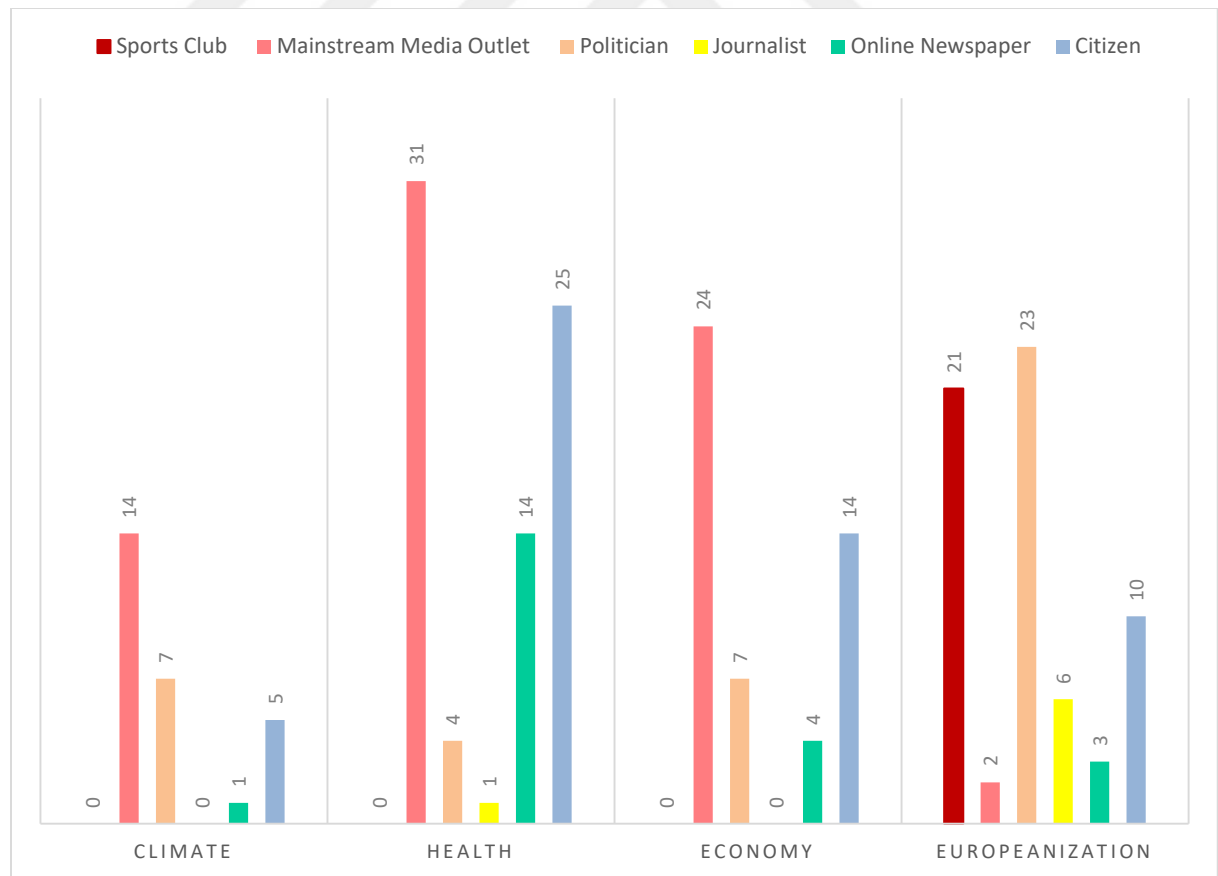
even an extremely serious health crisis. Therefore, politicians and politics-related actors were marked as '2.'

Subsequently, as communication is the primary goal of Twitter by enabling information flow, one can expect the presence of journalists within this scope. After mentioning the existence of media outlets and politicians, thirdly, journalists are thought to have a significant effect on Twitter. As this study focuses on journalism practices that have been transforming, adding journalists was inevitable in that sense. Hence, journalists are marked as '3'.

As another subject of the communication process on Twitter, we come across online newspapers which are only active through their website or even only on Twitter. They drastically differ from mainstream media outlets and cannot be considered journalists because they represent a different organization. That is why placing them in the abovementioned categories would not be appropriate while decoding the data. In the literature review, the propaganda model was explained because the traditional media can be used for manipulation and may serve anti-democratic practices due to profit-oriented aspirations. Consequently, individual or collective efforts to overcome their dissatisfaction have appeared on Twitter. Accordingly, to illustrate their existence and analyze to what extent they are influential, the online newspaper category is added and marked as '4.'

Lastly, the focal point of this study is showing the intensifying influence of citizen journalism. This concept contributes to interaction among citizens, exchanging views, forming a public opinion, and calling for help. In that sense, Twitter acts as a type of communication tool involving reporting, analyses, and dissemination of news. This online practice, trending on a daily basis with its successful global examples worldwide, can be interpreted as when a student passes its master's. To analyze if that is the case for the Turkish Twittersphere during September 2021, the last category was determined as citizens and marked as '5'. First, I looked at their distribution per dimension to analyze this category. This category is crucial to detect the actors to draw more accurate results.

Figure 8 Number of Type of Accounts Per Dimensions



4.3.1. Health

Starting with health, analyzing 75 tweets in total, the results showed that the category with the highest number of reaches is mainstream media outlets, which can be justified considering the turmoil caused by the Covid-19 and citizens had an urge to get the latest information about what is going on in the world. The second rank in the health dimension with the broadest reach belongs to citizens. Bearing in mind that many mainstream media accounts on Twitter has an average of million followers, based on the user-generated content, citizens demonstrated that rather than the number of followers, what they talk about matters much more.

4.3.2. Europeanization

In the Europeanization dimension, we see the superiority of politicians and politics-related actors, which might be explained with two reasons: The first one is about the Turkish teams' successes, as politicians had an urge to post a public message to show their support and congratulate the players. Secondly, as it coincided with the European Mobility Week, many politicians, more importantly, numerous mayors and municipalities, have tweeted related to this. Hence, the dominance of politicians was predictable. Coming in the third, citizens were again influential in this dimension as well based on their reach. However, mainstream media outlets and journalists fall behind, which might be explained by several reasons varying from their passive use of Twitter, their indifference to the subject, or the indifference of the users toward these tweets, which make their reach relatively low. Considering journalists are expected to become more active in these given topics, their absence can be a topic for further research.

4.3.3. Economy

Thirdly, for the economy dimension, the dominance of mainstream media outlets appears, which might be explained by the global turbulence in the economy, including inflation, problems in the supply chain, and vaccine supply. Also, it is helpful to remind that many accounts in this category have no less than a million followers. On the other hand, after mainstream media outlets, we see citizens as the second, again showing the significance of a single user's idea, coming after the well-known accounts owned by moguls.

Interestingly, in this category, journalists do not exist. Concerning the global problems whose adverse effects are felt by everyone, we do not see traces of any journalist. This might be explained by their passive use of social media, even though some have massive followers or their incapability to reflect on society's problems. Also, online newspapers but less reach than citizens.

4.3.4. Climate

Lastly, in the climate dimension, mainstream media outlets rank first according to the reach, similar to the economy dimension. Oddly, in this category, no journalist exists. Professionally, journalists are expected to inform the society they live in without bias. Regarding the gravity of the climate-related difficulties, journalists' absence in this category might be interpreted as apathy or their passive or personal use of Twitter. Here, what is meant by personal is using Twitter for their daily use, rather than they are as a professional communication tool. Consequently, the fact that there are quite limited data in the climate dimension is an indicator of not attaching enough importance to this serious global problem.

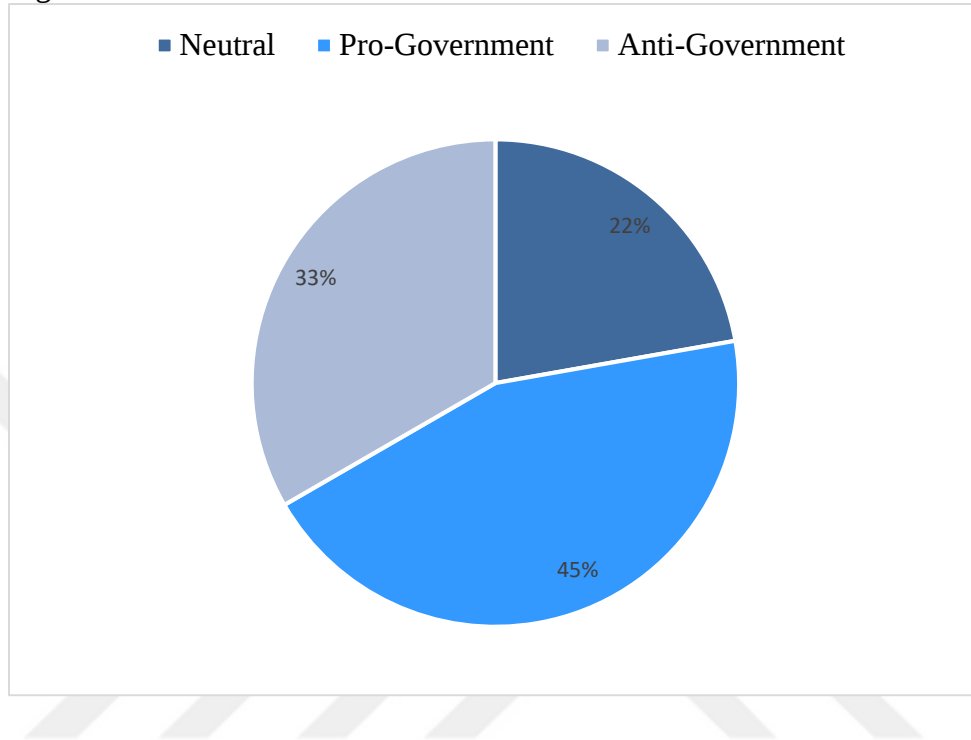
Overall, seeing the four categories' results, it is essential to note that out of five categories, citizens have a good place; at the latest, they rank the third. In the light of the findings mentioned above, it can be concluded that citizens are quite influential in topics that concern society. At some point, the citizen category jumps ahead of mainstream media outlets, despite their millions of followers. As statistically, the number of Twitter users increases, it can be said that more citizens will be more influential by being active on Twitter. Interestingly, online newspapers which have emerged against the mainstream media outlets and their practices were left behind. Though online newspapers also have a considerable number of followers, the fact that they are not at the forefront of any of these categories can be a research topic for further studies. Lastly, even though the Government has previously tried to ban Twitter several times (Akser, 2018), the fact that ruling party members are utterly active on the Turkish Twittersphere is a noticeable finding, signifying the power of social media, most especially Twitter.

4.4. Attitudes of Tweets

After analyzing tweets based on/off-topic categories with thematic analysis and then analyzing them according to actors and engagement rates based on reach and impression, the contents of tweets are discussed, conforming to the attitudes seen in the tweets. More precisely, this study examines whether a tweet has a pro, anti, or neutral attitude towards the government. To this end, three categories were determined: pro-government, anti-government, and neutral. Based on the expressions in tweets' contents regarding government, all on-topic tweets are examined according to the attitudes. While analyzing this metric, I benefitted from the type of accounts' distribution above, as they provide insight.

4.4.1. Climate

Figure 9. Attitude of the Tweet of Climate Dimension



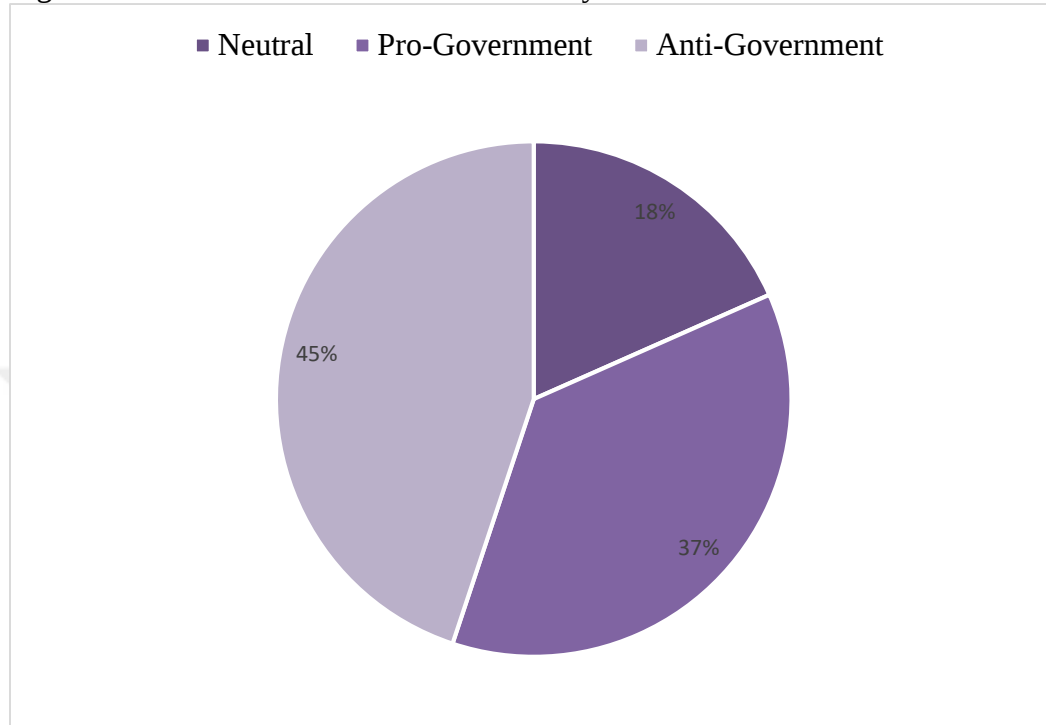
In the climate dimension, where climate-related issues were rarely discussed, we see a vast majority of pro-government tweets with 45% (12 tweets). This can be directly associated with the account types. Even though Turkey has had some challenges in terms of environment they did not take place. Furthermore, as seen in Figure 9 above, in the climate dimension, most on-topic tweets were posted by first mainstream media outlets than politicians. To start with, politicians are expected to reflect their colors; hence, seeing pro-government tweets in the majority is habitual. Here, we can conclude that the majority of politicians are Government-related. In addition to the politics category, we have mainstream media outlets with more tweets. Considering a media conglomerate has more than one channel and/or newspaper, their dominance on social media, in this case, Twitter, is not surprising. To exemplify, both Hürriyet and Milliyet belong to the

Demirören Group, which is known as pool media, supported by the Government. Moreover, Ciner Holding, operating in mining and energy sector also owns Bloomberg HT, HaberTürk and Show Tv this is an indicator that objective journalism practices on Twitter are at least questionable, let alone on solely on print or broadcast media. It can be inferred that by using their dominance, these accounts make government propaganda by ignoring journalism ethics and principles. This data is useful for calculating and analyzing engagement rates.

To protect and, more importantly, strengthen their business, media conglomerates conflict with journalism principles. As the fourth power, media should aim at conveying facts to the citizens in an accurate and impartial way. Here, the anti-government category comes after 33% (9 tweets), signifying the free speech opportunity Twitter provides. In other words, citizens find a place to pouring out what is bothering them. Competing with accounts with millions of followers and financially superior accounts, the significance of tweets with anti-government stances demonstrates the individual efforts turned in to connective efforts. It is crucial to note that they do not necessarily intend to be seen by others, and their tweets can just draw attention of others without spending considerable amount of effort to be seen. Lastly, the neutral tweets comprised 22% (6 tweets) are seen in this category. Typically, concerning the gravity of the climate-related challenges, and the superiority of mainstream media channels, this category could have included more informative tweets with a neutral tone concerning environment. However, in reality, we witnessed the tweets from the pro-government point of view. All in all, in this category, we see the superiority of the pro-government stance, contradicting media ethics.

4.4.2. Economy

Figure 10 . Attitude of the Tweet of Economy Dimension

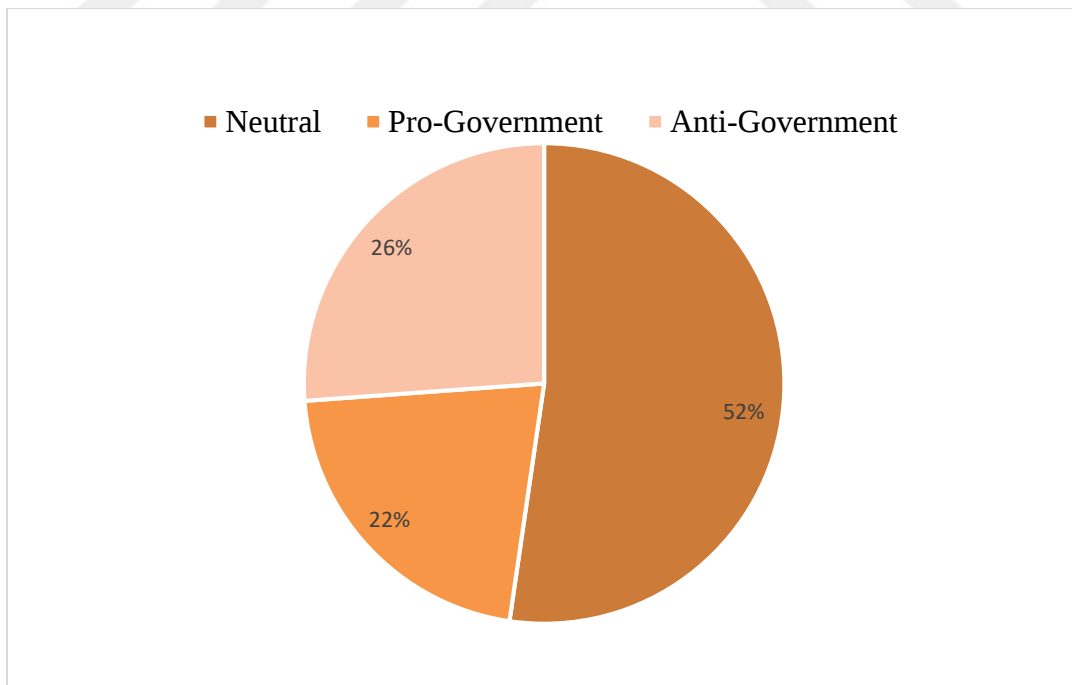


The economy dimension has a higher percentage of anti-government attitudes with 45% (22 tweets). To elaborate more, we see a dominating majority of mainstream media outlets, including TRT News and the Anadolu Agency. However, this time, the oppositional mainstream media outlets such as BirGün and Sözcü attract the attention. This information is enough to explain the distribution between pro and anti-government attitudes. Even if that is not the case, it is essential to note that citizens subsequently come second in this dimension, which is another indicator that clarifies the equality between pro and anti-government categories. The citizens' higher presence is a significant influence. Additionally, when we consider the economic developments in Turkey, the result can be interpreted in a way that citizens pour out via Twitter, thanks to Twitter.

Moreover, politicians and politics-related actors come third, which may increase the chances of having a pro-government stance by 37% (with 18 tweets). However, considering some tweets can only act in an informative role, they might have a neutral characteristic. In this category, we witness the superiority of anti-government points of view. Lastly, we see 18% of neutral tweets (9 tweets), which might be interpreted as informative tweets rather than taking a side. This finding matters in the sense that pro-government politicians and media outlets have a financial superiority to promote their views to ordinary citizens and anti-government online newspapers; yet, we see that the majority of attitude belongs to anti-government tweets.

4.4.3. Europeanization

Figure 11. Attitude of the Tweet of Europeanization Dimension



In the Europeanization dimension, we see that the majority of tweets have neutral characteristics, with 52% (34 tweets). According to account type, we see that the most

active category was citizens, again showing the importance of citizens' growing impact on the Turkish Twittersphere. This data matters because citizens' quest for alternatives does not necessarily mean discrediting the Government or only expressing their dissatisfaction. This finding signifies that apart from addressing negative sentiments, Twitter is also used for expressing any other opinion and interpretation as well. Plus, as citizen journalism does not follow a specific code, or strict rules, citizens are expected to act more independently. Here, we can see citizens used Twitter to express their ideas in the given dimension based on the high number of neutral tweets.

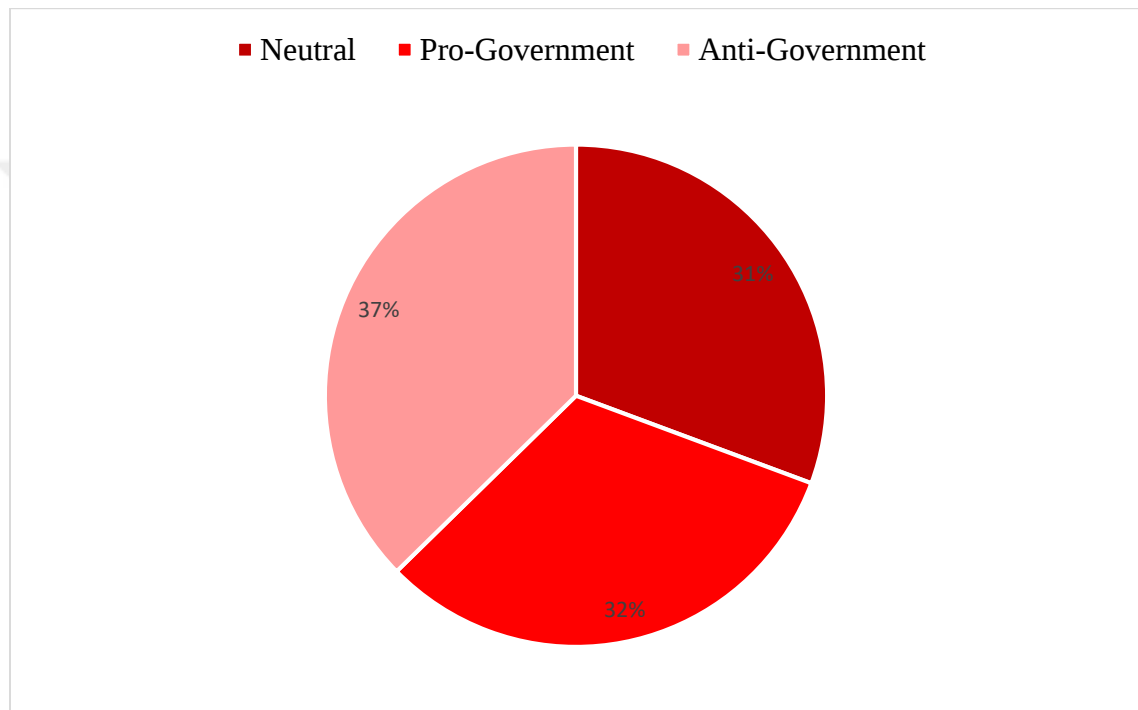
Moreover, as the Europeanization dimension includes European sports competitions such as CEV and UEFA and rowing championship, sports clubs' presence is remarkable, which can also be used to express positive thoughts on the good results that is appreciated by more people. Here, sports clubs' presence also contributes to the neutrality of the tweets as they are expected to display unbiased statements and inform their fanbase objectively about the results. Additionally, this part involving numerous tweets regarding sports competition, they address to national sentiments, which play a consolidative role for the society. That is why it can be said that sports are marked as a relatively objective area, without particularly compared to other dimensions.

Furthermore, some tweets are about Mobilization Week and events organized by the EU in this category. Hence, the upper hand of neutral tweets is anticipated. Tweets with an anti-government attitude are the first runner-up with 26% (17 tweets), and lastly, pro-

government tweets with 22% (14 tweets) are seen. All in all, this category has neutral dominance, differing from other categories.

4.4.4. Health

Figure 12. Attitude of the Tweet of Health Dimension



Even though we see an almost equal distribution of percentages, this category has the superiority over the anti-government category with 37% (with 28 tweets). When we look at the type of accounts for this dimension, we see that mainstream media outlets are the most active ones, along with citizens. Considering that September 2021 was a dynamic month in terms of updates on the vaccination regulations, travel restrictions, and other updates, the dimension mainly consisted of tweets related to Covid-19 comments and news. Most tweets may have informative features along with criticisms of the government. However, interestingly, the second one is pro-government tweets with 32% (24 tweets), which may be associated with mainstream media outlets praising government

implementations. Lastly, very similar to the pro-government attitude rate, neutral tweets with 31% with 23 tweets stand out.

After all, for this category, the rates are closer to each other as it includes more sensitive content related to health. It should also be noted that the Minister of Health, Fahrettin Koca, was highly active on Twitter, and people were expecting his statements. More concretely, when we look at Fahrettin Koca's live streams, we see that they are always watched by more than one hundred thousand people. To be exact, even though that specific tweet does not take part in the coded tweets, on September 27th 2021, his live stream was watched by four hundred nineteen thousand people. Taking into account all of these, still, the anti-government category leads this metric on the Turkish Twittersphere, again showing engagement and high participation of citizens.

Consequently, it can be said that the citizens' preeminence can be seen, with anti-government tweets leading the category. It is important to remember that citizens do not follow any specific rules or principles. In contrast, it is seen that mainstream media outlets have used a more pro-government tone which contradicts journalism ethics.

4.5.Engagement Rate

Later, the engagement rates of the tweets belonging to four categories were calculated. Here, some points need to be addressed. Twitter officially considers engagements as any activity that only requires clicking anywhere on the tweet. This includes retweets, replies, likes, as well as a hashtag, media embedded, username, profile photo, and expanding tweets. However, some of them cannot be collected as they are unique for the users and

involves privacy concerns. Thereupon, it might cause a conflict pursuant to data protection and regulations. In this sense, only some categories are entirely consistent with General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) retrieved with the used software, namely BrandWatch. The excel document consists of numerous different categories such as URLs (including tweets, external links, visuals), location information (country, city), Twitter ID, number of tweets, followers, impressions, reach, replies, and retweets. For the engagement rate metric, I benefited from retweets meaning reposting a tweet, replying, which is responding to another tweet, and likes that represent the appreciation and basically liking it, shown with a small red heart. As the data do not include the number of likes of each tweet, and tweets' URLs can also be found in the excel file, I manually inserted the number of likes to ameliorate the credibility of the analysis as a part of the engagement rate metric. This metric is useful for studying tweets by providing an accurate content analysis. Furthermore, it demonstrates the visibility of the users, which is crucial for this study. Here, it shows the interests of the Turkish Twitter users for different categories, and this provides why some accounts or tweets are preferred over others.

Engagement rate might be crucial for several purposes, including growing businesses, as it brings profit to their businesses. Here, the increasing presence of mainstream media conglomerates' online presence on Twitter could be interpreted in a profit-oriented way. The diminishing credibility of mainstream media, the Covid-19 outbreak, and the growing use of social media have eventually contributed to the increasing popularity of Twitter. Hence, media moguls' presence on Twitter is their way of displaying their

capabilities by reaching millions of followers thanks to their financial power and closeness to the Government. However, it is essential to note that Twitter does not allow government-affiliated media accounts to promote their content. As mentioned above, for example Russia's Sputnik is labeled as state-affiliated and not allowed to promote their content. Yet, in Turkey mass media outlets are not labeled as state-affiliated media, which makes their promotion easier.

A significant distinction should be made at this point: Impression and reach. Impression refers to the times any user sees that particular tweet in their timeline and/or in search results. So, one should follow the owner of the tweet or specifically search for it. This engagement provides an impression. On the other hand, the reach can be defined as the total number of users seeing a particular tweet. Here, one actually does not have to search for the tweet or does not have to follow the tweet owner. Now, the Twitter algorithms show a similar tweet that one previously engaged with, or the business accounts, in this case, both mainstream media accounts and some politicians, might benefit from a paid service to increase their visibility on Twitter. That is why engagement rate formulas have been formed differently in this study. Not to mention, even though some studies interchangeably used both reach and impression (Thangasamy, et al., 2014), which is wrong according to Twitter's guidelines, the results substantially differ.

It is also worth noting that Twitter offers to help accounts grow their impacts bigger via advertisements which also work with algorithms. To this end, businesses can benefit from this service. As long as they are not labeled as the 'state and government-affiliated media

by Twitter, businesses can benefit from this service. Hence, it makes a significant difference between impression and reach. In this study, the sums of reply count, likes, and retweets can be called the number of engagements. Engagement rates have been calculated in per cent. According to the equations below, impressions and reach were analyzed separately.

Thus, the first formula created is:

Equation 1. Engagement rate calculation according to the number of impressions

$$\text{Equation 1 } \frac{(\text{Replies} + \text{Likes} + \text{Retweets})}{\text{Impressions}} * 100$$

The second formula designed according to reach is:

Equation 2. Engagement rate calculation according to the number of Reach

$$\text{Equation 2 } \frac{(\text{Replies} + \text{Likes} + \text{Retweets})}{\text{Reach}} * 100$$

Before starting to analyze, it is essential to note that percentages are rounded up to at least two decimal places. The number of impressions is remarkably greater than that of the number of reaches. Owing to being in the denominator, the percentages calculated according to impressions were extremely small. In fact, the lowest ones are shown up to five decimal places. Otherwise, they would have been shown as zero per cent, in which the analysis might be hard to explain. Accordingly, each category is analyzed respectively based on impression and reach. The engagement rate of each tweet will be seen as a dot on the chart, in both categories (i.e. impressions and reach). It is worth noting that the size of the dots on the distribution charts is a bit exaggerated to combine

them into one chart so that their engagement rates and distributions according to the actors can be seen clearer and more concisely.

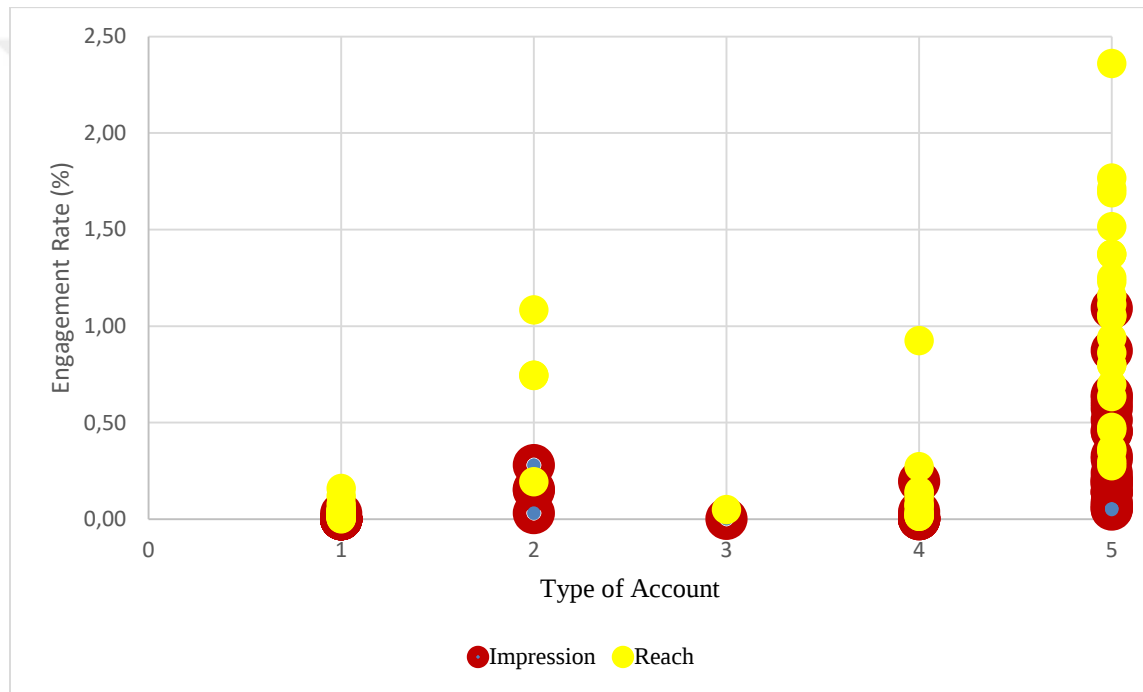
It is worth noting that the engagement rates were calculated one by one and were matched according to their type of account. The types of accounts are classified from 0 to 5, to be exact, sports club, mainstream media outlet, politician, journalist, online newspaper and citizen, respectively. As mentioned above, the study aims to question and exhibit the strong influence of citizens' use of Twitter and propaganda model's reflection on Turkish Twittersphere. To this end, the engagement rates calculated are sorted from the greatest to lowest with the corresponding type of account.

Accordingly, the charts presented below show the numerical distribution of ER of the four dimension based on account types. In order to prevent the excess information by showing lots of graphs which might distract attention, two distribution graphs were superimposed into one for a better understanding. It is also important to note that even though they provide different results, reach and impression have similar outcomes. With this logic, red dots represent engagement rates calculated by impression whereas yellow dots represent the engagement rates calculated by reach. The size of dots differs to make them more distinguishable from each other. This analysis is crucial in the sense that it shows the engagement, in other words, the visibility of the account owners in the eyes of other users. More concretely, this analysis proves that the number of followers or the financial dominance in media business may not matter as long as an opinion, an interpretation or a comment in a tweet is seen by other users. Hence, a tweet might draw

attention of different users without requiring additional elements and spending money on it.

4.5.1. Health

Figure 13. Distribution of Engagement Rates Based on Impression/Reach vs. Type of Account of Health Dimension



When we first look at the engagement rate based on impression, we come across results justifying the increasing popularity of Twitter by all strata of Turkish society. To start with, the first 12 tweets belong to citizens with the highest engagement rate based on impression. The second row belongs to politicians. More specifically, we see the tweets of Fahrettin Koca, the Minister of Health, as citizens are being informed via Twitter by the Ministry considering the latest updates regarding the pandemic. Even live broadcasts

are also channelled on Twitter by the accounts of the Health Minister and Health Ministry.

Moreover, when we look at the last rows, we see that they are allocated to mainstream media outlets. To elaborate, the last three rows belong to Hurriyet Newspaper (Demirören Group), HaberTürk (Ciner Holding), and Star Newspaper (Star Media Group). All these media outlets have more than a million followers on Twitter. Regardless, they have the least engagement percentage and are openly known for their close ties with the Government.

Furthermore, only one journalist exists, yet, in the back rows of the list. Since the Covid-19 topic is subject to instant updates and breaking news, one might expect that it is also addressed by the journalists and receive higher engagements by the users. However, far from having high engagement rates, only one journalist takes part in the health category. Additionally, we see online newspaper accounts existence, however rarely. Most of the time, their engagement rate is clearly higher than that of mainstream media outlets with less number of followers. Numerically speaking, this category holds the highest percentage of ER, 1,09%, with a tweet posted by a citizen, whereas the lowest percentage of ER in this category was posted by Star Newspaper, known for their close ties with the Government, with 0,00008% of ER.

When the health category is analyzed based on reach, we have a similar distribution. Compared to impression-based engagement rate analysis, the percentages are clearly quantitatively higher. Differently, the second row belongs to an online newspaper having the username '*pushholder*' with 1.1 million followers. Again, the last rows are composed

of mainstream media outlets. Mathematically speaking, while the account (citizen) with the highest engagement rate has a 2,36% engagement rate, the account with the lowest engagement rate belongs to Star Newspaper with a 0,0020% engagement rate.

When considered, reach has relatively more influence than impression, as one does not have to look for that specific tweet or follow someone to see that particular tweet. Again, citizens have more power in the overall health discussion.

4.5.2. Europeanization

Before starting, it is essential to remember that the Europeanization dimension includes mostly sports-related tweets. Different from the health dimension, with impression-based engagement analysis in the Europeanization dimension, it is worth saying that the impression-based engagement percentages are higher than in the health dimension.

Moreover, the first three-row consists of online newspapers in this dimension, again leaving mainstream media outlets behind. In this dimension, journalists are more visible with a higher engagement rate. Yet, it is notable that most of them are sports journalists who professionally abstain from making political statements.

A scatter plot comparing the Engagement Rate (%) for two types of accounts: Impression (red circles) and Reach (yellow circles). The x-axis represents the Type of Account (0 to 5), and the y-axis represents the Engagement Rate (%) from 0.00 to 8.00. The plot shows that Reach generally has higher engagement rates than Impression across most account types, with a notable peak for Reach at account type 4 (approx. 6.8%) and a notable peak for Impression at account type 4 (approx. 5.0%).

Type of Account	Impression Engagement Rate (%)	Reach Engagement Rate (%)
0	0.2, 0.4, 0.6, 0.8, 1.0, 1.2, 1.4	2.7, 2.8, 3.0, 3.7
1	0.1	0.1
2	0.1, 0.2, 0.4, 0.6, 0.8, 1.0, 1.4, 1.8, 2.0	0.2, 0.4, 0.6, 0.8, 1.0, 1.2, 1.4, 1.8, 2.0, 2.7, 2.8, 3.0, 3.9, 4.9, 5.1
3	0.7, 0.8, 1.0, 1.1, 1.5	2.3, 3.2, 3.6, 4.6
4	3.5, 3.6, 4.0, 4.9	5.4, 6.1, 6.8
5	0.2, 0.4, 0.6, 0.8, 1.0, 1.2, 1.4	0.7, 0.8, 1.0, 1.2, 1.4, 1.8, 2.5, 4.1

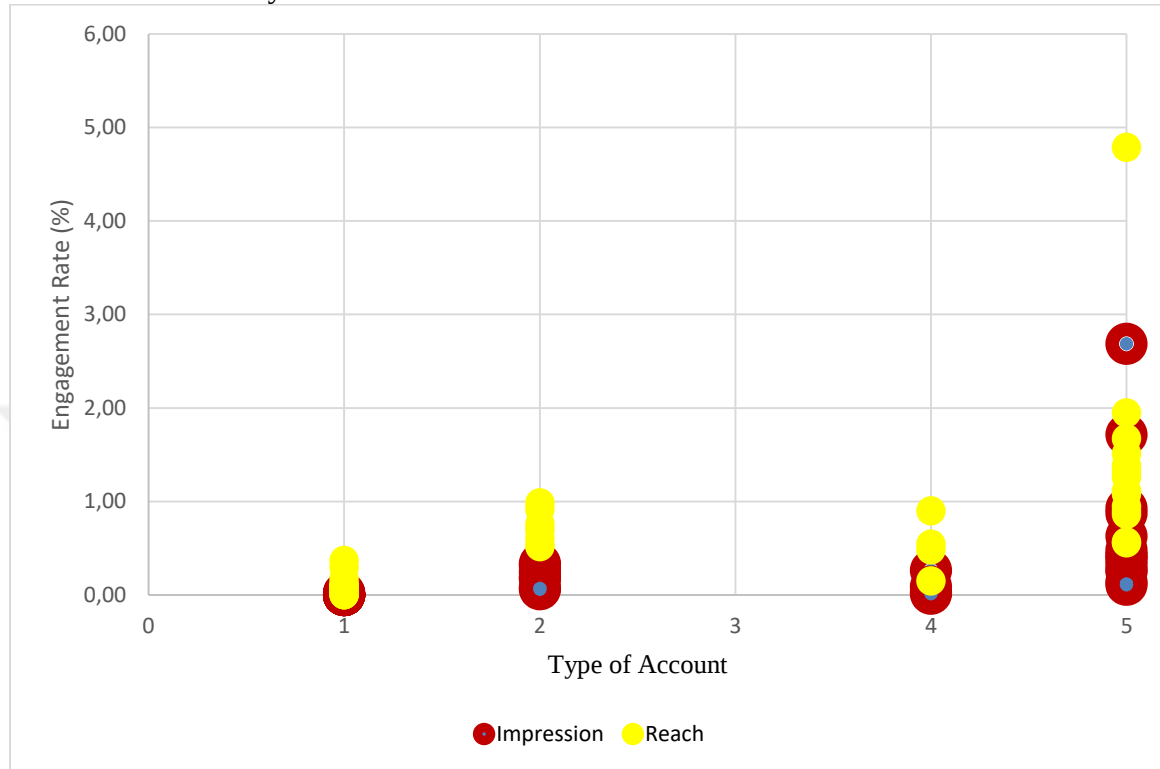
Similar to impression-based ERs, the first-row account is an online newspaper, and mainstream media accounts do not occupy a notable place in the list. Yet, prominently different than impression-based analysis, in reach-based analysis, the vast majority of the first rows comprised of a sports club. Their fanbase and the importance attached to sports,

particularly soccer, can explain this finding. Not to mention, as also one of the most-followed sports clubs worldwide, Galatasaray Sports Club has 11.1 million followers. Also, this category includes tweets regarding the EU Mobility week, which has a relatively lower ER rate. Politicians can be seen since the events related to Mobility Week are organized by politics-related actors, including mayors, in the upper row of the analysis. Statistically, while the highest ER rate belongs to an online newspaper's tweet about CEV Volleyball Championship with 6,87%, the latest one belongs to a tweet with 0,073% ER about Human Right Short Film Competition organized by the EU. Similar to impression-based results, there is a lack of mainstream media outlets' presence here. Also, in this category, the reach-based analysis has a higher percentage compared to impression-based analysis.

4.5.3. Economy

Similar to the health category, in the economy dimension, the first 11 tweets with higher ER belong to citizens, showing their superiority with a lesser number of followers. Bearing in mind that world economies face difficulties, we, as citizens, can expect the substantial existence of policy-makers within this context, even if it is by means of Twitter. As a matter of fact, politicians benefit from Twitter to convey a message. Consequently, following the overwhelming majority of citizens in the impression-based analysis in the economy dimension, politicians' influence can be seen.

Figure 15. Distribution of Engagement Rates Based on Impression/Reach vs. Type of Account of Economy Dimension



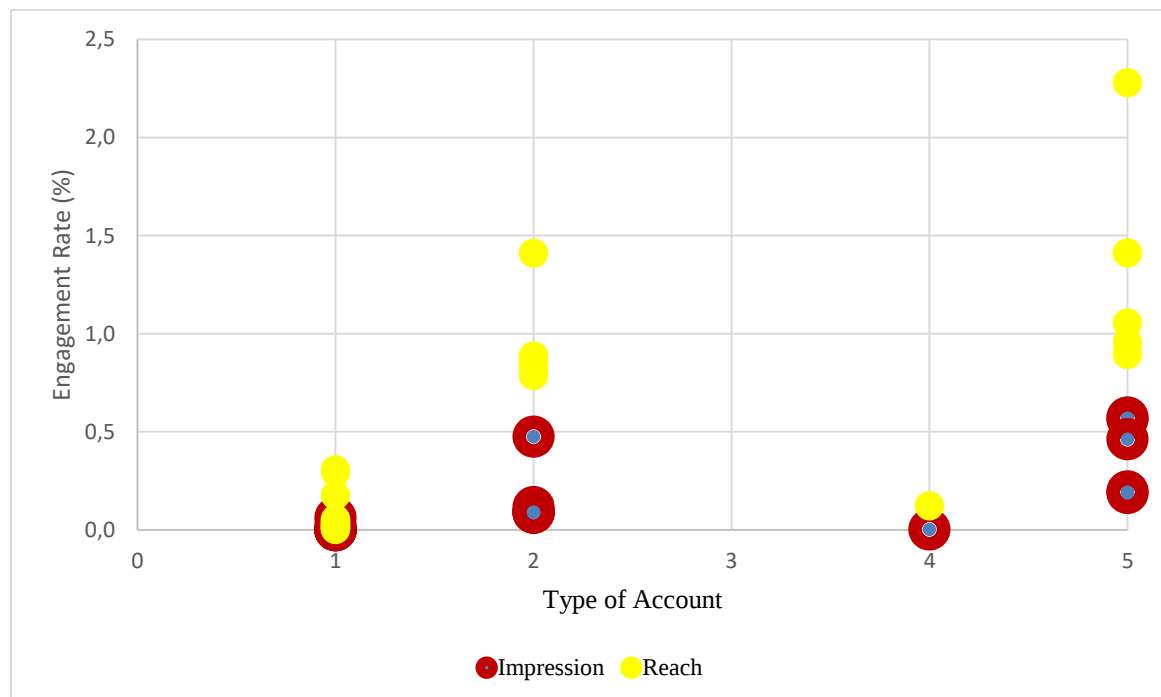
Subsequently, again, we cannot talk about journalists in the economy dimension.

Considering that the Turkish Government has previously banned Twitter a couple of times, but now they spread the word via Twitter in addition to the mainstream channels, it actually shows the power of social media. However, within this context, the lack of journalists' presence on severe issues concerning society might indicate that they do not prefer to touch upon these types of issues; or cannot attract as many engagements as citizens. Additionally, the last 21 tweets in a row which has the lowest ER were posted by mainstream media accounts. Mathematically speaking, the highest ER in this analysis was sent by a citizen with 2,69% ER, and the last one with the lowest ER rate, with 0,00007%, was sent by a pro-Government newspaper, HaberTürk.

Based on reach-based analysis for the ER, the results do not reflect a striking difference. Likewise, to impression-based analysis, citizens lead the category, followed by online newspapers, politicians, and lastly, mainstream media channels, respectively. Again, journalists do not take part in this category. In this analysis, again, the highest ER rate belongs to a citizen with a higher rate, tangibly, 4,79%, whereas the lowest ER rate is 0,004%. Lastly, compared to impression-based analysis, here, online newspapers hold more ER and are more visible, supporting the idea that what they post reaches more people and creates more engagement. As reach provides more visibility among Twitter users, the percentages calculated based on reach are higher.

4.5.4. Climate

Figure 16. Distribution of Engagement Rates Based on Impression/Reach vs. Type of Account of Climate Dimension



In the climate dimension, first of all, the overall engagement rates based on impressions remain low compared to other categories. This category also starts with citizens with higher ERs. Following citizens, we see a dominance of politicians and politics-related actors. Here, an interesting point is online newspapers find little place in the given category. Not so surprisingly, the last rows are occupied by the mainstream media channels, and their engagements rates remain low. Quantitatively, the highest ER, which is posted by a citizen, is 0,573%, and the lowest ER rate is 0,00004%, posted by again, HaberTürk.

Based on the reach-based analysis, it starts with a political actor, namely, the official Twitter account of The Ministry of Defense. The tweet with the 2,28% ER is followed by, again, citizens. Densely composed of politicians and again citizens, the category is followed by online newspapers. The absence of journalists again stands out. Similar to other categories, the last ten rows are uninterruptedly occupied by the mainstream media moguls. The previous tweet with the lowest ER, quantitatively 0,003%, was again posted by HaberTürk newspaper.

4.6. Visual and Link Use

Another category to be analyzed is the use of visuals and URLs. Up to this point, the text-related contents have been taken into account. However, Twitter also allows the use of images, and videos, which are prevalently used by many users in addition to text-based tweets. This category first would like to find out the distribution of audio-visual materials and external links, then make a deduction according to which type of accounts have benefited from these additional visual supports. This category matters because many

scholars argue that the use of visuals increases users' engagement. More precisely, it has significance for political communication (Marchal, Neudert, Kollanyi, Howard, 2021; Nekrasov, Teoh, Wu, 2021). To this end, investigating the use of visuals is also included in this study.

Firstly, Twitter offers users to post images for several purposes. Even Twitter statistically claims that 97% of users concentrate on images, which is a crucially high rate to increase the users' engagement. Moreover, now it enables users to post four images at once. With this understanding, we can say that Twitter's strategy encourages users to use more images. Moreover, as Twitter describes, posting videos have a similar influence. Twitter massively talks about the importance of these kinds of visuals on their blog, which inspires users to employ these in their tweets. Its popularity has been increasing and used by many users. In this analysis, images are regarded as visuals depicting visual perception; videos are moving images. As a side note, regarding videos, it is crucial to note that Twitter allows users to go on live streaming as a type of video. For example, the Minister of Health, Fahrettin Koca, both announced and lived streamed the press conference via Twitter after holding Covid-19 Scientific Board meetings numerous times. Therefore, these live streams are considered videos while decoding the data. Lastly, external links are website addresses. In this case, Twitter links are web pages converted with Twitter's link service.

In addition to the images and videos, the coding sheet also includes external links, which is more disputed. It is thought that adding external links are not preferred by Twitter

algorithms (Sehl, 2021). Hence, image use, video use, and URLs will be explained in this category. First of all, all categories have been examined whether the accounts have used any visual aid or external link (No=0/ Yes=1), and the pertaining information is provided below. Along with the account types profit from these additional elements, their influence on the engagement rate is interpreted. To this end, under additional elements, Image Use (No=0/Yes=1), Video use (No=0/Yes=1), URL use (No=0/Yes=1) is decoded. Sports clubs are only visible in the Europeanization dimension with sports competition-related tweets; they only exist in that specific dimension. Hence, they do not exist in other chapters as can be seen in the parentheses beside itself, and their analysis is not made.

Some tweets benefit from only one element, whereas more than one element can be found in some tweets. Yet, it is essential to note that an image and a video cannot be used simultaneously. Decoded data is shown with a Venn diagram to have a clearer view on the common points of this category.

In figure xxx, the blue circle represents the number of images used in the tweets for all categories. The green circle represents the videos, and lastly, the red circle shows the number of URL used. If there is any tweet includes more than one content, their numbers are placed inside the intersections of circles. For example, according to the Venn diagrams shown below according to categories, there are two tweets with an image and an URL simultaneously. The number of tweets that do not have any image, video, or URL contents are placed outside the circles (i.e. universal set).

4.6.1. Climate Dimension's Visual and External Link Content

Table 1. Visual and URL Use of Climate Dimension

Yes	No
17	10

Out of 27 on-topic tweets that take part in the climate category, 17 of them include an image, video, or URL. These analyzed categories respectively provide insights regarding how Twitter is used.

Figure 17. Visual and URL Use of Climate Dimension

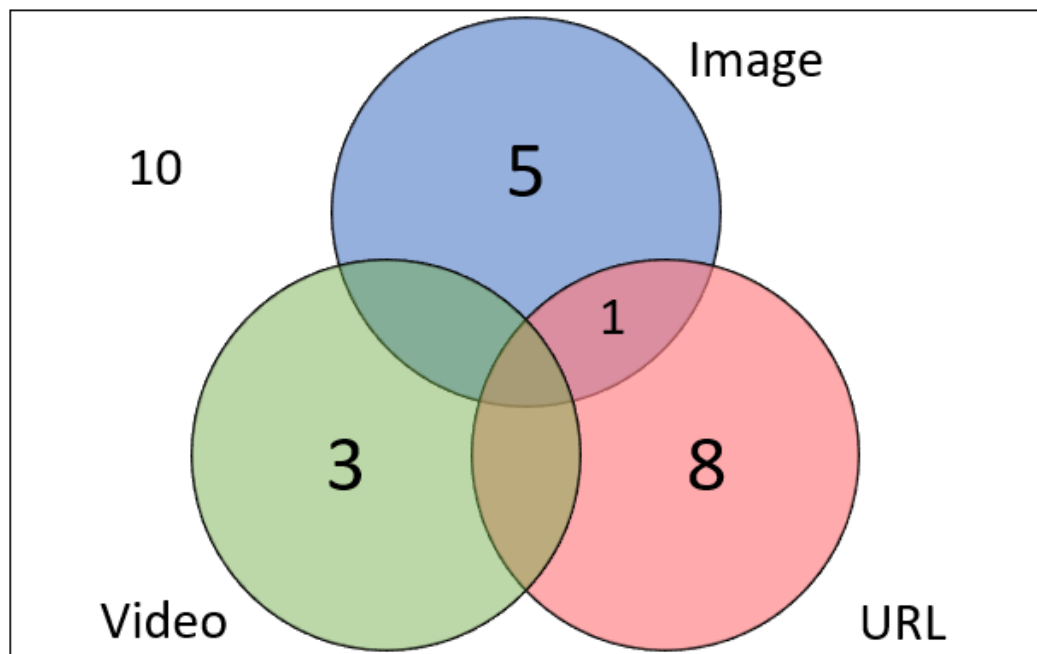


Table 2 (cont'd). Visual Use Based on Type of Accounts of Climate Dimension

	Image	Video	Url
Sports Club (0)	-	-	-
Mainstream Media Outlet (14)	1	0	8
Politician (7)	4	3	0
Journalist (0)	-	-	-
Online Newspaper (1)	0	0	1
Citizen (5)	1	0	0

First, it is a good reminder that when we look at the climate dimension according to thematic analysis, most of them are related to climate policies. To this end, it makes sense to see that the majority of tweets (8) include external links with a more informative tone. On the other hand, mainstream media outlets are superior when we look at the actors. This as well justifies the links' majority. Later, according to types of accounts, politicians come second. Only five images are used, and we see that majority of images (4) were posted by politicians, as well as three videos.

Moreover, only one tweet profited from both image and link use, again, posted by a politician. Plus, only three tweets used videos. After politicians, there is an online newspaper's tweet employing an external link. Lastly, citizens emerge. To be exact, out of five citizen accounts, only one of them used these elements, namely, an image. Here, the least preferred way is videos.

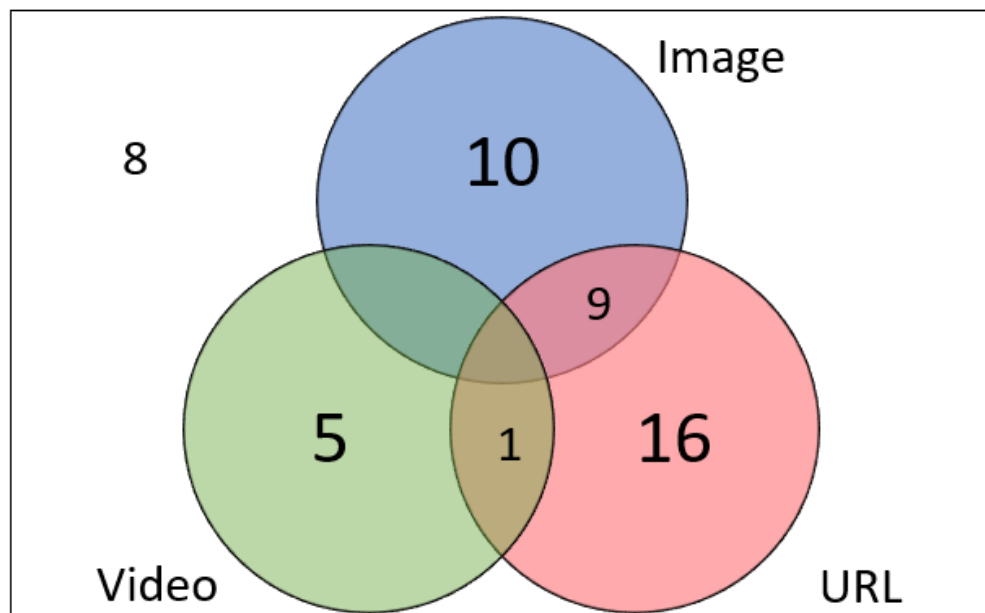
Significantly, when looking at the engagement rate graphics below, we see that the engagement rates of mainstream media outlets and online newspapers remain low. This justifies the idea that one does not have to use visuals or links to increase their engagement. Or, adding further elements does not necessarily mean that it will get higher engagement rates. Furthermore, providing an external link to a tweet may even decrease the interest of the user. This finding can be explained by citizens' lack of image, video, and URL use but still get a higher engagement rate.

4.6.2. Economy Dimension's Visual and External Link Content

Table 3. Visual and URL Use of Economy Dimension

Yes	No
41	8

Figure 18. Visual and URL Use of Economy Dimension



Out of 49 on-topic tweets belonging to the economy dimension, we see that only eight did not take advantage of the additional elements. Most of them used at least one

element. Specifically, in total, 19 tweets used images, nine of whom are accompanied by external links. Plus, 26 tweets used URLs, and one of them also included a video. In total, 84% benefited from additional elements. The least preferred way is videos.

Table 4. Visual Use Based on Type of Accounts of Economy Dimension

	Image	Video	URL
Sports Club (0)	-	-	-
Mainstream Media Outlet (24)	8	1	24
Politician (7)	2	5	0
Journalist (0)	-	-	-
Online Newspaper (4)	2	0	2
Citizen (14)	7	0	0

When we look at their distribution according to the type of accounts, again, the vast majority are owned by mainstream media accounts, which have lower engagement rates. Out of 24 tweets belonging to mainstream media accounts, they all benefited from the additional elements. To be exact, mainstream accounts used eight images and a video, and used 24 links. Later, politicians come second. Notably, in this dimension, politicians employed mostly videos (5) and images (2). All politicians used these additional elements yet; did not use external links. When we look at engagement rates of tweets with links, it can be concluded that the users do not prefer links. Lastly, citizens who predominantly hold higher engagement rates did not use videos or external links but

made use of images. Moreover, half of the citizens did not take advantage of images, videos, or external links.

4.6.3. Europeanization Dimension's Visual and External Link Content

Table 5. Visual and URL Use of Europeanization Dimension

Yes	No
45	20

Out of 65 on-topic tweets, 70% of them (45 tweets) utilized additional elements in their tweets. While 30% (20 tweets) did not include any of these elements. 35 tweets utilized images, accompanied by two links attached. Secondly, nine tweets made use of videos, one of whom also employed a video. Different than the previous three dimensions, here, the links were less preferred, with only four tweets inclusion URLs.

Figure 19. Visual and URL Use of Europeanization Dimension

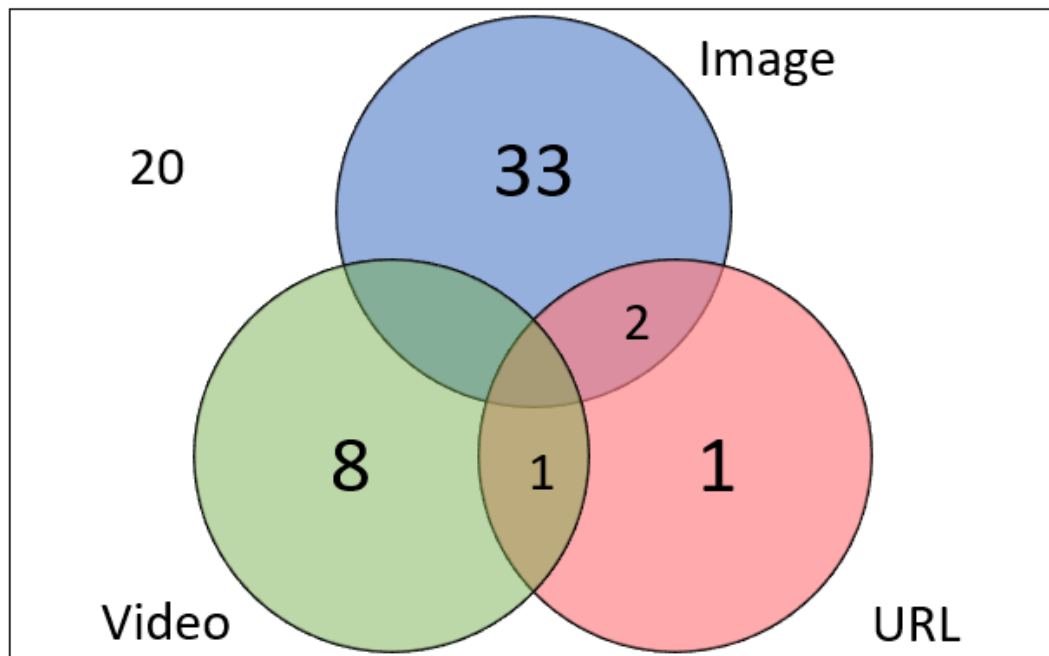


Table 6. Visual Use Based on Type of Accounts of Economy Dimension

	Image	Video	URL
Sports Club (21)	17	3	1
Mainstream Media Outlet (3)	0	1	1
Politician (23)	11	5	2
Journalist (5)	1	0	0
Online Newspaper (3)	3	0	0
Citizen (10)	3	0	0

As the Europeanization dimension included tweets related to sports competitions and events organized by the EU, the vast majority of the category is composed of sports clubs and politicians. Interestingly, politicians took advantage of these additional elements, notably images and videos. Based on the thematic analysis, most tweets are UEFA-soccer-related, so sports clubs might be expected to use more visuals. However, that is not the case. Yet as the second in this classification, sports clubs are seen mainly using images, and they utilized a lower number of videos (3) and a link. Following sports club, politicians are in the third row with 17 additional elements inserted in their tweets. More precisely, politicians utilized 11 images, five videos, and two links in total. Following politicians, both citizens and online newspapers used three images. What attracts the attention is that out of ten citizen tweets, only three of them employed only images, whereas all online newspapers benefited from images. These findings show that both

mainstream media accounts and politicians lead this category by using more images, videos, and external links.

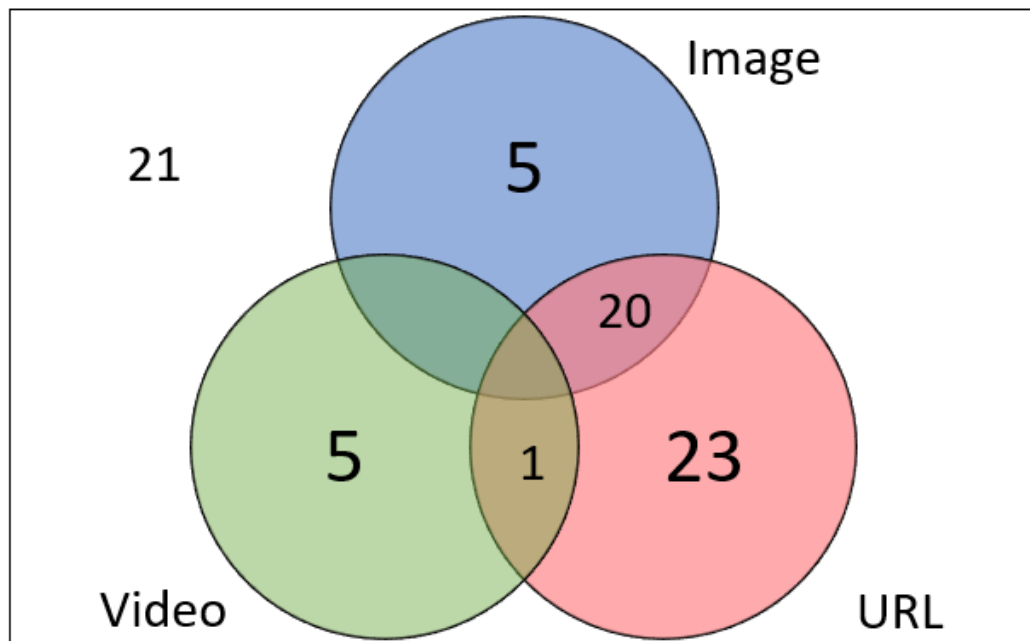
4.6.4. Health Dimension's Visual and External Link Content

Table 7. Visual and URL Use of Health Dimension

Yes	No
54	21

In the health dimension, out of 75 tweets, the majority of them included images, videos, and/or links. Precisely, 72% of tweets in this dimension have visual elements and links.

Figure 20. Visual and URL Use of Health Dimension



The analysis depicts that in total, 44 external links were employed, one of which includes a video, and 20 of them have an image. Plus, 25 images were inserted into tweets, most of which were accompanied by external links. The least preferred way is videos.

Table 8. Visual Use Based on Type of Accounts of Economy Dimension

	Image	Video	URL
Sports Club (0)	-	-	-
Mainstream Media Outlet (31)	15	4	27
Politician (4)	1	2	0
Journalist (1)	0	0	0
Online Newspaper (14)	6	0	13
Citizen (25)	3	0	4

The distribution demonstrates that mainstream media accounts take the lead with 46 elements put in tweets. To be more precise, primarily external links were employed with 27 of them, it is followed by 15 images and, lastly, four videos. Subsequently, the analysis continues with online newspapers, including 13 external links and six images. Out of 25 citizen accounts with seven additional elements (three images and four links), follow online newspapers. Citizens are followed by politicians, with two videos and an image. Also, in this dimension, videos are least preferred.

This analysis demonstrates that the use of visuals like images and videos is preferred, and it is indeed encouraged by Twitter, as it is stated in Twitter Blog. Qualitatively, out of 192 images, videos, and links used, the more favored way was to add images. In total, 85 images were added (44,2%), external links followed this category with 83 links (43,22%), and lastly, 24 videos were used (12,5%).

Overall, we see a negative correlation between the higher engagement rate and visual and link use. Most tweets with lower engagement rates employ images and videos. To be more specific, we see that mainstream media outlets use more URLs, and it does not yield good results for their engagement rates. Additionally, both political and mainstream media actors take advantage of visual use. Online newspapers equally benefit from images and links, but they do not utilize these elements excessively. Lastly, citizens actually do not employ many images, videos, or links. It is clear that they express their ideas in text-based tweets. We see visuals' use by a landslide, respectively images and videos in all categories. External link use is not densely adopted. Lastly, it is readily apparent that users on Twitter do not prefer to leave the platform. Thus, the use of external links remains insufficient and ineffective.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This chapter completes the study by offering an overall analysis of the research with the findings, concluding the questions of the study, touching upon the limitations, and lastly, pointing to prospects for future research. The chapter reviews this research's purpose based on research questions, literature review, methodology, and findings.

Aligned with the propaganda model, explaining the antidemocratic practices seen in the media with money-driven purposes, the study aspires to reveal the increasing impact of citizen journalism caused by the monopolized mainstream media in the Turkish Twittersphere. In this study, as the corpus of the study, tweets were collected with EUMEPLAT Project under four dimensions, namely, climate, economy, Europeanization, and health, during September 2021 period. The study analyzed the Twitter data benefiting from mixed content analysis and a brief thematic analysis. The content analysis conducted seeks to reveal the distribution of tweeting habits, their classification, and categorization, as well as their tendencies and attitudes regarding the Government.

While analyzing tweets, the idea revolves around the journalism practices which impede citizens' right to get credible information. Instead, turning the media practices into echo chambers in which the multivocality and objectivity have been oppressed, as seen in the

propaganda model. That is why it is thought the ownership-related issues would eventually have an adverse impact on the tweets analyzed and give an insight into journalism practices of both mainstream media and ordinary users in the Turkish Twittersphere. It is worth noting that not only the Government's implementations and attitudes towards media practices have shaped the environment but also media giants' strong urge to become more visible in different spheres of life by making pro-government propaganda. As this is experienced densely in traditional media in printed and broadcast media, citizens were having difficulties accessing credible information.

To build a solid ground and provide a comprehensive understanding of traditional Turkish media practices, the principles of media beginning and the *mushroomization* of private channels were discussed thoroughly. Starting with the privatization of a television channel that a politic-related individual owns, the practices have evolved to the detriment of ordinary citizens whose voices are hardly heard in the Turkish media. Instead, as an efficient power, obligated to transmit the facts in the most credible way possible, the media have started to act in favor of governments. Thus, it is possible to associate media practices with governments' implementations, regardless of who holds power or ideological tendencies. The monopolization of media under a few conglomerates has become quite common in a relatively short time. Companies that operate not only in the media sector but also in extremely profitable sectors, including construction, energy, and service, like Turkuvaz, Demirören, Ciner and Kalyon, have become preminent in media as well with mergers. Here, it is essential to note that the media is being used as a means of fortifying their places in other sectors. Moreover, the opposition voice has become unable to find a place in this environment, where hegemonic powers are in the lead.

The absence of multivocal activities serving to elite domination and the rapidly polarizing nature of Turkish society have made citizens sought for alternatives where they can express their ideas independently and be informed without bias. In this concentrated environment, with the increasing influence of digital media, in addition to several other factors, including the rapid polarization in the society, our growing attachment to technology, and grave problems concerning the world, such as the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak, which has an enormous negative effect. Due to these grounds the quest for alternatives has paved the way for social media use as a “tactic” (de Certeau, 1984). Addressing all parts of the society with instant, providing a democratic environment, allowing instant and more independent communication exercises, Twitter has appeared to meet these needs. To this end, tweets were chosen as units of analysis that helps sheds a light on both the Turkish media sphere and the Twittersphere.

Accordingly, four different categories are determined according to the Euro Barometer, which is all trending globally, and also depicts how they are discussed in the Turkish Twittersphere. To analyze the tweets, different categories were specified. These categories are formed of various metrics. These include if a tweet is on or off-topic, its thematic analysis, type of account, whether they include visuals or links, and their attitudes towards the Government. Additionally, the data analyzes the engagement rate, which gives an idea about users' interaction amount and distribution. A correlation between the interaction of tweets and the abovementioned classes is made after examining each tweet's engagement rate according to their number of impressions and reach, separately.

Each category demonstrates slightly different trends of the users. More significantly, some common aspects illustrate the increasing impact of citizen journalism. In the light of the investigated categories, firstly, it was found that the health dimension has the highest number of on-topic tweets, with 75 tweets. Considering the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak taking over the whole world, it is an anticipated finding. Thematically speaking, global Covid-19 news leads the category along with information regarding vaccines. Here, it is essential to note that the anti-vaccination stance is evident, which could be questioned.

The second category belongs to Europeanization with sports competitions and some events organized by the EU and comments regarding the EU and directives. Here, what draws attention is even though Turkey has won the championship with the amputee national soccer team, won two gold medal with rowing championship and the national volleyball team has gained a bronze medal in CEV, Turkish soccer teams were more in the limelight even though their success was pretty inadequate. In that sense, some sociologic deductions can be made with further research. As most of the tweets concentrate on soccer, it can be deducted that the Turkish users' priorities do not evolve according to success in the different sports branches.

The third category is owned by the economy dimension. Economically, the world has been going through a hard time with the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic outbreak, and knowingly inflation has become a common problem in many parts of the world. Keeping this in mind, thematically anti-government comments are found. This proves the free speech opportunity that Twitter provides.

The climate dimension has the smallest number of on-topic tweets. Here, the concentration lies in the climate policies, and the increase in energy prices is highly mentioned. However, tweets regarding the problems in Turkey are hardly seen. This indicates that climate-related issues do not get the attention they deserve. Further research could be useful to find out the underlying reasons for the apathy.

All in all, this category displays the current hot topics in the world and finds a tremendous amount of place on the Turkish Twittersphere. Hence, it proves to be a platform giving voice to each user and making them heard.

Subsequently, in the type of account category, in which the EUMEPLAT codebook was taken as reference, six categories were created to find out the actors of tweets based on the data with the broadest reach. This category has a great significance with the aim of finding the influence of citizens. Besides, its comparison with politicians and mainstream media has a great potential to yield comprehensive results.

The majority of tweets belong to mainstream media outlets in the health dimension. This finding might be regarded as quite predictable because with the power they possess by using the power of money, and they can easily find a place. The result justifies this argument. Following mainstream media accounts, we see citizens with lesser opportunities with fewer opportunities in an extremely hot topic of discussion. The case with the mainstream media outlets is also valid for politicians in the health dimension, they are clearly seen. However, this category matters in detecting the actors. Other categories tell more about users' selection and preferences, such as engagement rate. The health category shows little influence of journalists. Even though the 'journalism'

profession requires a bit of control over the transformation of information (Chadwick, 2013), here we see their absence. This might be attributed to the challenges they face as politics is also involved (Xin, 2010), as seen in some statistics of Turkey regarding media freedom (Freedom House 2021). Still, from the professional point of view, their active engagement on Twitter might be expected.

Sports clubs only occupy the Europeanization dimension with sports competitions, which are irrelevant to this study's purpose. Hence, their existence can only be interpreted in a way that they play a remarkably active role, and many Turkish Twitter users recognize their presence. Later, we see the superiority of politicians. As can be seen in the thematic analysis, they are soccer-related. After that, we see particularly tweets related to Mobility Week. Considering these are the events organized collaboratively with political actors, this might explain their visibility. Another result is politicians' active presence in all the analyzed dimensions so far. After politicians, citizens follow this category. Citizens show excellent visibility compared to these accounts, with some of them with more than a million followers, which can be regarded as a success. Online newspapers do not take up a considerable amount of space in this category.

The third dimension is economy. Similar to the health dimension, the first two rows, again, are occupied by the mainstream media outlets and citizens in the economy dimension. Considering all these monopolization activities and giant companies' desire to dominate and increase their impact on media, it can be said mainstream media has superiority because they have a broader range of means and possibilities. Later, politicians emerge. Apart from 'less formal' accounts' domination, such as mainstream

media accounts and citizens, seeing politicians on the Turkish Twittersphere, who have authority and power, indicate the importance of Twitter. It indicates it has significance for the political discourse. In the fourth row, online newspapers appear. With online characteristics, their influence should have been more substantial. This opens a discussion regarding the short position of online newspapers. Here, journalists do not exist, and this may be another issue for further studies.

Lastly, in the climate dimension with the most off-topic tweets, mainstream media accounts appear, followed by politicians, then citizens, and lastly, online newspapers. Journalists do not show up in this dimension as well. All in all, the findings of this category mainly highlight the considerable influence of citizens, whereas online newspapers and journalists do not take enough place to draw more concrete conclusions. As a requirement of their profession, their power should have been higher. Hence, the reasons why they remain inadequate to touch upon hot topics should be questioned here. Yet, more importantly, the results show that Twitter creates an environment allowing citizens to compete with professional journalism accounts. Also, citizens have become a force to be taken into consideration in that sense.

Later, the stance regarding the government is analyzed to measure if citizens really take advantage of Twitter and users like to engage in other users' ideas. Twitter is thought to create an environment allowing free speech. In more detail, the climate has a more pro-government stance. This can be explained by the high number of mainstream media accounts and politicians. This finding directly leads us to the fact that both politicians and mainstream media have a pro-government tendency. Even though objectivity is ideally

expected, mainstream media accounts are anticipated to tweet in favor of the Government, and this is kind of inevitable.

On the other hand, politicians' attitudes favoring the Government indicate that they are members of the ruling party. Considering the Government's stance towards Twitter, including banning Twitter more than once, which had created controversies, seems to lose its effect. This shows the power of Twitter. Later, an anti-government attitude comes second with a high impact on citizens, and neutral tweets follow it.

There is a vast majority of tweets in the economy dimension with anti-government attitudes. Even though mainstream media's influence can easily be seen, this can be explained by the presence of oppositional media accounts. Namely, Sözcü and Bir Gün. Having also more than a million followers, these two newspapers have a significant influence on this dimension. Oppositional newspapers' presence and their online activity on Twitter depict again Twitter offers more visibility to the opposition who might encounter problems in printed and broadcast media. The pro-government tweets follow the anti-government category. Mainstream media outlets and politicians can easily explain this. The last value is neutral, which might have a more informative tone or a point of view that does not necessarily pick aside.

In the Europeanization dimension, with more tweets related to sports that are expected to have an impartial voice, neutral tweets lead the category. Later, we see anti-government tweets, which are followed by pro-government stances. This dimension implies that sports-related content does not choose aside. Instead, they represent the sportspersonship. Also, it shows that Twitter is used for not only politically expressed views, promoting an

idea, and forming a public opinion. It can also be used for celebrating something good and can act as a unifying power, regardless of tendency or ideology. Additionally, it shows that a user does not necessarily have to discredit a concept.

Lastly, in the health dimension, the percentages look similar to each other. Yet, anti-government tweets lead the category. It can be associated with dissatisfaction with the health management regarding the Covid-19 pandemic. As thematically investigated, a considerable number of tweets were posted by anti-vaxxers. Hence, Twitter has become a place to express discontent with policies. Even though the anti-vaccination movement poses a threat to public health, particularly in the time of a pandemic, it is seen that Twitter gives a voice to every individual who would like to speak up.

In the great scheme of things, it is seen that tweets anti-government form the majority. Several factors can explain this category's findings. More clearly, tweets regarding success in sports competitions, some cultural and sports events, and the Covid-19 updates are expected to have a more neutral and informative tone. More quantitatively, out of 216 tweets, 76 tweets (35%) belong to the anti-government category, and with the type of accounts category, we see the dominance of citizens. Subsequently, a neutral-toned tweet comes with 72 tweets (33%). This can be associated with more informative tweets pertaining to health and sports content. Lastly, we see pro-government tweets with 68 tweets (32%). Here, the actors comprise primarily mainstream media outlets that would like to ingratiate themselves to the Government and politicians. Therefore, it can be interpreted that the users have used Twitter for pouring out. In that sense, Twitter acts as a platform *to blow off some steam* for citizens.

While the engagement rate was being calculated, different studies were considered as some of them are strongly related to privacy concerns. That is why, in this study, retweets, likes, and replies are calculated based on reach and impressions. Two different formulas were employed as reach and impression to provide further insights. More precisely, an impression signifies an effortless way of reaching a broader audience since it means the number of times the content was displayed to the people. On the other hand, one has to directly follow someone in order to create a reach as it is basically the number of users exposed to a piece of content. Seeing this, the number of impressions is expected to be higher.

Overall, reach-based analysis has a higher percentage compared to impression-based engagement rate. This could be explained by the reach can be used as a marketing tool, as Twitter offers ads service that aims to help accounts to grow their engagements bigger. As it also includes algorithms and does not require the additional effort of a simple user, the engagement rate calculated based on the reach is relatively higher.

Quantitatively speaking, out of four categories, the Europeanization category holds the highest ER percentage in the impression-based analysis with a tweet posted by an online newspaper. In contrast, the highest percentage in the climate dimension is 0,573%, making it the lowest among them. Online newspapers and politicians come to the forefront in the Europeanization dimension, whereas a lack of journalist presence is still experienced.

Regarding the reach-based analysis, again, the Europeanization has the most significant percentage of engagement rate with 6,87%, with a tweet owned by an online newspaper. In this category, we see more online newspapers in the upper rows. Likewise, with the 2,28% ER belonging to the climate dimension, it remains the lowest ER category. These two analyses share similar results; however, they differ in some aspects. Considering that Twitter's reach is more effortless and more instant, functions with algorithms might work well for large business accounts. That is why the reach-based analysis offers more higher percentages.

Before concluding the distribution of categories, it is essential to note that all dimensions represent both societal and global challenges that have been trending. Covid-19, economic fluctuations, and climate challenges all pose a threat to humanity. They found a place in the Turkish Twittersphere as expected; however, the actors unexpectedly vary. As this study would like to find out the influence of citizen journalism, these two analyses furnish outstanding results in that sense.

Whether the results are analyzed according to the number of reach or impression, there is a remarkable absence of journalists who could have taken part in some of the categories. As mentioned, journalists are also under the influence of the system they have been working. Their absence might be associated with their unwillingness to participate in these discussions. Or, as mentioned, “their critical stance toward the government by conglomerates focused on protecting their economic interests” (Akser, p.81, 2018). Hence, journalists avoid meddling, and instead, they post tweets about their daily lives (Lasorsa,

Lewis, Holton, 2012). Accordingly, these analyses demonstrate that the journalists, with few accounts, always come towards the end of the research. This indicates that journalists do not actively engage in the discussions on the Turkish Twittersphere, regardless of their follower number and public recognition. This finding can also be elaborated within the scope of the propaganda model and associated with “elite domination” (Chomsky and Herman, 1988), causing their inability to express and transmit what actually happens.

Even though they take part in each category, in addition to journalists, the other class of accounts holding low ER percentages and seen in the last rows in the analyses is mainstream media channels. As mentioned in the literature review in detail, the rate of politically affiliated media companies in Turkey is 41% (Bianet); therefore, one can quickly expect a concentration of media ownership. This fact is also seen in the conclusion of the analyses. We always come across the same newspapers and agencies in the last rows of each category and each analysis. More concretely, we see Hürriyet, Star, Anadolu Agency and HaberTurk. Interestingly, HaberTurk always brings up the rear with the lowest engagement rates. They are considered the most circulated newspapers in Turkey; however, their engagement rates remain the lowest. Not to mention, all of these accounts are known for their affiliations with the Government. These conglomerates’ support is publicly known, and indeed they reflect this discourse in their journalism language.

When we look at the use of additional elements, like images, videos and links, some striking results are seen. As mentioned in their blog posts, Twitter actually encourages the use of visuals, as it increases the understandability of a tweet, and visuals offer a great way

to convey a message. With this technique, Twitter provides higher rates of engagement among users. On the other hand, external link use is not favored by Twitter. However, many accounts still employ external links. In the light of analysis, a great majority of on-topic tweets take advantage of visuals or links. Images are preferred over videos in all dimensions. Plus, the findings illustrate that tweets with higher engagement rates based on both reach and impression might employ mostly images, then videos. It is important to note that live streaming is also considered as video. More strikingly, mainstream media accounts and politicians densely profit from images and videos. Yet, most of the time they have a lower interaction rate.

On the other hand, citizens barely use visuals and links. To elaborate, citizens prefer to employ images at times if they use it as an element in their tweets. Videos and external links are not favored. This shows that citizens do not need additional visual support to get higher engagement. This is a proof that what matters is not benefitting from all advantages that Twitter provides. Instead, what is more significant is the message that is conveyed. Strictly speaking, it is seen that most mainstream media outlets for example have benefitted from mostly external links leaving for their official websites. However, the findings clearly demonstrate that mainstream media accounts have the lowest engagement rate based on both reach and impression, meaning that the users are not interested in external links and subjective news content. The Turkish users favor staying on Twitter, rather than clicking a link. The finding highlights that Twitter, by itself is enough to provide information flow among users

As Chomsky and Herman (1988) argue, in societies where power levers are handed to political power, we see undemocratic media practices. Revolving around the financial and political power, with the profit-driven urges of conglomerates, mainstream media practices were infamized. In this equation, the citizens were left out as they do not hold enough power with regard to politics and finances. Additionally, mainstream media enormously benefit from advertisement thanks to their financial superiority, which makes them more visible in the mediatic spheres of life. This can be justified by their number of followers on social media. Having the lowest number of ER in every analysis of every category, HaberTürk has 1.5 million followers on Twitter.

Additionally, a user who does not follow their page might encounter HaberTürk's tweet on their timeline, but that does not necessarily mean that the user will engage with that tweet in any way. This situation might explain HaberTürk's number of followers and their reach. It definitely gives an idea regarding their low engagement rate, which is directly correlated with users' preferences and choices entitled by Twitter's strategies. Hence, the low engagement rate of mainstream media owned by the specific elite is aligned with the propaganda model. Users' perspectives and choices towards ruling Turkish mainstream media practices can explain these low rates with few family companies and their monetizing strategies. Thus, their ERs remain low most of the time, indicating the maigre trust towards those big media conglomerates.

It should be noted that only pro-Government mainstream media outlets hold low engagement rates. More concretely, anti-government media outlets such as Sözcü

Newspaper with 3.2 million followers and Bir Gün with 1.9 million followers. Compared to pro-government accounts, these newspapers have higher ERs in both analyses. Even though the attitude regarding governments will be discussed in the upcoming paragraphs, it is essential to note that the users' preference based on media outlets' relationship with the government is a critical finding in these analyses.

The mainstream media outlets have moved to social media platforms, particularly Twitter in this case, and have at least one million followers. This finding shows that even though the number of followers is undoubtedly substantial, they are not necessarily the dominant factor in engagement rates.

Following these categories, next, we have online newspapers on Twitter. Most of these online newspapers have emerged due to the fact that they cannot survive in the mainstream media as it is significantly monopolized, it does not require a considerable amount of capital, it is cost-effective, and as long as they comply with Twitter guidelines, Twitter provides numerous strategies for them to implement journalistic practices as they wish. These online newspapers are active on Twitter as a tactic for making off from the dominance of media moguls. Moreover, the ones who participate in the analysis actually have more than a million followers. In spite of that, when we look at their presence based on engagement rates, we see that they are not as efficient as it is thought. Considering that majority of them have appeared from an anti-government point of view, their visibility is not as much as expected. One could expect these online newspaper accounts to be more

distinguishable under the economy discussions based on the current discussion on Twitter. Nevertheless, they are more visible in Europeanization and health categories.

Subsequently, we have a relatively higher ER category, namely politicians and politics-related actors. This category has higher rates in Europeanization and economy dimensions. This finding can be explained with several different elements. To start with, it should be noted that the Turkish Government previously banned Twitter in 2014 and 2015 pursuant to Turkish laws and official court decisions after several incidents. However, in the globalizing world, with the increasing use of social media by all strata of the society, Twitter has increased its influence and also started to be used by the Turkish politicians and other actors from the political world. Bearing in mind that September 2021 was staggering with health-related and economic complications adversely impacting the citizens, many government authorities took advantage of Twitter's instant and easy conveniences to reach a broader audience. As what they share is official statements and concerning every Turkish citizen, their ER is relatively higher. This is a win-win situation for both the Government and Twitter. Government reaches a considerable number of users in no time, and the policies are heard and seen quickly. Plus, this might be regarded as another research area. Nonetheless, after having banned Twitter as well as other social media platforms in the past, it can be said that the Government also exercises soft power by employing Twitter. On the other hand, Twitter intensifies its position with high-level state officials tweeting and being a platform where important announcements are made, including new regulations, by-laws, and policies.

Turkish media moguls have been keeping their chairs by ingratiating the Government. To exemplify, Turkish mainstream media was criticized for not providing enough coverage to opposition parties, even during the campaign period. Because of that, Twitter has become a platform giving voices go unheard, even if the unheard here are the members of the leading opposition party. This is why the politician's category heavily includes the opposition parties and their members. The members are aware of the fact that they can easily reach citizens via Twitter and make their statements without the fear of being misinterpreted by pro-government outlets. Ultimately, including mayors of Ankara and Istanbul, this category has higher ER. This use of Twitter also represents a win-win situation. Through the strategies of Twitter, the opposition can speak up and reach thousands of citizens. At the same time, Twitter demonstrates its democratic character by giving voice to everyone equally, and the rest belongs to users' free will.

Furthermore, regardless of their ideological tendency, politicians also take advantage of Twitter to celebrate big moments in Turkish society. In conformity with the data, this includes congratulating the Turkish national amputee soccer and national volleyball teams for their international success in the competitions. This is a powerful aspect of Twitter. Even the Turkish nation's success is recognized and appreciated via Twitter, and numerous politicians employ this aspect in spite of their political tendencies. This category with high ER shows the importance of Twitter to the political world.

In an environment where the mainstream media's influence is pervasive, with their unique perspectives and not carrying the weight of profit-driven purposes, citizens express their

ideas independently. Hence, regarding engagement rates, in total, citizens have got the highest engagement rates, which entirely fits the purpose of this study. For all dimensions, citizens have the highest ER in terms of impression and reach. Additionally, in general, the first five rows are allocated to citizens. Apart from forming a view on a discussion, under some conditions, even before mainstream media outlets are informed, citizens capture the moment and instantly post it, which also increases their visibility among other users. Other than that, it should be noted that not all citizens engage in a tweet actively.

In some cases, they passively engage in a tweet by just seeing it and not interacting with it anyway. Considering this fact, the citizen category still leads the way with the highest ER in all categories. To sum up, it can be said that citizens have more power even though the number of followers is not as much as other category accounts, which is roughly more than a million. Hence, the findings emphasize that instead of mainstream media accounts, accounts of ordinary citizens have gained more credibility in terms of the latest updates.

Sports clubs also took place in the analysis, but generally, they hold low engagement rates, for example, compared to online newspapers, let alone citizens and politicians. The only category they predominate is mainstream media outlets. Most of them are found in Europeanization and economy dimensions thanks to the sports competitions. Many sports clubs remain inadequate due to their engagement rate, having millions of followers.

All in all, whether the engagement rate is calculated according to reach or impression, similar data distributions are seen. The moguls may even promote their page following

the guidelines of Twitter, yet they still cannot be considered successful within the context of user engagement. The fact that the vast majority with higher ER rates are all citizens and lower rates are prevalently associated with mainstream media accounts demonstrates the importance attached to free speech. In an environment where the users express their thoughts without the fear of being oppressed, citizens find comfort in Twitter. Moreover, the ordinary citizen can reach thousands of people freely within seconds via Twitter and surpass the overall impact of moguls in several different categories, which are crucial topics not only in Turkish society but also globally. Hence, even though I was aware of the increasing impact of citizen journalism on social media platforms, particularly on Twitter, I did not expect it to show up this crystal clear based on the engagement rates and attitudes towards the Government of the given categories.

Plus, Twitter proved its unbiased, accessible characteristic, making it a platform in which every user can speak up. Twitter addresses each part of the society, containing users varying from citizens to politicians, well-known newspapers to newly emerged online newspapers. This shows the inclusivity of Twitter. Moreover, the citizens' visibility based on the analysis conducted in the different categories emphasizes that many users prefer to look at ordinary users' content and engage more with these tweets. Many citizens do not try to make up to any individual or an entity. Thus, the data highlight that the citizens, in the way of informing other users and taking upon journalist role, express their ideas more independently.

In addition to increasing dependency on Twitter, the strong urge to be informed instantly and trustingly, it can be expected that the role of citizens on Twitter is expected to

augment in terms of reporting, and analyzing content. The negative effect of monopolized media sphere has led citizens to seek an alternative. Against the strategies of big media companies, citizens found a way out in the form of tactics. In that way, social media, more specifically Twitter have gained other qualities apart from providing escapism and entertainment purposes to the users.

Even though the previous studies signify that the main reason behind the transition to digital media and gradually leaving the traditional media forms is because of the Government's policies, as specified above, it can be said that these efforts of citizens are also a consequence of media moguls and conglomerates who only aim for increasing their profits, as propaganda model set forth by Herman and Chomsky (1988).

As the platform provides a more independent environment, Twitter has reshaped journalism practices for the better in favor of citizens. In that way, citizens are able to inform each other instantly, and post tweets before big media companies make some news about it highly-likely subjectively. The platform provides a more independent environment, and the findings demonstrate in addition to Twitter's strategies, how the mainstream media's inadequate way of informing citizens has changed the journalism practices. Twitter has proven its significance with the participation of politicians who were once strongly against the platform. To be exact, As banned previously by the Government before, findings clearly show that Twitter is now actively used by government officials. Besides, since the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic, which changed many habits of people, Twitter has been used to inform the public enormously again by the state officials.

As seen in the findings, it is evident that Turkish Twitter users have lost confidence in the mainstream media newspapers and channels in several dimensions. Compared to accounts with at least a million followers, citizens with obviously fewer followers were more influential and were able to reach broader masses.

All in all, the increasing use of social media has been integrated into everyday life as coping strategy to overcome some shared struggles caused by those who hold the power.

By employing tactics, individuals and many interest groups have started to use social media and their individual or not- so-crowded use turns into collective actions that can occur online and/or offline. Here, one of the most successful platforms that meet all the expectancies by helping users to implement tactics, Twitter and its broad worldwide use was analyzed. It was found out that Twitter can be used for many different purposes from expressing one's beliefs to inform someone, reaching an authority, making a complaint, forming a public opinion by involving in hashtag activism, raising awareness, and so on. Tweets and hashtag activism are proven fruitful for the protestors in many ways. As a powerful tactic, use of Twitter can be used to make a societal, political change with little effort and create collective efficacy through connective actions. Ultimately, one can talk about the increasing influence of citizen journalism that can be regarded as a tactic used for shaping public opinion, creating collective online actions that might turn into offline protests will gradually increase and their use as tactics will be used growingly.

5.1. Limitations of the Study

In this study, 400 tweets in total 216 of which are on-topic tweets were analyzed. The study employed a mixed method of content analysis, in both quantitative and qualitative

manner. These analyses have yielded fruitful results in terms of the increasing positive influence of citizen journalism on the Turkish Twittersphere. However, the number of on-topic tweets could have been higher to provide more comprehensive results. More concretely, when the data were extracted according to the lexicon, some words had to be left out. Idioms, or some words that are easily confused as they can be used as names or surnames. To exemplify, as the climate lexicon includes the word ‘sun’ (‘güneş’ in Turkish), some of the data includes Şenol Güneş, who is the Turkey national team coach. Hence, these data types were excluded and marked as ‘off-topic.’

Moreover, online newspapers originally started their activities because they were not able to find a place in the traditional atmosphere as it requires enormous financial power and making news that contributes to formation of echo chambers. However, particularly compared to the findings inducing increasing citizen journalism, it was detected that position of online newspapers in the categories does not look bright. The detailed analysis aiming to find out its reasons can be studied in the future.

Additionally, visual aids and link use provide crucial findings. Accordingly, it was found that mainstream media accounts have densely used links, images and videos respectively. Nevertheless, their engagement rates remain the lowest. However, the use of visuals is normally expected to increase engagement. However, this is not the case for mainstream media channels. It is known that these mainstream media accounts openly support the Government. Yet, regardless of what they use in their tweets, they are still found at the end of the list. In brief, when the link uses increase, the engagement rate diminishes

parallelly. To this end, far-reaching research might be carried out specific with the use of visuals and links.

As one of the salient findings of the study, there is a tremendous absence of journalists in tweets analyzed. In conformity with their professional responsibilities such as providing information flow, convey as credible information as possible to the citizens, the fact that they do not quantitatively take part in the analysis might be an interesting topic for future research. Given these findings and future research ideas, it can be concluded that the questions above could furnish more extensive results and could play a complementary role following up with this thesis.

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APPENDICES

A. Lexicon Per Category

a. Health

	Common keywords	Most significant declinations	Most significant declinations
Keywo rd	Language = English (max: 30 keywords)		
1	astrazeneca	Pfizer, Biontech, Johnson & Johnson	Sinovac, Biontech, Sputnik, Turkovac
2	ambulance	paramedic	acil yardım
3	clinical	clinic	hastane, sağlık ocağı
4	Lockdown	curfew	kısıtlama
5	covid	covid-19, covid19, coronavirus	salgın
6	DHSC	Department of Health and	
7	disease	illness, patient, patients	salgın hastalık
8	nurse	nurses, nursing, infirmary	hemşire, sağlık çalışanı
9	epidemic	epidemics, outbreak	epidemi, pandemi
10	pharmacy	pharmacies	eczane, ilaç,
11	hospital		hastane, sağlık ocağı
12	infected	infection, infections	enfekte, bulaşmış, bulaşı
13	immunization	immunity	bağışıklık, antikor
14	mask	masks, anti-mask movement, m	maske, n90
15	medical	doctor, practitioner, physician	tıbbi, bilimsel
16	medicine		ilaç
17	prescription		
18	WHO	world health organization	
19	pandemic	post-pandemic	salgın, virüs, hastalık
20	quarantine		karantina, kısıtlama
21	therapy	therapeutical	izleme
22	health	healthy	negatif
23	NHS	national health service	

24	vaccine	vaccination, vaccinated, inoculation	aşılanma, aşılama oranı, antijen, PCR
25	virus	viruses, virology, virologist	
26	state of emergency	state of alert	
27	indian variant	indian strain, brazilian variant, brazilian strain; african variant, african strain, Delta variant	Delta varyantı, Afrika varyantı, Brezilya varyantı
28	preventive isolation		izolasyon, kısıtlama, karantina
29	medical treatment		
30	#covid	#covid-19, #covid_19, #coronavirus	korona virüs, korona
31	intensive care		entübe
32	mental health	depression, anxiety, panic	depresyon
33	thrombosis		kan pıhtılaşması, pıhtı
34	Covid test	PCR Test, rapid test	hızlı test, PCR
35	incidence		olay
36	"european medicines agency"	EMA	
37	antibodies		antibadi
38	high-risk groups	high-risk population	yaşlılar
39	restrictions	distancing, limits	sosyal mesafe, karantina, izolasyon
40	Cases	number of cases, intubations, deaths	pozitif hasta
41	Digital Covid certificate	EU certificate, Covid passport	Aşı kartı, aşı pasaportu
42	Covid wave	[covid deaths, covid cases, deaths of covid patients]	Covid-19 ölümleri, Covid-19 kaynaklı ölümler, pozitif hastalar
			= MISSING
	Keywords related with national debate	Most significant declinations	Most significant declinations
Keyword	Language = English (max: 10 keywords)		
1			kadın hakları (women's rights), kadın (women), şiddet (violence), İstanbul Sözleşmesi (Istanbul Convention)
2			saldırı, cinsel saldırı

b. Economy

	Common keywords	Most significant declinations	Most significant declinations
Keyword	Language = English (max: 30 keywords)		
1	agriculture	agricultural	teşvik, destek, yoksulluk
2	unemployment	unemployed	gençler, kadın, LGBT,
3	debt		IMF, Merkez Bankası
4	economy	economic, economic crisis	iktisat, döviz, avro, dolar
5	tax	taxes, taxation, tax evasion	gelir, yoksulluk
6	inflation		alım gücü
7	"interest rate"		Merkez Bankası
8	GDP	"gross domestic product"	gayri safi yurtiçi hasıla
9	poverty	poor	çiftçi, genç, LGBT, kadın
10	salary	average pay, wage, average wage	eşitsizlik, düşük maaş, asgari ücret
11	unions	fackförening	işçi, kadın, kadın hakları
12	"remote work"	arbete hemifrån	pandemi, kısıtlama
13	worker	workers, working, labour, labourer, workplace, civil servant; employee	çalışan
14	"central bank"		faiz
15	"unemployment center"		İşKur
16	"financial crisis"		döviz, devaluasyon, avro, dolar
17	"living expenses"		
18	"EU funds"		Suriye, GKAS (SuTP),
19	"finance minister"	"ministry of finance"	damat
20	"government budget"		hazine
21	#crisis		İstanbul Sözleşmesi, kadın
22	#unemployment		oran
23	#economy		mali durum
24	#sustainability		sürdürülebilir kalkınma
25	#employment		beyaz yakalı
26	Stock exchange	"the city",	istanbul menkul kıymetler borsası

27	Digital transition	digital transformation, digitalisation	alım satım
28	housing	housing market, hou	emlak piyasası
29	tourism		aşı
30	bank	banking sector	bankacılık
31	business		özel sektör, devlet, kamu
32	commerce	e-commerce	e-ticaret
33	corruption	anticorruption	yolsuzlukla mücadele
34	deficit	budget deficit	mali açık
35	finance [1]	to finance [2]	yürütmek
36	"digital work"	"digital worker", "digital workers", "platform workers"	uzaktan çalışma
37	growth	degrowth	hızlı büyüme karşıtlığı, kapitalist büyüme karşıtlığı
38	industry	industrial	endüstriyel
39	loan	mortgage	ipotek
40	pension	pensions, pensioner, pensioners	emekli aylığı, emeklilik ödeneği
41	market		pazar
42	recession		kriz
43	social security	social insurance	sosyal sigorta
44	social welfare		
45	stock	stock exchange, stock	borsa, hisse senedi piyasası, döviz piyasası
46	strike	strikers	grevciler, eylem, hak arayışı
47	women's rights	violation	ihlal, şiddet, İstanbul Sözleşmesi
48	women employment		seksizm
			= MISSING
	General connected with dimension	Specific connected with national debate	Specific connected with national debate
Keyword	Language = English		
1			cinsiyet ayrımı (gender discrimination)

c. Climate

	Common keywords	Most significant declinations	Most significant declinations
Keyword	Language = English (max: 30 keywords)		
1	environment	environmental	çevre, müsilaj,
2	biodiversity		nesli tükenmekte olan
3	biology		canlılar, fen
4	climate	climatic, climate crisis	iklim krizi, iklim değişikliği
5	ecology	ecological	ekolojik, doğal
6	ecosystem		ekosistem
7	nature		doğa
8	oceans	sea, river, lake	deniz, Ege, Marmara, müsilaj
9	plant	flora	toprak, tarım,
10	pollution	polluter, polluted	müsilaj, deniz, Marmara, Ege, İstanbul
11	recycling		dönüştürülebilir
12	???		
13	sustainability	sustainable	kalkınma
14	"global warming"		iklim değişikliği, kuraklık
15	"earth day"	"world earth day"	çevre, koruma
16	"greenhouse gas"	"greenhouse gases", greenhouse effect	CO2 salınımı
17	"energy efficiency"	"energy efficient"	tasarruf
18	"green deal"	"green new deal"	
19	"natural resources"		yenilenebilir enerji
20	#ActOnClimate		
21	#environment		doğayıkoru
22	#climate		çevreyikoru,
23	#sustainability		sürdürülebilir kalkınma
24	#globalwarming		küresel ısınma, iklim değişikliği, suyuboşaharcama
25	power plants		elektrik, nükleer
26	renewable energy	renewable energy sources	güneş enerjisi, rüzgar enerjisi
27	solar panels		yenilenebilir enerji
28	clean energy		güneş, rüzgar
29	wind turbine	wind turbines	rüzgar, yenilenebilir enerji
30	common fisheries policy		avlanma
	common agriculture		

31	common agriculture policy	CAP	
32	Forest	deforestation	Orman yangını
33	oil spill		yakıt kaçağı
34	Fossil fuels		Benzin
35	Climate	Climate conditions	İklim değişikliği
36	Planet	planetary	Dünya
37	Fauna	animals	hayvanlar alemi
38	"CO2 emissions"	"carbon emissions"	karbon salınımı, CO2
39	"climate denier"		
40	"Paris agreement"		Paris Anlaşması
41	"Investment in the environment"	"Environmental investment"	çevrecilik, çevreyi koruma
42	climate change	climate change sceptic/scepticism, climate change denier/denialism	iklimsel değişimler,
43	weather	weather conditions	hava durumu, hava olayları
44	water	water shortage, drought	su kıtlığı, kuraklık
45	waste	waste management	atıklarla baş etme, atık kontrolü
46	Fridays for Future		
47	Extinction Rebellion		
			= MISSING
	Keywords related with national debate	Most significant declinations	Most significant declinations
Keyword	Language = English (max: 10 keywords)		
1			Marmara, Ege, İstanbul (Sea of Marmara, Aegean Sea, I
2			
3			
4			climate crisis
5			coasts
6			drought

d. Europe

	Common keywords	Most significant declinations	Most significant declinations
Keyword	Language = English (max: 30 keywords)		
1	Brexit		
2	Brussels		Brüksel, AB'nin Başkenti
3	MEP	MEPs, "MEP's"	MV, Milletvekili, Vekil
4	europe	european	Avrupa, AB
5	merkel		Almanya, Şanselör,
6	schengen		Schengen
7	EU		
8	"member state"	"member states"	AB Üyesi Devletler, İstanbul Sözleşmesi
9	"von der Leyen"		AB Komisyonu, AB
10	"euro zone"	eurozone	
11	#EuropeDay		9 Mayıs
12	#eugreendeal		çevre anlaşması
13	#Europe		
14	#EU		
15	#EuropeanUnion		
16	Frontex	Europol	
17	"state aid"		ulusal yardım
18	european law	european directive, EU law, EU directive,	kadın, kadın hakları, kadın cinayetleri
19	EU Court		
20	European Central Bank	ECB	fon, SuTP (Syrians Under Temporary Protection)
21	Euro	"european currency"	
22	"european subsidies"	"european funds", "european support funds"	Batıdan gelen ödenekler
23	"Single European Market"	"internal market"	
24	Austerity		sertlik, tahammülsüzlük

25	Euroskeptic	euroskepticism	Batı şüpheciliği
26	European security		Schengen, mülteci
27	European governance		müktesebat
28	EU Council		meclis
29	European Commission	EU commissioner	heyet üyeleri, kurul
30	EU legislation		mevzuat
31	EU regulation, EU directive		tüzük, karamame
32	EU treaty		
33	EU policy		
			= MISSING
	General connected with dimension	Specific connected with national debate	Specific connected with national debate
Keyword	Language = English		
1	[3]		
2			Avrupa (Europe), iltica (asylum-refuge)
3			
4			Yasak (restriction), şiddet (violence)
5			
6			Yasak (restriction), şiddet (violence)
7			
8			
9			
10			

B. Coding Categories

Q1. On or off topic (On topic=1; Off Topic=0)	Q2. Source of the tweet (1=Mainstream Media Outlet / 2=Politician/Politics Related / 3=Journalist / 4=Online Newspaper / 5=Citizen)	Q3. Verified Account (NO=0; YES=1)	Q4. Stance of the Tweet (0=Neutral / 1=Pro-government / 2=Anti-government)	Q5. Hashtag Use (No=0 /Yes=1)	Q6. Image (No=0 /Yes=1)	Q6.2 Video Use (No=0 /Yes=1)	Q6.3 URL use (No=0 /Yes=1)	SCOPE OF THE TWEET					number of engagement / total number of impressions) x 100%	LIKES
								Q7.1 Scope Global (NO=0; YES=1)	Q7.2 Scope European (NO=0; YES=1)	Q7.3 Scope National (NO=0; YES=1)	Q7.4 Scope Regional (NO=0; YES=1)	Q7.5 Scope Local (NO=0; YES=1)		

C. Impression Based Engagement Rate on Climate (Type, Stance)

		Twitter Rt	Twitter Retweets	Likes	Impressions (new)	E.R. (imp.)	ER (5 öndelik)	Sunulacak olan ER	TYPE	STANCE	(Global)	(European)	(National)	(Regional)	(Local)
32	Mildatca	Bu korona ve Anadolu-Arupa arasında İstanbul trafiği yüzünden	92	19	1233	234475	156126	0,5731954366	0,57320	0,573	5	1	0	0	0
52	anadoluc	1428 Yunus ve Balina "SPOR ve GELENEK" amaçlı Danimarka'da katıldığı.	33	264	890	209823	112412	0,5657149121	0,56571	0,566	5	1	0	1	1
		Arupa #HareketlilikHaftası başladı.													
		Sıfır Emisyonu hareketlilik nefes alan bir dünya için hareket geçişi. Bepaktımız @FatmaSahin kalımlıya farkındalık yaratmak için yürüyüşümüzü başlattık. Bir gün değil her gün hareketli ol.													
47	Gaziant epBeld	#MobilityWeek	12	404	609	215614	121124	0,4753865704	0,47539	0,475	2	1	0	1	1
51	AletTehli	#HareketlilikHaftası https://t.co/5R87VRcv5													
		Su anda Arupaya yakasında rüzgar nasıl?	69	5	272	74801	112713	0,462560661	0,46256	0,463	5	2	0	1	1
		Arupa benzine gaz kitiği yapıyor.													
38	encanfar as	Bu arada Türkiye, Tuz Gölü'nün altına devasa bir Doğal Gaz Depolama Tesisi yapıyor. https://t.co/TH1uowd13	23	401	1456	954454	133203	0,1969712527	0,19697	0,197	5	1	0	1	1
		İstanbul Havalimanı yine zinde.													
15	zabakha	"20 milyon 972 bin 493 yolcuyla Arupalı'nın en yoğun havalimanı oldu. Bu havalimanına kamp piknikler kule nasıl beğendiniz mi? https://t.co/kvzLdMC2b"	59	588	2657	1744133	233888	0,1894350947	0,18944	0,189	5	2	0	0	0
		Kırsal Kalkınma Yatırımının Desteklenmesi Programı ile 2015'te 1 milyon 496 bin liralık hibe desteğimizin sonu Arupalı standartlarında modern üretim yapmaya başlayan narenciye paketleme tesisi ziyareti etlik.													
94	belokap demiri	Üniversite, istihdamda kadın sorununu çözmek için destekliyor.	14	100	617	620689	76521	0,1177723465	0,11777	0,118	2	1	0	1	1
		Teşkilat İşlerinden Sorumlu İl Başkan Yardımcıları Yazar Kaba, Arupalı Yakası Seret Selim, 26 Eylül Pazar günü İstanbul'da gerçekleşecek olan Marmara Bölgesi İstisare Toplantısı hazırlığı kapsamında +++ https://t.co/cvduDjass													
95	MhPst anbul	Arupalı Birliği Türkiye Delegasyonu ve Dünya Bankası ortaklığında yapılan "Sürdürülebilir Kırsal Hareketlilik Planlarını Oluşturma ve Yürütme Etkinliği"ne katılımımız. @EUDelegationTur @WorldBankTurkey https://t.co/9ramDN4U	4	237	415	697660	76416	0,09402860992	0,09403	0,0940	2	1	0	1	1
20	FatmaS ahin	14 gün boyunca Çekya, İstanbul/Tekiroflet ve Malta'da toplam 7 hava gösterisi uçuşu yapan ve 7 bin km yol giden @solotur ekibimiz, Arupalı kıtasını en yüksek parandığı olan İtalya'daki Etna Yanardağı üzerinde... https://t.co/2vzJdKCI	19	525	920	1577242	185719	0,09282025206	0,09282	0,0928	2	2	0	0	0
28	tsavun ma	"Temiz İzciler, Temiz Dünya" ile farkındalık yürüttük.	17	371	3470	4335528	169224	0,0889857014	0,08899	0,0890	2	2	0	1	0
		Arupalı Hareketlilik Haftası'nda karbon ayak izimizi azaltmak için Foça'da farkındalık yürüyüşü gerçekleştirdik.													
26	tuncsoy er	Karbon salımları azaltmak için çalışmalarımızı sürdürüyor. geleceğe temiz bir izimiz bırakıyoruz. https://t.co/5NedBz3Yy	71	88	1372	1722042	171048	0,08890607778	0,08891	0,0889	2	2	0	1	1
		Teşkilat İşlerinden Sorumlu İl Başkan Yardımcıları Yazar Kaba, Arupalı Yakası Seret Selim, Anadolu Yakası Hakan Aslan ile Aile, Kadın ve Engellilerden Sorumlu İl Başkan Yardımcısı Miray Maden, 26 Eylül Pazar günü İstanbul'da gerçekleşecek Marmara Bölgesi İstisare Toplantısı +++ https://t.co/NATU6R5UWJ													
71	MhPst anbul	Salgın enerji sektörünü de vurdu. Arupalı'da elektrik ve doğal gaz fiyatları son bir ayda kıyıda katlandı.	7	276	509	899539	89338	0,08804509866	0,08805	0,0880	2	2	0	1	1
7	trhaber	https://t.co/Y9nUp5Chf https://t.co/MIS3zh7Ch	68	1260	2146	5436967	431531	0,06389591844	0,06390	0,0639	1	2	0	1	0
		Doğal gazın fiyatı, enerji üretiminde yoğun talep görmesiyle Arupalı'da son 1 yılda 7 kat arttı.													
19	yenisafa k	Geçtiğimiz ayda megawatt başına 12 avro olan doğal gaz fiyatı, bu yıl 27 Eylül'de 65 ayoaya yükselen tüm zamanların rekorunu kırdı. Arupalı medyası duyurdu: Marmara Denizi üdü... Ekim ayında müallaj	78	145	337	2272923	189919	0,02463787819	0,02464	0,0246	1	1	0	0	0
64	gazetes ozcu	https://t.co/KKOUJDEB8	12	41	111	2996241	92455	0,005473524993	0,00547	0,0055	1	0	0	1	0
		İzmirli ve Zeki Kaya'nın Bakan Dönmez, İstisare enerjide Arupalı 1'inci'de ve dünya'da öncülüğü konumunda													
54	O4comtr	https://t.co/233GJap9d	39	3	19	1726301	109426	0,003533566858	0,00353	0,0035	4	1	1	0	1

D. Reach Based Engagement Rate on Health (Type, Stance)

B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M
Author	Title	Twitter Reply Cou	Twitter Retweets	Likes	Impressions	Reach (new)	E.R. (reach)	ER (5 ondalık)	Sunulacak olan ER	TYPE	STANCE
saglikperssonel	Dünyanın düzeninin alt üst olduğu, turizmin durduğu, üretimin sıkıntıya girdiği, Avrupa ve	7	342	1764	193510	89503	2,360814721	2,36081	2,36	5	2
pushholder	AB seyahat listesini güncelledi: 6 ülke kısıtlama liste	43	16	1844	977643	107752	1,766092509	1,76609	1,77	4	2
maranki	Dünya Sağlık Örgütü Avrupa Direktörü Dr. Hans Klu	40	944	3553	519292	265145	1,711139188	1,71114	1,71	5	0
ihansenocak	Emperyalizma, mikrobu yayıyor sonra ilaç adı altınc	69	922	4638	2015510	332997	1,690405619	1,69041	1,69	2	1
DrGunerSonmez	Dünyada yaygın aşılama başlayalı 10 ay, faz çalışma	112	404	3509	640077	265823	1,514165441	1,51417	1,51	5	2
	Koronavirüs aşılarını sorgulamak "aşı karşıtlığı" değildir.										
	Önce tek doz için % 95 koruyucu dediler, yalan çıktı.										
	Şimdi 2.3. doz da yetersiz! Sırada 4. doz var.										
yazarmuratakan	Üstelik Tereddüt sadece Türkiye'de değil. AB ülkeleri içinde %50 aşılama oranını aşmış kaç ülke gösterebilirsiniz?	55	921	3019	777177	291252	1,371664401	1,37166	1,37	5	2
	ABD : Aşı ölümleri var										
	Avrupa : Aşı ölümleri var										
	İngiltere : Aşı ölümleri var										
	İsrail : Aşı ölümleri var										
	Türkiye : Aşıdan kimse ölmedi.										
	Formülü yabancılara versek de onlarda ölme, sevap olurdu.										
epehlivan1071	#BioNTech	78	724	2847	606157	266059	1,371500306	1,37150	1,37	5	2
ErkanTrukten	Fahrettin Koca @drfahrettinkoca aşılandan ölen tek	106	1037	3625	742509	380969	1,251545401	1,25155	1,25	5	2
DrGunerSonmez	UCL Genetik Enstitüsü Müdürü Prof Dr Francois Bal	16	40	603	200724	53589	1,229729982	1,22973	1,23	5	0
bengibaser	İngiltere ülkemizi kırmızı listeden çıkardı ama EH	20	48	713	440241	67552	1,156146376	1,15615	1,16	5	2
	Bizim E.U aşı sertifikaları kare kodları hala çalışmıyor Avrupa'da !										
	Bu büyük sıkıntı çünkü çok ciddi kontrol var ülkeye girişten itibaren , kafelerden müzeler kadar her yere girerken ve bizim kare kodlar uyumlu değil hala! Sistem okumuyor !										
bernalacin35	@saglikbakanligi @drfahrettinkoca	85	207	2020	1143525	208060	1,111217918	1,11122	1,11	5	0
	Biontech Yöneticisi Uğur Şahin, 6. Avrupa İmmünoloji Kongresi'nde (ECI), "Aşı üretimimiz 2019'da 10 bindi. Ortığımız Pfizer ile yıl sonuna kadar 1 trilyon dozdan fazla aşı üreteceğiz. Bu müthiş bir artış" dedi.										
5gvirusnewss	Evet müthiş artış onun için	42	353	1270	1184255	153696	1,083307308	1,08331	1,08	5	0
	#BillGatesSivısınaKarşıyız										
	DSÖ Avrupa Direktörü Dr. Hans Kluge:										
yazarmuratakan	"Aşılarla salgın bitmez..." https://t.co/OKWzxcOve3	110	1146	3155	1850369	417212	1,057256263	1,05726	1,06	5	2
	Muhalefetin de çanak tutmasıyla salgın döneminin olumsuz tüm etkileri tamamen hükümete yüklendi.										
	Fiyat artışları bir yönetim başarısızlığı gibi gösterildi.										
	Hadi gelin birilerinin yücelttiği Avrupa ve ABD'deki duruma bakalım!										
ercanfaras	(RT yapın ki gerçekleri herkes görsün lütfen)	34	1089	1909	1946602	289159	1,04855806	1,04856	1,05	2	1

E. Reach Based Engagement Rate on Economy (Stance, Scope)

Author	Title	Twitter Reply Cou	Twitter Retweets	Likes	Impressions	Reach (new)	E.R. (reach)	ER (5 ondalık)	Sunulacak olan ER	TYPE	STANCE	(Global)	(European)	(National)	(Regional)	(Local)
KORDELYaz	Avrupa ülkelerini gezmeyi seven bu kişi AKP millet vekili Hüsnü Ordu'nun Şenol Güneş "Maasımı tartıymayın.Millî takım hocasının maasına saygı duyulmalı" diyor... Hoca sorması ayıp Cebelitarık'a 45 dakika gol atamayan,Avrupa Şampiyonası'nda 24.olan, Hollanda'dan 6 yiye bir teknik adam milyonlar kazanırken o maay tartışılmayacak da ne olacak? Acun ilicali bir yatırım yapmış ve Avrupa maçlarını yayınlayabilmek için para ödemiştir.	18	154	3250	707893	71473	4,787821975	4,78782	4,79	5	2	0	1	1	1	0
yazparov	Geçmiş senelerde BelN'de yifreli yayınlanırken böyle bir baskı yapılamıyordu.	311	1362	12800	1561016	742506	1,949209838	1,94921	1,95	5	2	0	0	1	0	0
ajansfenercom	Acun ilicali böyle bir jesti içinden gelirse elbette yapar ama bu bir ticaret, orası hayır kurumu değil.	135	187	3923	486510	253570	1,674093939	1,67409	1,67	5	2	0	1	1	0	0
DrGunerSonmez	Dünyada yaygın ajalama başlayalı 10 ay, faz çalışma IMF'yi kovdu Amerika'ya posta koydu İsrail'e racon kestti Avrupa'ya tıretti Kemalistleri delirtti !!	112	404	3509	640077	265823	1,514165441	1,51417	1,51	5	2	1	0	1	0	0
ylmazgul35351	#ErdoğanNeyaptı iPhone 13 pahalı değil, biz fakiriz. Avrupa'da, Amerika'da insanlar bu telefonu 1 haftalık maaşıyla bin dolar verip alabiliyor. Bizde 12 ay çalışıp teknolojiyi yakalamaya çalışana AKP'li emmiler fırçayı basıyor, yazık...	32	220	1257	360492	108973	1,38474668	1,38475	1,38	5	1	1	1	1	0	0
ozgundemirel	#AppleEvent https://t.co/6CqCF74tz1 Eskiden Bulgaristan, Romanya, Kanada'da. Makedonya gibi ülkelerden,refah seviyesi sebebiyle Türkiye'ye göç ederlerdi,şimdi brüt asgari ücrette bu ülkelerin kimilerine geçildik,nette ise bütün Avrupa da sadece Arnavutluk'un üstündeyiz.Avrupa'nın açık ara en fakir ülkesi Türkiye 🇹🇷 https://t.co/p8ttjJR0q	62	116	1396	58591	118493	1,32834851	1,32835	1,33	5	2	1	0	1	0	0
senolmut	Sadece ürettiğimiz SİHA'nın Avrupa Savunma Sanayini Milyarlarca dolar zarara uğrattığını biliyor muydunuz?	17	184	765	882833	76719	1,2591405	1,25914	1,26	5	2	0	1	1	0	0
__Cavus__Esra	#TerliveMilliSanayi Biontech Yöneticisi Uğur Şahin, 6. Avrupa İmmünoloji Kongresi'nde (ECI), "Aşı üretimimiz 2019'da 10 bindi. Ortağımız Pfizer ile yıl sonuna kadar 1 trilyon dozdan fazla aşı üreteceğiz. Bu müthiş bir artış" dedi. Evet müthiş artış onun için #BillGatesSıvısınaKarıyız	25	177	769	380374	87313	1,112090983	1,11209	1,11	5	1	0	1	1	0	0
5gvrnews	Tevfik Göksu'nun "İBB Avrupa'nın en genç filosuna sahibiz" açıklaması yapıyor. Ama araçlar bozuluyor" dedi. Fakat İETT açıklamasının AK Parti'nin yönettiği 2017 yılına ait olduğu ortaya çıktı.	42	353	1270	1184255	153696	1,083307308	1,08331	1,08	5	2	1	1	0	0	0
medyablok	Havuzu değil @medyablok hesabını takip edin. https://t.co/wr7XlqjExn	63	295	1407	665676	178683	0,9877828333	0,98778	0,988	4	2	0	1	1	0	0

F. Impression Based Engagement Rate on Europeanization (Stance, Scope)

Author	Title	Twitter Reply Cou	Twitter Retweets	Likes	Impressions	Reach (new)	E.R. (imp.)	ER (S ondalık)	Sunulacak olan ER	TYPE	STANCE	(Global)	(European)	(National)	(Regional)	(Local)
sportjournos	⚡ Uefa Avrupa Lig'inde yarın oynanacak Fenerbahçe - Olympiakos maçının skorunu doğru Ebrar Karakurt: "Bizi karalamak isteyenler Avrupa üçüncüsü olmayı müzaka alarak günliklerine yazabilirler. 🤖" https://t.co/ODdEWf6Zl	441	17	110	11485	625153	4,945581193	4,945581193	4,95	4	0	0	1	1	0	0
pushholder	🍷 UEFA Avrupa Lig'inde bugün oynanacak Galatasaray - Lazio maçının skorunu doğru bilene Yemeksepeti Banabi'den hediye var!	369	1523	57900	1488762	870948	4,016222875	4,016222875	4,02	4	2	0	1	1	0	0
sportjournos	👉 @Banabi'yi takip eden ve skoru doğru bilen 3 takipçimize 50 TL değerinde hediye çeki veriyoruz. https://t.co/84ruOlVu61 UEFA #Avrupa Lig'inde #Lazio'yu mağlup eden #Galatasaray'ı tebrik ediyoruz 🎉👏	431	18	102	15498	611585	3,555297458	3,555297458	3,56	4	0	0	0	1	0	0
dgskon	Çekilge katılmak için yapmanız gerekenler 📌 👉 Hesabınızı Takip Eden @dgskon👉 📌 👉 RT Yapan 👉 1 Arkadaşınızı Etiketleyen 5 KİŞİYE #GS #FORMASI HEDİYE EDİYORUZ 🎁👏 @turkeraygunduz @GalatasaraySK https://t.co/Wc2eVlndYd	2281	274	203	132895	3253395	2,075322623	2,075322623	2,08	2	0	0	0	1	1	1
EUDelegationTur	11. AB İnsan Hakları Kısı Film Yarışması'nda İnsan haklarının farklı konularına odaklanan filmlerle katılabileceğinizi biliyor musunuz? ✅ Kanun önünde eşitlik ✅ Özgürlük hakkı ✅ Evlenme ve aile kurma hakkı ✅ Yargıya başvurma hakkı 👉 https://t.co/RUJgtfUvMH	1056	17	22	57431	1495090	1,906635789	1,906635789	1,91	2	0	0	1	1	0	0
firatgunayer	Türk futbolu sıralamada Güney Kıbrıs'ın bile gerisinde BENGİ BAŞER: "Dünyada Ağı Karşıtı hesapları 12 kişi yönetiyor. Biz bunların kim olduklarını biliyoruz ve takip ediyoruz. Ülkemizdeki ağı karşıtı büyük hesaplar bu merkezlerden yönetiliyor ve fonlanıyor."	1267	540	10.100	763093	1918306	1,560360271	1,560360271	1,56	1	0	0	1	1	0	0
onurcavsoğlu	Fon alan parmak kaldırın 🙌 Başlıyoruz! 🇹🇷🇹🇷🇹🇷🇹🇷🇹🇷 23-30 Eylül Avrupa spor haftası için #Beactive etkinliklerinde sende yerini al 📌 #HareketteBendeVarım ve @hisfed etiketiyle paylaşım yapan 25 kişiye kura ile spor kitiimizi hediye ediyoruz 📌 @gendiksporbak @hisfederasyonu	543	151	1162	132637	797309	1,399307885	1,399307885	1,40	5	2	0	1	1	0	0
BoluGM14	@eudelegationturkey @hisfed https://t.co/alimCsplRvh Başlıyoruz! 🇹🇷🇹🇷🇹🇷🇹🇷🇹🇷 23-30 Eylül Avrupa spor haftası için #Beactive etkinliklerinde sende yerini al 📌 #HareketteBendeVarım ve @hisfed etiketiyle paylaşım yapan 25 kişiye kura ile spor kitiimizi hediye ediyoruz 📌 @gendiksporbak @hisfederasyonu	751	176	241	85327	1092076	1,368851594	1,368851594	1,37	2	1	0	1	1	0	0
GSB_Burdur	@eudelegationturkey @hisfed https://t.co/uiM4mA2kj Enk dahil A su Arca Avrupa Samanyolu	608	204	218	75920	896376	1,356691254	1,356691254	1,36	2	1	0	1	1	0	0