



**COLLECTIVE MEMORY AND MEDIA IN
TURKEY: TRACING THE NEWS NARRATIVES
ON THE COVID-19 OUTBREAK IN
FOX TV AND SHOW TV**

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Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

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Öteçelebi, Aytül

Master's Program in Media and Communication Studies

Advisor: Prof. Dr. Y. Gökçen Karanfil

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The Covid-19 outbreak has been a public health threat that affected the world, including Turkey, since 2020. With its effects dramatically felt, communication has become more and more important to slow down the spread of the outbreak, to reduce the fear of death or infection and consequently to minimize the effects of the pandemic.

Recognizing the role of media in health communication, this study seeks to explore the collective memory about coronavirus and to analyze the news on the Covid-19 outbreak on the two mainstream TV channels in Turkey on March 11, 2020, which marked an important date as the first confirmed coronavirus case was announced, and April 11, 2020 when a curfew was first applied, and June 18, 2020 when wearing masks first became mandatory. The channels were selected through purposeful sampling method to obtain richer relevant data. The news narratives on Show Tv and Fox Tv were analyzed. This study drew on content analysis and critical discourse analysis to identify what these narratives actually tell and rearticulate us about this pandemic, to study how the media communicates the details about the outbreak and to explore and predict how this dramatic pandemic makes its way into our collective memory. The conceptual framework consists of the concepts of collective memory, misinformation and social reality. This study concludes that these channels offered two different portrayals of the same collective trauma and contributed to the collective memory in two diverse ways.

Keywords: Covid-19 outbreak, collective memory, media, news narratives, health communication

ÖZET

KOLEKTİF HAFIZA VE TÜRKİYE'DE MEDYA: FOX TV VE SHOW TV'DEKİ COVID-19 SALGINI HAKKINDAKİ HABER ANLATILARININ İNCELENMESİ

Öteçelebi, Aytül

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Covid-19 salgını, 2020 yılından bu yana Türkiye dahil tüm dünyayı etkileyen ciddi bir halk sağlığı tehdidi oldu. Salgının etkileri dramatik bir şekilde hissedilmeye devam ederken, salgının yayılmasını yavaşlatmak, halkın ölüm veya enfeksiyon korkusunu azaltmak ve dolayısıyla pandeminin uzun vadede etkilerini en aza indirmede iletişim

giderek daha da önemli bir hale gelmiştir. Medyanın sağlık iletişimindeki rolünün altını çizen bu çalışma, medyanın halen şekillendirilmekte olduğu koronavirüs ile ilgili kolektif hafızayı keşfetmeyi ve böylelikle Türkiye’de ana akımda yer alan iki farklı televizyon kanalında ilk koronavirüs vakasının teyit edildiği tarih olan 11 Mart 2020, Türkiye’de ilk kez sokağa çıkma yasağının uygulandığı 11 Nisan 2020,ve maske takmanın ilk kez zorunlu hale getirildiği 18 Haziran 2020, tarihlerinde yayınlanan Covid-19 salgını ile ilgili haberleri incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Kanallar, daha zengin veri elde etmek amacıyla amaçlı örnekleme yöntemiyle seçilmiştir. Dolayısıyla, ana akımda yer alan iki farklı kanal olan Show TV ve Fox TV’deki haber anlatıları incelenmiştir. Bu çalışma, bu haber anlatılarının pandemiyle ilgili gerçekte ne söylediğini ve tekrar tekrar neyi vurguladığını belirlemek, medyanın Covid-19 salgını ile ilgili hangi detayları sunduğunu incelemek ve bu çarpıcı salgının kolektif hafızamızda nasıl yer alacağını keşfetmek ve muhtemel olarak da öngörülerde bulunmak için içerik analizi ve eleştirel söylem analizi gerçekleştirmiştir. Haber anlatılarının incelenmesine yardımcı olması amacıyla kolektif hafıza, yanıltıcı bilgilendirme ve sosyal gerçeklik kavramları bu çalışmanın kavramsal çerçevesini oluşturmaktadır. Çalışmanın sonucunda bu kanalların aynı ortak travmayla ilgili iki farklı tasvir sunduğu ve kolektif hafızaya iki farklı şekilde katkıda bulunduğu ortaya çıkmıştır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Covid-19 salgını, kolektif hafıza, medya, haber anlatıları, sağlık iletişimi

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iii
ÖZET	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vii
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1. <i>Research Aim and Objective</i>	2
1.2. <i>Research Question</i>	3
1.3. <i>Importance of The Study</i>	3
1.4. <i>Methodology</i>	4
1.5. <i>Limitation</i>	7
1.6. <i>Structure of The Study</i>	8
CHAPTER 2: MEDIA AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY	10
2.1. <i>Media on Tv as a Mass Medium</i>	10
2.2. <i>Media Memory</i>	11
2.3. <i>The Covid-19 Outbreak</i>	14
2.4. <i>Pandemics Communication in Turkey</i>	15
2.5. <i>Literature about Turkey</i>	18

2.6. <i>Conceptual Framework</i>	19
2.6.1. <i>Collective Memory</i>	19
2.6.2. <i>Misinformation</i>	23
2.6.3. <i>Social Reality</i>	24
CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS	26
3.1. <i>Content Analysis</i>	26
3.1.1. <i>Analysis of the News Narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on March 11, 2020</i>	26
3.1.2. <i>Analysis of the News Narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on April 11, 2020</i>	52
3.1.3. <i>Analysis of the News Narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on June 18, 2020</i>	78
3.2. <i>The Critical Discourse Analysis of the News Narratives</i>	86
3.2.1. <i>The CDA of the News Narratives of Fox TV and Show TV on March 11, 2020</i>	86
3.2.2. <i>The CDA of the News Narratives of Fox TV and Show TV on April 11, 2020</i>	89
3.2.3. <i>The CDA of the News Narratives of Fox TV and Show TV on June 18, 2020</i>	92
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS, DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION	94
REFERENCES	106

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Show TV on March 11, 2020	26
Table 2. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Fox TV on March 11, 2020	39
Table 3. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Show TV on April 11, 2020.	53
Table 4. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Fox TV on April 11, 2020.	67
Table 5. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Show TV on June 18, 2020	78
Table 6. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Fox TV on June 18, 2020	83
Table 7. The distribution of the tones in the news bulletins of Show TV and Fox TV on March 11, April 11, and June 18, 2020	101

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

JDP: Justice and Development Party

NGO: Non-governmental Organization

RQ: Research Questions

WHO: World Health Organization



CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The year 2020 witnessed an unexpected pandemic caused by SARS-CoV-2 infection, most commonly known as coronavirus. The effects of coronavirus (the Covid-19 outbreak) are being felt all over the world, including Turkey. The first coronavirus case in Turkey was officially confirmed on 11 March 2020. Since then, Turkey has recorded about 426 thousand cases and 12 thousand deaths¹.

Needless to say, a pandemic with such dramatic consequences is affecting every individual in the society, changing everyone's relationship with each other and the world. So much so that this pandemic brings about a collective trauma – trauma experienced by people all around the world. Collective trauma is different from individual trauma since collective trauma is recalled by a group and leads to an on-going process of reshaping and reproduction of the memory to make sense of it. It is obvious that the Covid-19 epidemic is not the first epidemic experienced by the entire world, but this era of technology with information at a speed of light makes us live this collective trauma fully and in real time.

The Covid-19 epidemic, as a traumatic event causing great losses will eventually find its way into the collective memory of humanity, as it has collectively affected the world population. In fact, Marc Koscijew (2021, p. 1) puts forth that:

“remembering the coronavirus pandemic represents an obligation to the present and the future”.

Since collective memory is recalled when necessary; on this, Nicolas Demertzis and Ron Eyerman (2020) articulate that people search for comparable historical incidents to understand what is happening. They explain what people tend to reflect on a pandemic as follows:

“This’ is like ‘that’, we survived that and can survive this” (Demertzis and Eyerman, 2020, p. 435).

Hence, recalling this pandemic is an obligation for the collective memory.

¹ Türkiye Covid-19 Hasta Tablosu. (2020). [Online]. Available at: <https://covid19.saglik.gov.tr/>, (Accessed: 18 November 2020).

At the present time, as a matter of fact, the collective memory about coronavirus is in the making. Of course, the media, responsible for collectively shaping the perception towards coronavirus through various channels including traditional media such as newspapers and TV news, has a key role in constructing such memory. Indeed, Hakan Bakar and Emrah Budak (2021, p. 1307) emphasize that:

“[m]edia plays an important role in the construction of collective memory and transferring it to social groups, being an intermediary role in the process of reproducing and transmitting the truth to the society”.

More importantly, it is known that:

“During crises, the public increases its dependence on the media”. (Ball-Rokeach and De Fleur, 1976, p. 7).

Given that the public relies on the media to learn the truth in cases of crises, it is reasonable to argue that the role of the media is greater and more critical in this pandemic we are now globally experiencing. Needless to say, the news consumed by the public certainly affect their current perspective towards events and also determine how such events will be remembered in the future; for this reason, they offer important insights into how these events will be remembered, if at all, in the future.

1.1. Research Aim and Objective

Recognizing such role of the media in contributing to the collective memory, which is affected by various factors other than the media, on traumatic events such as the Covid-19 outbreak, this study intends to take the Turkish media as its case and thus looks into the news narratives on two Turkish television channels, selected through purposeful sampling method, on coronavirus. Patton (2002, p. 273) explains purposeful sampling as follows:

“[t]he logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information-rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of the inquiry, thus the term purposeful sampling. Studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations”.

Within the context of this study channels, which are selected to yield rich data, are Fox TV and Show TV that represent two different images: opposition and pro-government (Yanatma, 2021) as well as loyal and opposition media (Force, 2014) respectively. These channels are also among

“the most-rated privately owned nationwide general broadcasting TV channels” in Turkey (Saka, 2019, p. 6).

In doing so, it will hopefully offer a glimpse into how the collective memory on coronavirus is being constructed by the media in Turkey.

1.2. Research Questions

To that end, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What do two different channels of the Turkish media tell to us about the Covid-19 outbreak?

RQ2: What is the tone of each channel in presenting the Covid-19 outbreak on the specified dates?

RQ3: What is the difference between the images of the Covid-19 outbreak portrayed by these two channels?

RQ4: How do the news narratives in the specified channels shape the social reality on the coronavirus in Turkey?

RQ5: Do these news narratives disseminate misinformation on the coronavirus?

RQ6: How will coronavirus be anchored to the collective memory of the Turkish people?

Answers to these questions posed are the building blocks of this present study to achieve the research aim.

1.3. Importance of the Study

This study is the first of its kind to trace news narratives on the Covid-19 epidemic in the Turkish media in the context of collective memory, misinformation and social reality. For that reason, these findings will hopefully contribute to the understanding of the representation of the Covid-19 epidemic in the Turkish media. They will also allow us to predict the collective memory on the Covid-19 epidemic to be constructed in Turkey in the future. Furthermore, this study will provide important insights into the difference between the two channels with two different images in

portraying the same collective trauma. In this way, it will reveal two different social reality presented by the media and thus add to the relevant literature.

1.4. Methodology

To answer the above-mentioned research questions, this study draws on both a mixed methodology that consists of content analysis, as a quantitative method, and critical discourse analysis, a qualitative methodology. W. Lawrence Neuman (2013, p. 49) defines content analysis as:

“a technique for examining the content or information and symbols contained in written documents or other communication media (e.g., photographs, movies, song lyrics, advertisements)”.

He further reports that:

“Content analysis has been around for about a century and is used in many fields—literature, history, journalism, political science, education, psychology, and so on”. (Neuman, 2013, p. 371).

In this study, content analysis helps giving insights into collective memory, as it allows for determining the overwhelming tone of the news stories. This tone shapes how the Covid-19 outbreak will be remembered and anchored into the collective memory of the Turkish people. Content analysis also allows for identifying the dominant subject in the news stories, which will also affect the making of the collective memory. The findings from the content analysis yield how the framing of the news on coronavirus forms and contributes to the collective memory in this regard. Such findings also help us determine what is foregrounded or emphasized regarding the Covid-19 outbreak. Likewise, Bakar and Budak (2021) benefited from content analysis to examine the content of 32nd Gün Documentaries in order to reveal the role of these documentaries in constructing the collective memory and found out that a qualified collective memory is in the making based on an objective perspective and a narrative language. One thing to note here is that the 32nd Gün Documentaries are a part of the traditional media and their research focuses on the political aspects in the construction of the collective media; whereas, this present study examines a digital medium and concentrates on the health-related aspects in this regard. It will hopefully yield similar finding on the collective memory, but related to the Covid-19 outbreak.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA), on the other hand, is both a method and a theory according to Norman Fairclough, who defines CDA as:

“Discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony”. (Fairclough, 2010, p. 418).

CDA has much to offer toward understanding discourse in media studies.

“Critical discourse analysis acknowledges the element of power in discourse and how language is used not only to create meaning, but also to create meaning that serves the interests of certain groups over others” (Sup Park, 2014, p. 51).

Discourse is related to power in that it is not a mere reflection of the reality, but a reconstruction of the reality from a certain perspective. In this sense, CDA yields the ideological aspects of the texts and also informs about the ownership of the media. For whom the media speaks up and whom it defends are of great importance in this regard. Who owns the media and controls it can be traced through CDA? Thus, this study draws on both CDA and content analysis, which are proved to be useful and productive in offering fruitful data, to identify the collective memory on coronavirus in Turkey in the making.

This study aims to retrospectively analyze the news reports related to the Covid-19 outbreak on the two different mainstream TV channels in Turkey on three different dates: March 11, 2020, April 11, 2020 and June 18, 2020. These three dates are of great significance as critical decisions and incidents were announced to the Turkish public on each of these dates. Until the first Covid-19 case declared on March 11, 2020 by the Ministry of Health, Turkey kept itself away from coronavirus. March 11, 2020 is also significant in that Covid-19 was also declared as a pandemic by the World Health Organization (the WHO) on this date. On the late evening of April 10, 2020, a curfew was declared in metropolitan cities on weekends and public holidays for the first time in Turkey. However, the curfew was applied as of April 11.

On June 18, 2020, wearing masks in public became mandatory for the first time in 3 major cities of Turkey. The way the media portrays and communicates these critical decisions is of utmost importance for the process of the Covid-19 outbreak and the perception of the public. Recognizing the significance of these specific dates, this study looks into the news narratives related to the Covid-19 outbreak on these dates.

As mentioned earlier, two different mainstream TV channels were selected for the analysis. These channels were selected through purposeful sampling method, which is:

“used in order to select facts, events and situations that have certain features and deeply discover and explain these situations” (Büyüköztürk et al., 2012, p. 90).

This method also allows for obtaining richer relevant data. Accordingly, Show Tv and Fox Tv, two different mainstream TV channels, were analyzed for this study, as their news bulletins were available and easily accessible online on each of the three specified dates. These channels also represent two different images: opposition and pro-government (Yanatma, 2021), respectively. They are among

“the most-rated privately owned nationwide general broadcasting TV channels” (Saka, 2019).

The news narratives related to the Covid-19 outbreak were examined; narratives are important sources that provide insights into the collective memory because:

“all memories of reconstructions of the past, and the essential form of collective memory is narrative” (Edy, 2006, p. 2).

To that end, this study draws on a mixed methodology that consists of content analysis, as a quantitative method, and critical discourse analysis, a qualitative methodology. As previously stated, content analysis is:

“a technique for examining the content or information and symbols contained in written documents or other communication media (e.g., photographs, movies, song lyrics, advertisements)” (W. Lawrence Neuman, 2013, p. 49).

CDA is a qualitative methodology that is useful and productive in media studies. It allows for critically analyzing news discourse and uncovering the opinions implied by the media.

These two methods complement each other and allow for a deeper analysis of the news narratives. First, content analysis yields the data required for critical discourse analysis and categorizes the headlines appeared in each news story on both channels on the specified three dates. Following this, the news stories are categorized by the time allocated, subject and tone (alarming, neutral or reassuring). An alarming report defines a situation in terms of risk or hazard (i.e., the Covid-19 pandemic causes fear or Corona cases have reached an alarming number) whereas a reassuring report focuses on the number of patients who recovered rather than who died, and downscopes the risk associated with the situation (i.e., the Covid-19 pandemic is like a flu). A combination or absence of both alarming and reassuring statements makes the tone neutral. Then, critical discourse analysis helps identifying what these narratives actually tell and rearticulate us about this pandemic. Based on this, this study investigates how the media communicates the details about the Covid-19 outbreak and to explore and perhaps predict how this dramatic pandemic will make its way into our collective memory.

1.5. Limitations

This study has certain limitations. As it is not possible to analyze the whole process dominated by the Covid-19 epidemic in Turkey, this study focuses only on the news stories only appeared on three different dates. Yet, as stated before, these dates marked important decisions regarding the management of the Covid-19 epidemic in Turkey; for this reason, they had the potential to reveal the findings intended under this study. Also, this study analyzes two channels and thus recognizes that these channels do not fully represent the Turkish media in relation to the coverage of the Covid-19 epidemic. Still, these channels are among the most popular channels in Turkey and represent two different images as opposition and pro-government. Their news bulletins are available online and accessible to everyone, and provide the rich data necessary to inform on the overall tone of the respective channels regarding the Covid-19 epidemic for the conduct of this study. This study also offers an in-depth analysis of these two channels on these three dates specified earlier to overcome the

representation challenge. In conclusion, I believe that this sample is successfully representative.

Further, it should be noted that the findings of this study will be only preliminary, considering that the outbreak is still affecting the whole world and the collective memory is still in the making. Also, the media currently continues to create a social reality on coronavirus. For all these reasons, only a retrospective perspective of future research towards the collective memory on coronavirus would yield significant insights. However, this study offers some preliminary findings that may inspire scholars to study the collective memory in this regard and represent a reference for research in the future. That said, this study merely constitutes a humble attempt towards the collective memory on coronavirus in Turkey.

1.6. Structure of the Study

Chapter 1 outlines this study. It starts off with introduction, research aim and objective and presents the research questions, importance of the study, methodology and limitations. Then, **Chapter 2** first offers an outlook on media and collective identity. It explores media on television as a mass medium and thus hopefully presents a background for the conduct of this study. It addresses the concept of collective memory and a new research area called media memory. Later on, it includes an overview of pandemics with a special focus on the Covid-19 outbreak. It explores pandemics communication in Turkey, recognizing how critical the coronavirus has been in Turkey since it first broke out. Then, it presents the methodology, data collection and analysis; it reviews the relevant literature on the Covid-19 outbreak and media in Turkish. Then, it offers the conceptual framework that includes the concept of collective memory, that of misinformation and of social reality.

The following chapter, **Chapter 3** presents the analysis part, including the content analysis and the critical discourse analysis of the news narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on March 11, 2020, April 11, 2020 and June 18, 2020. These narratives were transcribed from the news bulletins of these channels on the respective dates and translated into English. They were numbered as News 1, News 2 and so forth, for reference. It offers the content analysis of the news narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on March 11, 2020. It also presents the comparison of the two channels based on

these narratives. Similarly, it includes the content analysis of the news narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on April 11, 2020. And, it presents the content analysis of the news narratives on the channels on June 18, 2020. Lastly, it offers the critical discourse analysis of these news narratives. **Chapter 4** offers the conclusion along with findings and discussion. The findings are expected to reveal insights into the health communication in Turkey pertaining to the Covid-19 outbreak, maintained through television and social media and the role of the media in contributing to the collective memory of Turkish people in this process. This study concludes with some remarks for future research.



CHAPTER 2: MEDIA AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY

It is plausible to argue that media defines who we are, and we shape our identity based on what we consume through media. Media thus emerges as one of the main ways to represent people; as a result, media not only offers a representation of the identity of a group of people, but also contributes to the formation of such identity. In this way, media generates a group, or a collective identity.

In this regard, Benedict Anderson, in his book titled *Imagined Communities* (Anderson, 1983), explains how the concepts such as nation, nationality and nationalism are imagined; Anderson articulates that the members of every nation have an image of their communion, which is being shared through the print press. That is to say, he emphasizes the fact that such image is produced and it is produced by the print press – perhaps the most powerful medium at that time. This means that the relationship between media and collective identity is an established one. Media has been long used for representing groups and offering them an image of their collective identity.

Recognizing this relationship, Chapter 2 focuses on media, media memory, pandemics, with special attention to the Covid-19 outbreak, as well as collective memory. It explores media in relation to TV mass media. It looks into media memory and informs about the Covid-19 outbreak. Afterwards, this chapter presents information on pandemics communication in Turkey. It reviews the relevant literature in Turkish. Later on, it offers the conceptual framework, with the concept of collective memory, the concept of misinformation and the concept of social reality.

2.1. Media on Television as a Mass Medium

Considering that the dominance and omnipresence of the media in the 21st century is undisputable, television today appears to be a mass medium with a very wide range and reach. Among other mass media, television probably attracts the highest number of viewers, including the audience of all age groups, literate or illiterate. This makes television a potent way to influence a large number of people at the same time, given that mass media as a way for mass communication have a mass impact on the audience.

The images reflected by television or the representation of things by television is what shapes the ideas of people. That is, television as a mass medium is thus a powerful tool that can contribute to the perspectives of a group of people. From this standpoint, television both alters the current perspectives and presents a reference for the future. In a sense, as a medium that constantly broadcasts, television not only portrays the present time, but also offers a glimpse into the past for the future. In other words, television, like other forms of media, contributes to the history, even more, makes the history. The ‘facts or images disseminated by television are the elements that contribute to such history. These facts are then embedded into what is known as the history of a community. This community then relies on these mediated images to render its future. It is therefore clear that the television medium shapes how people recall certain incidents.

News bulletins need to be informative and capture public interest issues with an objective point of view. Therefore, the representation of the incidents in these bulletins needs further attention and reflection. News bulletins are of great importance not only because of this, but also because of the fact that the media portrayal of such incidents makes its way to the memory of the audience, in turn affecting how these incidents are to be remembered in the future. This is what underlines the concept of media memory, which is elaborated below.

2.2. Media Memory

Now, it is clear that media can also influence how people remember the past, but the question of how still remains. Understanding the concept of media memory requires the comprehension of the concept of collective memory. The concept of collective memory has been widely used as an interdisciplinary concept in many disciplines including social sciences, humanities, psychology, history and media studies and so forth. Given that collective memory contains images, judgments, beliefs, knowledge of the past distributed throughout society, the media is perhaps one of the most effective means to distribute such images, judgments, beliefs and knowledge across the world. Indeed,

“[w]hatever we know about the world, we know through media and independence on media. The images of the past which circulate in memory

culture are thus not extrinsic to media. They are media constructs". (Erll, 2011, p. 114).

It follows from that the collective memory is a media construct as well. Erll is a prominent scholar studying the relationship between the collective memory and media; in fact, with his book titled "Memory in Culture", Astrid Erll (2011) has greatly contributed to the literature on collective memory and media, building on the concept of collective memory developed by Halbwachs. Erll (2011, p. 130) explicitly revealed the role of media in relation to collective memory:

"Media frameworks of memory enable and shape the remembering and interpreting of different types of experience – both one's own and also second-hand accounts. Media representations already pre-form our perception and then re-shape our memories along certain paths".

Many scholars in memory studies have been interested in studying the importance of the media in shaping collective memory (e.g., Vilenchik, Tsfaty, and Meyers, 2014; FATHER., 2008; Olick and Robbins, 1998).

Another scholar who devoted most of his time to the study of collective memory is (Olick, 1998; Olick 1999; Olick, 2006). Making a theoretical contribution to memory studies, Olick (1999) differentiates between what he calls a 'collected' memory and a 'collective memory'. This distinction is perhaps of key importance for this present study. According to Olick (1999, p. 338), while the former refers to

"the aggregated individual memories of members of a group",

the latter is characterized by

"collective phenomena sui generis" (Olick, 1999, p. 333).

Quite simply, collective memory is:

"central faculty of our being in time; it is the negotiation of past and present through which we define our individual and collective selves" (Olick, 2003, p. 15).

While we define our individual and collective selves, we are highly affected by the media. That is to say, the media, as the principal means by which most people learn about what is happening around the world, is the key agent in contributing to the collective memory, more clearly, in making "memories". The media has the power to inscribe a particular event in a particular way in the collective consciousness. It is the

media which decides who and what is remembered and which narratives are told. Tragic and devastating incidents such as wars, uprisings, genocides and holocausts offer a rich study area for scholars interested in studying what different kinds of media tell us about the same incident. In this regard, Young (2008) delved into the holocaust memorials in the survivors' diaries and attempted to discover how these memorials were constructed and what they focused on. Acknowledging that memories of the Holocaust were not innocently constructed, Young argued that these memories:

“are neither benign nor irrelevant, but suggest themselves as the basis for political and communal action” (2008, p. 363).

Before going further on the relationship between the media and collective memory, it is perhaps worth mentioning the research by Barbie Zelizer (1995, p. 214), who defined collective memory as:

“recollections of the past that are determined and shaped by the group”.

Her major contribution to the discussion on collective memory is the attempts to determine the characteristics of collective memory; Zelizer (1995) identified six major characteristics of collective memory: processual, unpredictable, usable, particular and universal, material, and partial. She particularly emphasized the ever-changing nature of collective memory and explained why collective memory is important as

“unlike individual memory, collective memory can increase with time, taking on new complications, nuances and interests” (Zelizer, 1995, p. 217).

A recent publication by Zelizer (2017) analyzed how the media events covered the so-called war on terror by using the concept of collective memory. One of the most notable research projects on collective memory was conducted by Jill Edy (2006), who offered a critical discussion on how a nation's collective memory is created as well as on the factors that influence its form and content. In doing this, Edy used two case studies, one of which is the 1965 Watts riots and the other is the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago. In this way, he presents a useful source for guidance to further studies in the field.

Now that the relationship between the media and the collective memory is evident, as argued by a vast literature, it is noteworthy to mention a relatively new research area pioneered by the concept of media memory. Media memory refers to

“the systematic exploration of collective pasts that are narrated by the media, through the use of the media, about the media”.

Recently, much scholarly attention has been paid to media memory studies; prominent scholars such as Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers and Eyal Zandberg (2011), Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers and Eyal Zandberg (2012) and Motti Neiger, Oren Meyers and Eyal Zandberg (2014) greatly contributed to the field. A recent contribution by Neiger (2020) helps disentangling the concept of media memory and providing important insights into media memory research. In general, the notion of media memory opened a new horizon in memory studies and introduced new terms such as mediated space and mediated memory. Emphasizing the central function of media in production, media memory presents a conceptual framework for this study, where news narratives related to the Covid-19 outbreak are analyzed.

In what follows is a short discussion of the Covid-19 outbreak in relation to collective memory, which seeks to offer some useful context for this study.

2.3. The Covid-19 Outbreak

The Covid-19 outbreak was declared as a global pandemic on March 11, 2020 by the World Health Organization (WHO)². To slow down its spread, travel restrictions, curfews have been imposed around the world. Measures such as social distancing and self-isolation have been taken; the Covid-19 outbreak has led to not only organ failure and death, but also psychological problems among those who are not affected, such as fear of confrontation with infection. Its effects on economy, social relations, tourism, food and beverage industry are dramatic as well. These being said, coronavirus and its effects certainly offer an interesting area of research for many scholars around the world, not only those in the health departments, but also those interested in economy, sociology, psychology, tourism, and media studies, to name a few. As it has changed our social practices, relations with others, work culture, education system, as well as the way we communicate with the world.

Pandemics have always had a huge impact on the world and it today seems that we will always remember the Covid-19 outbreak. However, not all pandemics have achieved to make their way into the collective memory. Alfred W. Crosby (2013) claims that the 1918 influenza pandemic affected about a third of the population

² World Health Organization. (2020). [Online]. Available at: <https://www.who.int/emergencies/diseases/novel-coronavirus-2019>, (Accessed: 10 November 2020).

worldwide, killing over 100 million people, but has been rarely mentioned afterwards. In this regard, Adriana de Souza e Silva and Mai Nou Xiong-Gum (2023) highlights that

“although our history with pandemics is long, our collective memory of pandemics is short”.

Indeed, to analyze the pandemic memory in Australia and New Zealand regarding the Covid-19 crisis, Claire Brennan and Patrick Hodgson (2021) first review our memory of previous pandemics and report that

“While the 1918-1920 influenza pandemic left few memorials, polio’s only memorials in New Zealand and Australia are in the form of permanent damage done to some survivors and in the memories of family members” (Brennan and Hodgson, 2021, p. 10).

It is impossible to ascertain whether the Covid-19 pandemic will be part of the collective memory, as it still affects the whole world. Yet, it is possible to predict how it will be remembered to some extent and how the media wants it to be remembered.

Both previous pandemics including the 1918 influenza (Davis, 2011), and diseases have been previously studied in relation to media and collective memory; in fact, Elena Conis and Sarah Hoenicke (2021) probed into the relationship between measles, media and collective memory; they found out that journalists considerably shape public understanding of measles’ past. Playing probably the greatest role in framing diseases and epidemics and thus shaping the collective memory, the media offers extremely important perspectives towards how the Covid-19 outbreak will be remembered. This discussion also provides a perspective towards communication, emphasizing the importance of communication in pandemics, which is discussed below.

2.4. Pandemics Communication in Turkey

In the face of the changes urged by the Covid-19 epidemic, societies need to adapt themselves to this new pandemic world, and communication has become more and more important, not only to ensure the adaptation, but also to inform people in order to slow down the spread of the outbreak, to reduce the fear of death or infection among them and consequently to minimize the effects of the pandemic in the long-term. That is to say, the Covid-19 outbreak has been not only a health crisis, but also a public communication crisis creating an ‘information gap’ that needs to be filled. When such

gap is not filled, this may increase fear and uncertainty associated with the virus in the public. As new health policies, restrictions as well as perception management, all of these, are achieved through efficient communication. On the contrary, poorly-managed communication may lead to increased fear, panic or reactions among people. In this sense, the media plays a key role in ensuring efficient communication based on correct and reliable information. Yet, in this constant information flow, it is challenging for the media to differentiate between what is correct or incorrect. This results in massive misinformation and/or disinformation among the society. Indeed, Su et al., (2021, p. 3) revealed that

“[a]nalysis of a sample of 38 million media reports from January 1 to May 25, 2020 shows that a staggering of 84% of misinformation distributed by legacy media was neither challenged or fact-checked before they reached the public, effectively exposing countless number of people to misinformation, such as “miracle cures” or the “Democratic Party hoax,” that could result in substantial human and economic consequences”.

Misinformation is a real threat in the case of the Covid-19 outbreak, as misinformation spread in this process not only shape the perspective of the public today, but also add to the collective memory regarding the pandemic. This once again underlies the pivotal role of the media in helping shape the collective memory in such a critic period. Although there has been only 9 months since the beginning of the outbreak, scholarly attention in memory studies has already focused on the Covid-19 outbreak. Scholars have been studying the new dynamics caused by the Covid-19; pioneering research in memory studies has been recently conducted by Erll (2020a), who presented the role of collective memory before, during and after coronavirus. His study offers interesting and inspiring insights into the collective memory on the pandemics in the past and suggests concepts to study the Covid-19 pandemic. Nonetheless, there has been no other study in the field that draws on memory studies pertaining to the Covid-19 pandemic. Now for getting to the heart of the matter, it is perhaps necessary to outline the past of Turkey in relation to pandemics and to shortly mention about the role of the media in health communication in this process. Turkey does not have a vast experience with outbreaks and epidemics. The last pandemic experienced by the country was the 1912 Cholera pandemic, which mostly affected the city of Istanbul with a population of 700 thousand people back then. Turkey, now

with a population of 82 million people, has been greatly suffering from the effects of this pandemic. It is reasonable to say that Turkish people have recently become familiar with the notions such as social distancing, curfew, lockdown, so on.

In Turkey, the first case was announced on March 11, 2020; education and training were suspended on March 12, and the first death occurred on March 15. The rapid increase of the cases in Turkey led to various travel and gathering restrictions as well as occasional lockdowns. As of March 22, a curfew was applied for citizens aged 65 and over. On April 11, 2020, a curfew was applied for the first time in Turkey. But the announcement of this curfew was made late in the evening on April 10, 2020, which caught the public off guard and was thus heavily criticized. It is within this context that this curfew was quite controversial for Turkey. Thus, against such background, it has been more critical for Turkey to manage an effective communication with the public.

Probing into the communication strategy of the government during the Covid-19 outbreak in Turkey, Avşar et al., (2021, p. 130) concluded that

“[t]he Turkish Government’s primary goal was to prevent the social panic and to increase reliability by communication activities, public declarations and statements”.

In this process, the Turkish Ministry of Health daily announced on the number of confirmed cases on its official website whilst the Minister of Health Fahrettin Koca used his official Twitter account to warn the citizens, to communicate new restrictions or lockdowns as well as to update the citizens about the recent developments. The Ministry of Health also launched a mobile application (Hayat Eve Sığar) that shows places potentially affected by the disease and created a Twitter hashtag of #evdekal (#stayathome) as part of a campaign. Finding the health communication of the Ministry of Health on the Covid-19 outbreak in Turkey successful, Giray Saynur Derman (2020, p. 110) reported that:

“Ministry of Health had used many different tools of media and this multimodal approach in health communication was a well appreciated triumph. The continuous warnings of the Ministry had an impressive role in the public perception about the solemnity of the disease. Successfully pursued health communication policies increased the reputation of the Ministry of Health”.

Now back to the chronology of the Covid-19 outbreak in Turkey, during the summer of 2020, with the new phase called “controlled social life” and “normalization process” by the Minister, the restrictions were loosened. However, with the advent of the winter, the cases started increasing again, which caused various restrictions including the closing of restaurants, cafes, movie theaters, shopping malls between certain hours. Television and social media have been the main means for the government officials and the Minister of Health to communicate details on the Covid-19 outbreak. Turkish people are returning to television or social media to learn about the recent developments on the Covid-19 outbreak. That is to say, health communication during the Covid-19 outbreak has been mainly through television and social media. And, this study, which analyzes the television medium within such context, will hopefully fill the gap in the relevant literature. The literature on the Covid-19 epidemic and media in Turkish is provided in the following section.

2.5. Literature about Turkey

Given that the Covid-19 epidemic is a recent pandemic, the relevant literature on media and the Covid-19 epidemic in Turkey has been scarce. While most studies focus on social media in relation to the epidemic, few investigate the television medium in this regard.

Konakci, Ozgursoy-Uran and Erkin (2020) examine the alternative and complementary treatments for the Covid-19 in the Turkish news based on 160 news articles on the three highest-circulating newspapers across Turkey, and find out that the news did not have a scientific basis and were thus open to any misinterpretation among the public. They further conclude that the experts also had different opinions about the alternative and complementary treatments proposed in these articles. Further, Geçer, Yıldırım and Akgül (2020) attempt to identify how and where Turkish people seek information during the Covid-19 epidemic and draw on an online survey to investigate the most popular sources of information. They reveal that the Internet journalism and social media have been the most preferable source of information among the Turkish public.

In another study, Turancan Şirvanlı (2021) takes a political stance towards the representation of the Covid-19 epidemic in Turkey and analyzes how the two newspapers that can be considered as mainstream and alternative media frame their

news about the Covid-19 epidemic. Importantly, Şirvanlı (2021) underlines that the news on the Covid-19 epidemic varied on the axis of “the irresponsibility of the citizens” and “the inadequacy of state officials”. More relevantly, Asuman Kutlu (2020) studies the Turkish online media coverage of the Covid-19 in two different time spans based on the framing theory. Her study concludes with considerably different findings; for instance, Kutlu highlights that the reassurance frame was rarely used in the first-time span whilst this frame dominated the media coverage after the first case announced in Turkey. Yet, the economic consequences frame was equally used in both time spans.

Also, Selman Selim Akyüz (2020) examines fake news circulated during the Covid-19 epidemic in Turkey and considers this epidemic as a misinformation outbreak. Akyüz performs a content analysis and finds out that misinformation is mostly about the properties, effects and treatment of the coronavirus.

As it is obvious from the literature review, there has been no study on the main news bulletins on the Covid-19 epidemic in Turkey. Thus, this study seeks to fill the gap and to provide preliminary findings on the news reports related to the Covid-19 epidemic in Turkey and on the way the collective memory is contributed by the media. The following section presents the conceptual framework that this study utilizes.

2.6. Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this study consists of the concepts of collective memory, misinformation and social reality. It explores the concept of collective memory, addresses the concept of misinformation and focuses on social reality, respectively.

2.6.1. Collective Memory

The concept of collective memory has been conceptualized in various ways in the literature. To fully comprehend this concept, it is necessary to trace back to the works of Maurice Halbwachs, a French philosopher and sociologist. Collective memory is an interdisciplinary concept, first coined by Hugo Van Hofmannsthal in 1902 (Olick and Robbins, 1998), but Maurice Halbwachs (1925) is considered the father of collective memory research. Yet, as Nicolas Russell (2006) also explained, the concept of collective memory did not emerge with Halbwachs and there are various references to memories attributed to groups in the French texts that date back to the period before

the 20th century. Halbwachs followed the footsteps of his mentor David Émile Durkheim, who coined the concept of collective consciousness. What's more, Halbwachs was also inspired by another important figure, philosopher Henri Bergson (Olick, Seroussi, and Levy 2011). Bergson had a critical perspective on the concept of memory in general, rejecting objective accounts of memory and acknowledging remembering is an active engagement. The variability of memory was something that attracted the attention of Halbwachs. These two figures helped Halbwachs to deal with the notion of collective memory as Halbwachs became interested with collective memory thanks to the problematization of Bergson and studied it through the sociological lens offered by Durkheim, who was famous for his theory of collective representations. Durkheim's collective representations are closely related to collective memory as his theory implies that knowledge exists over and above any member of the society. It supersedes his early notion of collective consciousness, which simply means that there is a set of shared ideas, beliefs and ethics which serve as a unifying force within a society. This sociological perspective towards memory was what inspired Halbwachs to elaborate on this concept.

Halbwachs defined collective memory as:

“a current of continuous thought whose continuity is not at all artificial, for it retains from the past only what still lives or is capable of living in the consciousness of groups keeping the memory alive” (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 11).

Also, in his study titled “On Collective Memory” (Halbwachs, 1992) where he offered important insights into the notion of collective memory, Halbwachs explains how collective memory is formed and states that:

“the mind reconstructs its memories under the pressures of society” (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 51).

He further argues that one of the ways where memory functions in the society is that memories can gather people with similar memories. He thus suggests that:

“The collective memory is the group seen... It provides the group a self-portrait that unfolds through time, since it is an image of the past and allows the group to recognize itself through the total succession of images” (Halbwachs, 1980, p. 86).

It is clear that collective memory is a social construction for Halbwachs; this makes it ‘constructed.’ Such construction is of course different for, say, each nation.

For example, Americans have different renderings of the past than Germans; they differently remember World War II. These renderings contribute to the way they regard themselves as a nation in the world.

On the other hand, Halbwachs did not deny the existence of an individual memory, but insisted on his claim that even individual memory is shaped by the society; in fact, in his work entitled “The Social Frameworks of Memory” (*Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*), Halbwachs articulated that:

“I do not need to seek out where the memories are, where they are kept, in my brain, or in some corner of my mind to which only I would have access, because they are recalled to me from outside, and because the groups to which I belong continuously offer me the means to reconstruct them” (Frates, 2002, p. 9).

Thus, Halbwachs emphasized the memory as the social, collective construct. It is clear that collective memory is constantly in the making because social groups build their images of the world by shaping and reshaping the past. The past is a premise on which the future is constructed. To understand the reason why the past becomes a focus of the news, the 1989 article titled “Collective Memory and the News” published by Lang and Lang (1989) examined the journalistic use of the past and the collective memory. They concluded that:

“References to the past in news that is reputedly up-to-date are used as semantic markers – to make connections, to fit an event into a category, and to suggest certain inferences” (Lang and Lang, 1989, p. 126).

Their study also contributed to Halbwachs’ works on the concept of collective memory. They identified two complementary ways where events shape collective memory, which are direct experience and mediation. They further argued that:

“One produces memories through the direct impact of the experience. With time and as these personal recollections fade, the second takes over. The more remote the event the more will memory of it be based on mediation” (Lang and Lang, 1989, p. 132).

On Halbwach’s conceptualization of collective memory, the German cultural scientists Jan and Aleida Assman (Assmann, A. and Assmann, J., 1994, p. 114-115) identified two types of social references made to the past: communicative memory and cultural memory. Communicative memory refers to the memory of certain

generations, that is, the short-term memory of people whereas cultural memory is defined as memory shared by a number of people, the long-term memory, conveying them a cultural identity. In this way, Assmann and Assmann (1994) further elaborated on Halbwach's conceptualization of collective memory and claimed that only when codified by media, communicative memory can be evolved into cultural memory, i.e., the short-term memory can be evolved in the long-term memory.

Victor Roudometof (2002) is another scholar who studied the concept of collective memory; he claimed that the collective memory of a society is part of its cultural heritage and traditions and the set of symbols used to produce elements of social unity and cultural harmony. According to him, historical events in different societies serve to reproduce a number of collective representations. These are collective representations that determine how people of today make sense of their identity, their relationship to the past and their country. Like many other academics working on this subject, Roudometof emphasized the role of national holidays, public speeches, articles in the popular press, documentaries, pictures, sculptures and a wide variety of media products in the uniformization and reproduction of collective memory.

Pierre Nora (1989) a scholar with pioneering studies in the field of collective memory, focused on the relationship between history and memory. According to Nora, although there is an interaction between memory and history, these two have completely different characteristics. Memory relates to living societies, is in a continuous evolution; dialectic is open to acts of forgetting and remembering, is susceptible to manipulation and appropriation by one of the parties.

"History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. Memory is a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present; history is a representation of the past".

According to Nora, memory, just as Halbwachs put it, is insensitive to everyone except the group that binds it, "history belongs to everyone and to no one at the same time", which claims a universal authority.

Indeed, with the concept of collective memory, Halbwachs opened up a rich and fruitful study area for a number of disciplines and scholars including historians and social scientists and even pathed the way for memory studies. Erll is a prominent scholar studying the relationship between the collective memory and media; in fact,

with his book titled *Memory in Culture*, Erlil (2011a and 2011b) has greatly contributed to the literature on collective memory and media, building on the concept of collective memory developed by Halbwachs.

It is notable that collective memory features a variety of aspects that need further consideration. It is

“a metaphor that formulates society’s retention and loss of information about its past in the familiar terms of individual remembering and forgetting” (Schwartz, 1991, p. 302).

Yet, in broader terms, collective memory has five characteristics, which can be summarized as follows (Neiger, Meyers and Zandberg, 2011, p. 4-5):

- i. Collective memory is a socio-political construct; that is, it is a version of the past. This version is selected to be recalled by a specific community.
- ii. The construction of collective memory is a continuous, multi-directional process. It is also dynamic characterized by a movement from the present to the past and vice versa.
- iii. Collective memory is functional. It is used by social groups to define themselves in comparison to the other.
- iv. Collective memory must be concretized. It is an abstract concept and needs to be materialized through physical structures and cultural artifacts.
- v. Collective memory is narrational. Memory must have a narrative structure, such as a storyline with a beginning, developing events and an ending.

This study draws on the concept of collective memory in light of these five characteristics. The following sections will focus on the notion of misinformation as well as social reality.

2.6.2. Misinformation

Misinformation can be simply defined as the sharing of false information without deliberate manice. Yet, misinformation is more complex than that; Wardle and Derakhshan (2017) differentiate between misinformation, mal-information and dis-information, which they call as three types of information disorder.

Misinformation is defined as:

“information that is false, but not created with the intention of causing harm”

whereas mal-information is:

“information, that is based on reality, used to inflict harm on a person, organization or country”.

Dis-information, on the other hand, is described as:

“information that is false and deliberately created to harm a person, social group, organization or country” (Wardle and Derakhshan, 2017, p. 9).

Misinformation in news stories may cause more serious consequences for the public and may lead to stereotypes that are hard to break. When combined with a health-related phenomenon treating the whole world such as the Covid-19 pandemic, misinformation leads to confusion among the society. In the context of health, misinformation becomes more complex and critical. In the case of the Covid-19 outbreak, health misinformation is an urgent threat that must be combatted. Otherwise, it may cost people’s lives or health status. Indeed, Luk et al., (2020) investigating misinformation that smoking/alcohol drinking can protect against Covid-19, find that it leads to an increase in tobacco and alcohol consumption among Chinese during the pandemic. Given the potential effects of misinformation amidst a global health threat, all major players responsible for providing correct information, such as the government, the Ministry of Health, health care providers, the NGOs, as well as the media as the watchdog of the society need to work towards eliminating misinformation. The media must, particularly, prioritize avoiding misinformation and distorting the facts about coronavirus, especially at the outbreak of a pandemic, when there are still unanswered questions by science.

2.6.3. Social Reality

Social reality, on the other hand, can be described as a reality constructed by social interactions and connections between people or simply a social representation of reality. The relationship between the media and social reality has been long known; while the media portray what exists, it also affects social reality. This results in the media-constructed social reality, that is, the social reality framed by the media. Social reality is manipulated and distorted by the media. The narration of a certain phenomenon by the media affects its perception in the society, namely, social reality. That is, how people experience a phenomenon is also shaped by the media. On this relationship between social reality and the media, Dimpleby (1992, p. 161-162) states that:

“But also the media, in particular, shape society through their ability to mass produce messages. If we think that we are a ‘modern and affluent society’, for instance, then that view is partly a result of what the media show us. In this way, the media help invent our view of the world, of ourselves, of our whole society”.

That is, through such social reality, the media influences the public and their perception based on the information it presents. In this sense, whether the media communicates correct information or misinformation, becomes significant as it determines if the media-constructed social reality is shaped based on correct information or misinformation. As a result, today’s social reality contributes to the future collective memory. That is to say, these three concepts are inter-related and complement each other. They also provide a medium that allows for analyzing the news narratives thoroughly.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS

Chapter 3 presents the analysis part, including the content analysis and the critical discourse analysis of the news narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on March 11, 2020, April 11, 2020 and June 18, 2020. These narratives were transcribed from the news bulletins of these channels on the respective dates and translated into English. They were numbered as News 1, News 2 and so forth, for reference. **Section 3.1.** offers the content analysis of the news narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on March 11, 2020. It also presents the comparison of the two channels based on these narratives. Similarly, **Section 3.2.** includes the content analysis of the news narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on April 11, 2020. And, **Section 3.3.** presents the content analysis of the news narratives on the channels on June 18, 2020. Lastly, **Section 3.4.** offers the critical discourse analysis of these news narratives.

3.1. Content Analysis

3.1.1. Analysis of the News Narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on March 11, 2020

Table 1 below shows the content analysis of the news narratives on the news bulletin of Show TV on March 11, 2020. The news narratives are categorized into time, subject and tone.

Table 1. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of ShowTV on March11,2020
(Source: YouTube, 2020)

March 11, 2020	Turkish	English	Time	Subject	Tone
Introduction	Koronavirüs Türkiye’de	Coronavirus is in Turkey	00:00:13 - 00:00:35		
News 1	Türkiye’de ilk koronavirüs vakası	The first coronavirus case in Turkey	00:00:38 - 00:02:07	Health	Neutral

	<p>Sağlık bakanı böyle duyurdu</p> <p>“Virüsü Avrupa’dan aldı”</p> <p>Ailesi ve yakınları da izole edildi</p> <p>Hastanın yaşadığı şehir bile açıklanmadı</p> <p>“Koronavirüs tedbirlerden daha güçlü değil”</p>	<p>Announced by the health minister</p> <p>"The patient is infected with the virus in Europe"</p> <p>His family and relatives are also isolated</p> <p>The minister did not announce the city where the patient lives</p> <p>“The coronavirus is not stronger than measures”</p>			
News 2	<p>“Önümüzdeki iki ay kritik”</p> <p>Bakanlar korona önlemlerini konuştu</p> <p>“Okulların tatil edilmesi gündeme gelmedi”</p> <p>Gıda fiyat artışlarına müdahale</p>	<p>“The next two months are critical”</p> <p>The ministers discussed corona measures</p> <p>“Closing schools was not on the agenda.”</p> <p>Intervention to increase in</p>	00:02:11 - 00:03:58	Educational, Food and Tourism	Neutral

	<p>yolda</p> <p>Turizmde</p> <p>sezon geç</p> <p>açılacak!</p> <p>“Sabah</p> <p>muayenede</p> <p>durumu</p> <p>iyiydi”</p> <p>Cumhurbaşka</p> <p>nı korona</p> <p>toplantısı</p> <p>yapacak</p>	<p>food prices is</p> <p>on the way</p> <p>Tourism</p> <p>season</p> <p>expected to</p> <p>start late!</p> <p>“The patient</p> <p>was fine in the</p> <p>examination</p> <p>earlier today”</p> <p>The president</p> <p>to hold a</p> <p>corona</p> <p>meeting</p>			
News 3	<p>“Virüs</p> <p>tedbirlerimizd</p> <p>en kuvvetli</p> <p>değil”</p> <p>“Sözlerini</p> <p>tutmazlarsa</p> <p>daha ağır</p> <p>gideceğiz”</p> <p>Kılıçdaroğlu’</p> <p>na sert tepki</p> <p>“Cahil değil</p> <p>densiz biri”</p> <p>“Nazilerin</p> <p>yaptığından</p> <p>farkı yok”</p>	<p>“The virus is</p> <p>not stronger</p> <p>than our</p> <p>measures”</p> <p>“If they do not</p> <p>keep their</p> <p>promises, we</p> <p>will be</p> <p>harsher”</p> <p>A harsh</p> <p>reaction to</p> <p>Kılıçdaroğlu</p> <p>“He is not</p> <p>ignorant, but</p> <p>impertinent”</p> <p>“This is no</p> <p>different than</p> <p>what the Nazis</p> <p>did”</p>	00:04:00 - 00:06:35	Politics	Reassuri ng

News 4	<p>Chp'den Meclis'te kapalı grup toplantısı</p> <p>“Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu sınırda bekliyor!”</p> <p>Engin Altay eleştirilere yanıt verdi</p> <p>Erdoğan'ın sözlerine CHP'den jet yanıt!</p> <p>“Kılıçdaroğlu da bu ülkenin evladı!”</p>	<p>CHP's closed group meeting in the Parliament</p> <p>“Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu is waiting at the border!”</p> <p>Engin Altay responded to the criticisms</p> <p>CHP's jet response to Erdogan's statements</p> <p>“Kılıçdaroğlu is also the child of this country!”</p>	<p>00:06:50</p> <p>-</p> <p>00:07:54</p>	Politics	Neutral
News 5	<p>Siyasette “Gönül Selamı” dönemi!</p> <p>Meclis'te termal kameralı önlem!</p> <p>Meclis'te koronavirüs önlemleri</p> <p>“Ziyaretçi sınırlamasına gidilebilir”</p>	<p>“Hands-free Greetings” in Politics!</p> <p>Measures with thermal cameras in the Assembly!</p> <p>Coronavirus measures in the Parliament</p> <p>“Number of visitors may be restricted”</p> <p>CHP may</p>	<p>00:07:58</p> <p>-</p> <p>00:10:00</p>	Politics	Neutral

	CHP’de kurultay’ın ertelenmesi gündemde	postpone its congress			
News 6	Toplu taşıma araçlarında ‘korona’ endişesi Diken üstünde yolculuk! Eldiven, maske, dezenfektan! Yolculardan maske ve eldivenli önlem Toplu taşıma araçlarını kullananlar dikkat! Her seferden sonra dezenfekte ediliyor	Corona' concern in public transport Transportation on pins and needles! Gloves, masks, disinfectants! Passengers' measure: mask and gloves Attention to those using public transport! Busses disinfected after each ride	00:10:07 - 00:12:35	Transportation	Neutral
News 7	Başkent’te korona temizliği!	Corona disinfection in Ankara!	00:12:40 - 00:14:21	Transportation	Reassuring

	<p>Kuru buhar yöntemiyle dezenfekte!</p> <p>Otobüs...</p> <p>Dolmuş...</p> <p>Metro...</p> <p>Bakteri yoğunluğu azaldı</p>	<p>Disinfection through the dry steam method!</p> <p>Bus...</p> <p>Minibus...</p> <p>Subway...</p> <p>Bacteria density decreased</p>			
News 8	<p>Ölümcül kabus hızla yayılıyor!</p> <p>Dünyayı esir aldı: 4 bin 373 ölü!</p> <p>İtalya'da kırmızı alarm!</p> <p>İtalya'da ölü sayısı 631'e yükseldi!</p> <p>Türk üniversite öğrencisi İtalya'yı anlattı!</p> <p>İran'da bir günde 63 ölüm!</p> <p>İran Cumhurbaşkanı maske takmadı!</p>	<p>The deadly nightmare spreads quickly!</p> <p>Virus captured the world: 4,373 deaths</p> <p>Red alarm in Italy!</p> <p>The death toll in Italy increased to 631!</p> <p>Turkish university student gave info on Italy!</p> <p>63 deaths in one day in Iran!</p> <p>The President of Iran did not wear a mask!</p>	<p>00:14:25</p> <p>-</p> <p>00:16:38</p>	<p>World Agenda</p>	<p>Alarmin g</p>

	<p>İran Bakanlar Kurulu'nda maskeli önlem!</p> <p>Ölümcül kabus İngiliz Bakanı da buldu!</p> <p>Belçikalı gencin sorumsuzluğu !</p> <p>Marketlere akın ettiler!</p>	<p>The Council of Ministers in Iran wore mask for precautionary purposes!</p> <p>The deadly nightmare infected the British Minister too!</p> <p>Irresponsible act of a Belgian teenager!</p> <p>People flocked to the markets!</p>			
News 9	<p>İşte Koronavirüsün belirtileri!</p> <p>Yüksek ateş, öksürük, boğaz kuruluğu!</p> <p>Paniğe gerek yok ama tedbir şart!</p> <p>Erken teşhis hayat kurtarır!</p> <p>Yurt dışına çıkanlara karantina!</p>	<p>The symptoms of the coronavirus!</p> <p>High fever, cough, dry throat!</p> <p>No need to panic, but precaution is a must!</p> <p>Early diagnosis saves lives!</p> <p>Quarantine for those who go abroad!</p>	00:16:55 - 00:19:34	Symptoms	Reassuring

	14 gün ev karantinası!	14 days home quarantine!			
News 10	Koronavirüse karşı stok savaşı! Stok yapacağız derken stokları tükettik! İşte bu da kolonya, maske kuyruğu! 5 dakikada 2 kolonya satılıyor! Koronavirüse karşı makarna, bulgur! Yiyecek stoklamaya başladılar	Stock wars against coronavirus! We were going to stock up, but exhausted the stocks! Queue for cologne and masks! 2 colognes sold in 5 minutes! Pasta and bulgur against coronavirus! Stocking up on food	00:19:40 - 00:22:13	Shoppin g	Alarmin g
News 11	Show haber alışveriş çılgınlığını görüntüledi Dev marketlerde korona çılgınlığı	Show News recorded the shopping spree! Corona craze in supermarkets! Shelves go	00:22:54 - 00:25:40	Shoppin g	Alarmin g

	<p>Raflar bir bir doldu, bir boşaldı</p> <p>Gross market dakikalar içinde boşaldı</p> <p>Kasa kuyruklarının ucu görülmedi</p> <p>Temel gıda ve kozmetik ürünleri yetişmedi</p>	<p>empty in the blinking of an eye</p> <p>Gross markets went empty within minutes</p> <p>Long queues of people</p> <p>Demand cannot be met for essential foods and cosmetic products</p>			
News 12	<p>Okul binaları, sınıflar hijyenik mi? Velilerde ‘Korona’ endişesi ‘Okullar tatil edilsin’ çağrısı Çocuklara ‘hijyen tembihi’ Bazı özel okullar eğitime ara verdi Kuruldan ‘tatil’ kararı çıkmadı! Salgının</p>	<p>Are school buildings, classrooms hygienic? ‘Corona’ concerns among parents Call for ‘closing schools temporarily’ ‘Admonition for hygiene’ to children Some private schools suspended education The Council</p>	00:25:47 - 00:27:37	Educational	Neutral

	seyrine göre karar verilecek	did not decide to close down! Decision to be made depending on the epidemic			
News 13	Korona Türkiye’yi korkuttu İlk vaka duyuruldu, endişe arttı Öpüşmüyor, tokalaşmıyor, selamlaşmıyor uz Koronavirüs paniği başladı Ellerde eldiven, yüzlerde maske!	Fear prevails amid Turkey’s coronavirus epidemic The first case announced, raising concerns People avoid kissing, shaking hands and greetings Coronavirus panic emerged Gloves and masks worn!	00:27:47 - 00:30:02	Preventi on	Alarmin g
News 14	Koronavirüste n nasıl korunmalıyız? 20 saniye elinizi yıkayın Elinizi kolonyayla temizleyin Nasıl önlem almalıyız?	How to protect ourselves against coronavirus? Wash your hands for 20 seconds Clean your hands with cologne	00:30:03 - 00:32:00	Preventi on	Reassuri ng

	Dezenfektanla elinizi temizleyin	What measures should we take? Clean your hands with disinfectant			
News 15	En önemli maske bağışıklık sistemi! Bol bol çiğ sarımsak ve soğan tüketin! İşte koronavirüs kalkamı kür tarifi Şalgam önemli bir antiviral Zeytinyağında n şaşmayın Kuşburnu c vitamini deposu Ceviz mucizesi Zerdeçal ve zencefil antiviral Brokoliyi çiğ tüketin Tencere yemeği yiyin!	The most important mask is the immune system! Eat plenty of raw garlic and onions! Here is the cure recipe for protection against coronavirus Turnip is an essential antiviral Stick to olive oil Rosehip is rich in vitamin C Miracle of chestnuts Turmeric and ginger are antiviral Consume raw	00:32:20 - 00:34:37	Preventi on	Neutral

	Fast food gıda değil çöp!	broccoli Eat stew! Fast food is rubbish, not food!			
	Koronavirüse karşı kalkan!	Shield against coronavirus!			

Show TV presented a total of 15 news related to coronavirus, allocating most of its prime-time news to coronavirus, except for News 4 and 5, during a total time of 49 minutes. This implies that Show TV has the priority to offer information on this new virus to the public. Excluding News 4 and 5, a total of 3 news had a reassuring tone whilst 4 was alarming and the rest 6 were neutral.

News 1 is particularly important as it gets the greatest attention and shapes the initial perception on the Covid-19 process. News 1 on Show TV is about the first patient announced in Turkey with a direct quotation from the Minister of Health Fahrettin Koca saying: “The patient is infected with the virus in Europe”. Show TV featured Koca’s statements in its News 1, eliminating the risk of misinformation and presenting him a reliable source in health communication.

News 2 is more about an overview of the developments that took place with the Covid-19 epidemic in the country. It offers information on tourism sector, food sector, education, and so forth. Yet, it is notable that although each of this sector could be presented as a news story on its own, Show TV preferred presenting them in a single news with limited information and leaving many questions unanswered. The lack of details on such a news story, which probably interests the public most, increases the uncertainty among the public.

News 3 starts with a quotation from the president Erdoğan, saying: “The virus is not stronger than our measures”, which is a reassuring statement, then abruptly changes the topic of the news to the politics in Turkey. The rest of the News 3 and News 4 focuses on Erdoğan’s statements on the opposition party CHP and its leader Kılıçdaroğlu as well as CHP’s responses to Erdoğan. Although these political debates have nothing to do with coronavirus, Show TV covered them as its 3rd and 4th news stories. This abrupt interruption in the flow of information from a reassuring statement by Erdoğan on the Covid-19 outbreak seems to aim to make a political propaganda.

That is, while the beginning of the news story attracts the attention of the audience, as it is about the Covid-19 outbreak, the rest of it is political. Show TV, further prioritizing what measures the politicians, rather than the public or health authorities, took and do to protect from coronavirus, presented the information that Erdoğan uses “hands-free greetings” now as well as other coronavirus measures in the parliament.

The next story, News 6, albeit late, is on coronavirus concerns regarding the public transportation. It also offers information that passengers use masks and gloves. News 7 is about the corona disinfection in the capital of Turkey, Ankara through the dry steam method. News 8 covers the worldwide situation on the Covid-19 epidemic, including Italy, Iran, Belgium and the UK. The tone of News 8 is alarming as it uses adjectives, verbs and nouns such as “deadly nightmare”, “red alarm”, “capture”.

News 9 is on the symptoms of the coronavirus as well as quarantine conditions, and has a reassuring tone since it includes phrases such as “No need to panic” and “Early diagnosis saves lives”. News 10 is about market sales, stocks and most favored products by the public. This news story has an alarming tone as it mentions that stocks are exhausted, leading panic among the public. News 11 is again about market sales and out of stock products. This story has also an alarming tone, as it claims that shelves go empty and so forth. News 12 is a neutral news story about education affected by the coronavirus and coronavirus concerns among parents.

News 13 presents the words such as “fear” and “panic” to describe the overall situation in Turkey; for that reason, it has an alarming tone. News 14 offers information on how to protect ourselves against the coronavirus; the anchorwoman shows how to do it on live. The last news on coronavirus, News 15, is about what to eat for a strong immune system; this news also gives a ‘cure recipe’ for protection against coronavirus, which does not have any proven effect or any reliable source. It seems that this myth recipe is only for attracting attention and conveys misinformation.

Table 2. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Fox TV on March 11,2020.

(Source: YouTube, 2020)

March 11, 2020	Turkish	English	Time	Subject	Tone
Introduction	<p>Saat 00:50</p> <p>Korona</p> <p>Türkiye’de</p> <p>“Salgının</p> <p>Türkiye’de</p> <p>olma</p> <p>ihtimali</p> <p>yüksek”</p> <p>(Dün)</p> <p>Saat 00:50</p> <p>“İlk vaka</p> <p>görüldü”</p> <p>Düzenli</p> <p>bilgilendiri</p> <p>yor</p>	<p>12:50 am</p> <p>Coronaviru</p> <p>s is in</p> <p>Turkey!</p> <p>“It is highly</p> <p>likely that</p> <p>epidemic</p> <p>spreaded to</p> <p>Turkey”</p> <p>(Yesterday’</p> <p>s news)</p> <p>12:50 am</p> <p>“The first</p> <p>patient</p> <p>announced”</p> <p>The</p> <p>minister</p> <p>gives</p> <p>regular</p> <p>information</p>	<p>00:00:53 -</p> <p>00:02:12</p>		Neutral
News 1	<p>Koronavir</p> <p>üs</p> <p>Türkiye’de</p> <p>“Sağlık</p> <p>Bakamı</p> <p>Koca ilk</p> <p>hastanın</p> <p>varlığını</p>	<p>Coronaviru</p> <p>s is in</p> <p>Turkey</p> <p>“Health</p> <p>Minister</p> <p>Koca</p> <p>announced</p> <p>the first</p>	<p>00:02:15 -</p> <p>00:06:06</p>	Trade, Tourism, Sports, Health	Neutral

	<p>gece yarısı duyurdu”</p> <p>Koronavirüs Alarmı</p> <p>“Virüsün görüldüğü hasta karantina altında durumu iyi”</p> <p>Koronavirüs Türkiye’de Ticaret Bakanı: Nisan sonuna kadar fuarlar ertelendi</p> <p>Otel açılışları nisan sonuna erteleniyor</p> <p>turist girişi kısıtlanacak</p> <p>Spor Bakanı: Lig maçlarının</p>	<p>patient at midnight”</p> <p>Coronavirüs Alarmı</p> <p>“The patient with the virus is fine and in quarantine”</p> <p>Coronavirüs is in Turkey</p> <p>Minister of Trade: Fairs are postponed until the end of April</p> <p>Hotels to be opened at the end of April,</p> <p>tourist entry to be restricted</p> <p>Minister of Sports:</p> <p>Postponement of league matches is not likely yet</p> <p>Minister of</p>			
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	ertelenmesi henüz söz konusu değil Sağlık Bakanı alınması gereken önlemleri tek tek anlatt	Health explained the measures to be taken one by one			
News 2	Okullar tatil olacak mı? Endişelenen bazı velilerin çocuklarının okula göndermedi Milli Eğitim bakanı Ziya Selçuk İstanbul'daki programını iptal etti Sağlık Bakanı: Bugün	Will schools be closed down? Some worried parents refused to send their children to school Ziya Selçuk, Minister of National Education, canceled his program in Istanbul Minister of Health: Today we	00:07:25 - 00:11:12	Education	Neutral

	<p>gündemimiz olmadı, salgının seyri belirleyecek Okullarda Koronavirüs Önlemi Yurt genelinde okullarda ve okul servislerinde dezenfekte işlemi başladı Özel üniversitelerde eğitime ara Üniversitelerin bazıları önlem amaçlı uzaktan eğitime geçti</p>	<p>did not have this on our agenda; the course of the epidemic will be decisive Coronavirus measures at schools Disinfection started in schools and school busses across the country Education at private universities suspended Switch to distance learning in some of the universities for precautionary purposes</p>			
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News 3	Toplu ulaşım da virüs önle mi İlk koronavir üs vakası sonrası toplu taşımada hijyen seviyesi arttırıldı İlk gün tedirginli ği Toplu ulaşım kullanmak zorunda kalanlar kendi tedbirlerin i de aldı Vapurda korona eğitimi de verildi İstanbul gönüllüsü doktorlar yolcularla buluştu Mobil	Virus measures in public transportati on Hygiene level increased in public transport after the first coronavirus case Anxiety on the first day Those using public transportati on took their own precautions Corona training provided on the steamer Voluntary doctors in Istanbul met with passengers Mobile hygiene	00:12:56 - 00:15:56	Transportati on and Capitals	Neutral
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	<p>hijyen filoları yolda İBB, tiyatroları ve ibadethaneleri de dezenfekte etti Başkent'te virüs mesaisi Ankara'da ekipler hijyen önlemlerin i üst seviyeye çıkarttı</p>	<p>fleets are on the way Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality disinfected theaters and places of worship Virus shift in the capital Hygiene measures to the maximum in Ankara</p>			
News 4	<p>İş yerlerinde nasıl korunmalı ? En iyi temizlik malzemesi su ve sabun Virüse karşı</p>	<p>How should we protect ourselves at work? The best cleaning materials are water and soap Ways to protect against the</p>	00:17:35 - 00:20:33	Prevention	Neutral

	korunma yolları Havalimanı ve AVM'lerde nelere dikkat edilmeli? Ev ve iş yerleri havalandırılmalı Giysilerin yıkanması ya da 9 saat havalandırılması öneriliyor	virus What to pay attention in airports and shopping malls? Houses and workplaces must be ventilated Washing clothes or ventilation for 9 hours are recommended			
News 5	Koronanın gripten farkı ne? İki hastalığın belirtileri ortak ama izledikleri süreç farklı Korona ateş ve kuru öksürükle	How is corona different from flu? Common symptoms, but different processes Corona appears with fever and dry cough, and	00:21:33 - 00:24:20	Symptoms	Neutral

	<p>başlıyor 5-6 gün sonra hasta ağırlaşıyor Korona ne kadar tehlikeli? Koronavirüsü dünya nüfusunun yarısını tehdit ediyor En riskli grupta kimler var? Çocuklar için risk çok düşük kronik hastalığı olanlar dikkatli olmalı</p>	<p>the patient gets worse after 5-6 days How dangerous is Corona? Coronavirus threatens half of the world's population Who is most at risk? Children have low risk, but those with chronic diseases should be careful</p>			
News 6	<p>Korona fırsatçılığı Alışverişte korona telaşı Virüs tedirginliği</p>	<p>Corona opportunism Corona rush in shopping Empty pharmacy</p>	00:24:55 - 00:28:32	Shopping	Alarming

	<p>eczane ve market raflarını boşalttı</p> <p>Koronavirüs korkusu</p> <p>Kolonya, dezenfektan ve sabun stokları tükendi</p> <p>Koruyucu maske yok</p> <p>Kronik hastalar maske bulamaz hale geldi</p> <p>Fırsatçılara uyarı</p> <p>Ticaret Bakanı: Fahiş fiyatlı satış yapanları şikayet edin</p> <p>Virüs fırsatçıları İnternette satışlarda fiyatlar</p>	<p>and market shelves amid virus anxiety</p> <p>Coronavirüs fear</p> <p>Colognes, disinfectants and soaps are out of stock</p> <p>Protective masks out of stock</p> <p>Chronic patients cannot find masks</p> <p>Opportunist s warned</p> <p>Minister of Trade: Report overpriced sales Virus opportunist s</p> <p>Prices doubled in online sales</p> <p>Coronavirüs fear</p> <p>Consumers</p>			
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	ikiye katlandı Koronavir üs korkusu Tüketiciler makarna, pirinç, yağ ve un stokluyor	stocking pasta, rice, oil and flour			
News 7	Korku, teyakkuz, panik Koronavir üs Çin’de hız kesti 103 yaşındaki kadın hastalığı yendi İran’da maskeli toplantı İran koronavir üs ilacını bulduğunu açıkladı Salgın Avrupa’da yayılıyor İtalya’da 24 saatte	Fear, vigilance, panic Coronavirus slows down in China 103-year-old woman survived from the disease Meeting with masks in Iran Iran finds the Coronavirus drug The epidemic spreads in Europe 168 deaths	00:29:00 - 00:31:37	World agenda	Neutral

	<p>168 kişi öldü toplam kayıp 631 Macarista n'da olağanüstü hal Merkel: Ülke nüfusunun yüzde 60 ila 70'i salgına yakalanabilir ABD'de 19 eyalette acil durum ABD Başkanı Trump test yaptırmayı düşünmüyor</p>	<p>in 24 hours in Italy, total loss being 631 State of emergency in Hungary Merkel: 60 to 70% of the country's population can be infected Emergency in 19 states in the USA US President Trump is not considering to be tested</p>			
News 8	<p>Koronavirüs Küresel Salgın ilan edildi Dünya Sağlık Örgütü, Koronavir</p>	<p>Coronavirüs declared as Global Pandemic WHO declares coronavirus</p>	00:32:00 - 00:33:35	News break	

	üs salgını pandemi ilan etti	as a pandemic			
News 9	Erdoğan'a termal kameralı koruma Erdoğan'a yaklaşanla rın ateşi termal kamera ile kontrol edildi Erdoğan'd an korona uyarısı "Hiçbir virüs aldığımız önlemlerde n daha güçlü değildir" Erdoğan iki gündür hiç kimse ile tokalaşmıy or uzaktan selamlaşy or Meclis'te	Thermal camera protects President Erdoğan Erdoğan's surrounding s monitored with thermal camera Corona warning from Erdoğan "No virus is stronger than the measures we take" Erdoğan avoiding to shake hands with anyone for two days and using hands-free greetings Corona measures in	00:33:38 - 00:36:17	Politics	Reassurin g

	korona önlemleri Girişlere termal kamera, ziyaretçile re sınırlama getiriliyor	the Parliament Entrance monitored with thermal camera, visitors restricted			
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Fox TV presented a total of 9 news related to coronavirus, including one news break. Among them, 7 news stories are neutral, whilst one is alarming and the other is reassuring. Before News 1, the anchorman of Fox TV recalls the yesterday's news on coronavirus, presenting Koca's statement that:

“It is highly likely that epidemic spread to Turkey”.

This ensures a consistent information flow and makes it easier for the public to make a connection. News 1 is particularly important as it gets the greatest attention and shapes the initial perception on the Covid-19 process. News 1 on Fox TV offers information based on the statements from the Minister of Health, as well as the Ministers of Trade and Sports. All of the information presented in News 1 are thus from the most reliable sources in their own regard, eliminating the risk of misinformation. This news story is also related to trade, tourism, sports, etc. It has a neutral tone in conveying the news.

News 2 covers the educational concerns on coronavirus in Turkey. It provides a perspective from the public, mentioning that some worried parents refused to send their children to school. This comprehensive news story seems to answer all possible questions the public, including parents and students at every level may have regarding the education aspect of the coronavirus.

News 3 focuses on measures in public transports and offers a broader perspective on this issue, including measures taken in different cities, trainings given and recent developments. Richer information on such measures taken against the pandemic would perhaps help easing the anxiety among the public regarding the Covid-19 process. News 4 on Fox TV mentions how to protect ourselves at work, what

to do in airports and shopping malls and how to wash clothes. All these measures concern the public; so, Fox TV seems to act as the voice of the public, asking questions for them and attempting to answer these questions.

My argument is supported by News 5, which starts with a question: “How is corona different from flu?” which is a common question that is still persistent. This news story explains several questions such as “how dangerous is corona?” and “who is most at risk?” The next story, News 6, is about market sales affected by coronavirus and presents a direct quotation from the Minister of Trade: “Report overpriced sales”. Unlike Show TV, Fox TV highlights the increase in the prices of various products due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This again shows that it acts the voice of the public. Yet, this news story has an alarming tone as it includes phrases such as “rush”, “empty shelves” and “fear” and mentions the out-of-stock products that are necessary for protection against the coronavirus. This will perhaps lead to fear and anxiety among the public.

News 7 is on the worldwide situation on coronavirus, including countries such as Iran, Italy, Hungary, Germany, the USA. Unlike Show TV, Fox TV does not have an alarming tone in describing the situation worldwide. As one of the headlines of Fox TV reads that “103-year-old woman survived from the disease”, Fox TV does not refrain from presenting optimistic news.

The next story, News 8, is a news break, informing the public about the fact that coronavirus is declared as global pandemic by the WHO. The inclusion of such important news also implies that Fox TV aims to be transparent in health communication regarding the Covid-19 pandemic. The last news story, News 9, is about the measures taken in the parliamentary, with a direct quotation from Erdoğan, saying that “no virus is stronger than the measures we take.” This story has a reassuring tone.

3.1.2. Analysis of the News Narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on April 11, 2020

Table 3 below shows the content analysis of the news narratives on the news bulletin of Show TV on April 11, 2020, when a curfew was applied for the first time in Turkey. The news narratives are categorized into time, subject and tone.

Table 3. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Show TV on April 11, 2020

(Source: YouTube, 2020)

April 11, 2020	Turkish	English	Time	Subject	Tone
News 1	31 şehirde sokağa çıkmak yasağı! İçişleri'nden kritik genelge! Kimler yasak kapsamı dışında? Soylu: Yasak uzamayacak	Curfew in 31 cities! Critical circular from the Ministry of Interior! Who are exempt from the curfew? Soylu: Curfew will not last	00:00:20 - 00:01:44	Curfew	Neutral
News 2	İstanbul marketlere fırınlara akın etti! "Sosyal mesafe kuralı"na kimse uymadı! Maskesiz, önlemsiz alışverişe koşullar Marketlerde uzun kuyruklar	Istanbul flocked to markets and bakeries! Nobody followed the "social distancing rule!" Shopping without masks and precaution Long queues in markets People waited for hours for	00:01:48 - 00:06:32	Shopping	Neutral

	<p>oluşturdu Ekmek için saatlerce beklediler Polisten “kurallara uyun” çağrısı Fırsatçılar yine iş başındaydı! Gece yarısı trafik kilitlendi! Yasağın fotoğrafı</p>	<p>bread Police call to “follow the rules” Opportunists were in the saddle again! Traffic jam at the midnight! The photography of the curfew</p>			
News 3	<p>Fırın ve marketlerin önü dolup taştı! Yasak kuyruğu metrelerce uzadı! Sosyal mesafe kuralı unutuldu! Fırıncılar da hazırlıksız yakalandı! Fırımlar gece mesaisindeydi ! ATM’ler,</p>	<p>Bakeries and markets full to overflowing Hundred meters long queues due to curfew! Social distancing rule forgotten! Bakers caught off guard too! Bakeries were on night shift! Crowds at ATM’s, pharmacies, fuel stations!</p>	00:06:40 - 00:09:00	Shopping	Neutral

	eczaneler, akaryakıt istasyonları doldu! Pazarcılar karanlıkta tezgâh açtı! Gece yarısından sonra sokaklar boşaldı!	Stallholders opened stalls in the dark! Empty streets after midnight!			
News 4	Market-fırın kuyruğunda kavga çıktı! Tekme-tokat birbirlerine girdiler! Utandıran görüntüler! Ekmek sırasında bıçaklandı	Quarrel in the market-bakery queue! They kicked and slapped each other! Embarrassing scenes! Man stabbed in the bread queue	00:09:07 - 00:10:28	Irrelevant	
News 5	“Ekmek kavgası” dediler, trafik kavgası çıktı Tekme tokat birbirlerine girdiler Fırının önünde çıkınca yanlış	People said "quarrel about bread" but turned out to be a traffic fight They kicked and slapped each other Misunderstood	00:10:33 - 00:12:21	Irrelevant	

	<p>anlaşıldı!</p> <p>Gerçeği polis ortaya çıkardı</p> <p>Fırın sahibi de tepki gösterdi</p>	<p>as it happened in front of the bakery!</p> <p>Police uncovered the truth</p> <p>The owner of the bakery also reacted</p>			
News 6	<p>“İstemediğimi z görüntüler!”</p> <p>Virüsle mücadele yara aldı mı?</p> <p>Azap: Vaka sayısı artabilir</p> <p>Kara: 14 gün karantinada kalmahlar!</p> <p>“Yasak avantaj sağlayacak”</p> <p>Sosyal mesafe kaç metre olmalı?</p>	<p>“Undesired situations!”</p> <p>Has the fight against the virus damaged?</p> <p>Azap: The number of cases may increase</p> <p>Kara: Quarantine for 14 days is a must!</p> <p>How many meters must social distance be?</p> <p>“Curfew will be advantageous”</p>	<p>00:12:26</p> <p>-</p> <p>00:14:30</p>	Curfew	Alarming

News 7	<p>Yasağa rağmen trafiğe çıktılar! Sokağa çıkma yasağına uymayan sürücülere ceza yağdı. Araçlar tek tek durduruldu! Trafik polisleri kuş uçurtmadı! Onlarca araç ve sürücüye ceza yazıldı</p>	<p>They went out to traffic despite the curfew! Fines to drivers who do not comply with the curfew. Vehicles were stopped one by one! Traffic cops kept a sharp outlook! Dozens of vehicles and drivers were fined</p>	<p>00:14:35 - 00:16:55</p>	Transportation	Neutral
News 8	<p>Yasağın ilk gününde alkollü yakalandı! Sarhoş sürücü polisi çileden çıkardı! “Ben sokağa çıkmadım, arabamın içindeydim” Alkolmetreye üflememek için direndi</p>	<p>Caught drunk on the first day of the curfew! Drunk driver infuriated the police! “I didn't go out on the street; I was in my car” He refused to blow on the breathalyzer.</p>	<p>00:17:07 - 00:18:30</p>	Irrelevant	

News 9	<p>Market açık, müşteriler alışverişte Yasağa rağmen alışveriş yaptılar Kepengi aralık marketten 7 müşteri çıktı “Temizlik yapıyordum, zorla girdiler” “Markete değil fırına gitmeniz gerek”</p> <p>Kişi başı 3 bin 150 TL ceza yazıldı</p>	<p>A market open for customers shopping</p> <p>People shopping despite the ban</p> <p>7 customers went out of the market</p> <p>“I was cleaning, they broke in”</p> <p>“You have to go to the bakery, not the market”</p> <p>3 thousand 150 TL fine per person</p>	<p>00:18:35 - 00:20:26</p>	Shopping	Neutral
News10	<p>İstanbul polisi kuş uçurtmadı! İzinsiz sokağa çıkanlara ceza yağdı Yasaktan haberi olmayan bile vardı! Yasağa</p>	<p>Istanbul police kept a sharp outlook!</p> <p>Fines to those on the street without permission</p> <p>Some did not know about the curfew!</p> <p>Those who did</p>	<p>00:20:23 - 00:22:59</p>	Police	Reassuring

	<p>uymayanlar tek tek yakalandı!</p> <p>Polis ihtiyaç sahiplerinin yardımına koştu</p> <p>Can dostlarımız unutulmadı!</p>	<p>not comply with the curfew were caught one by one!</p> <p>Police rushed to the aid of the needy</p> <p>Our dear friends are not forgotten!</p>			
News11	<p>210 ülkede 1,7 milyon vaka İngiltere başbakanı taburcu edildi İngiltere’de bilanço 8958 400 bine yakın kişi taburcu edildi Felaket listesinde ilk 3 Acının merkezlerinde son 24 saat Fransa’da 13.197 kişi öldü Maske var mesafe yok</p>	<p>1.7 million cases in 210 countries</p> <p>British prime minister discharged</p> <p>8958 deaths in England</p> <p>Nearly 400,000 people were discharged</p> <p>Top 3 on the disaster list</p> <p>The last 24 hours in the centers of pain</p> <p>13,197 people died in France</p> <p>Mask without</p>	<p>00:23:07 - 00:25:12</p>	World agenda	Alarming

	Brezilya lideri 'ne korona tepkisi	distance Corona reaction to the Brazilian leader			
News 12	Korona yoksulları vurdu Salgın işçi mahallesini esir aldı New York'ta 777 kişi daha öldü Kimsesizler mezarlığı doluyor Maskesiz yolcu böyle indirildi Vaka sayısı 504 bine dayandı Sürpriz iş birliği Tekno-esaret mi geliyor? Cezaevlerine virüs girdi Cezaevinde korona isyanı	Corona hit the poor The epidemic spread to the workers' neighborhood 777 more died in New York Cemetery of the orphans is filling up A passenger without mask removed The number of cases reached 504 thousand Surprise collaboration Is it techno- bondage coming? Virus spread to prisons Corona riot in prison	00:25:19 - 00:27:42	World agenda	Alarming

News 13	Korona işsiz bıraktı Açlık mı, korona mı? Gıda dağıtımında izdiham Gıda kolisi yanında korona	Corona caused unemployment Hunger or Corona? Confluence in food distribution Corona attached to food parcels	00:27:47 - 00:29:50	World agenda	Alarming
News 14	Sokağa çıkma yasağında çalışanlar Yasakta da görev başındalar! Fırıncılar harıl harıl ekmek çıkarıyor Fırına gitmek serbest Fırıncılar evlere servise başladı Sepeti salan ekmeği alıyor Su bayileri görev başında! Temizlik görevlileri ve eczacılar da	Those working on the curfew They are also on duty in the curfew! Bakers are busily making bread It is not forbidden to go to the bakery Bakers offer services to homes Whoever releases the basket takes the bread Water dealers are on duty! Cleaning staff and	00:29:54 - 00:33:07	Service sector	Reassuring

	işinin başında Habercilere de tatil yok “Siz evinizde kalın, biz haber veririz”	pharmacists also serve No holidays for reporters “You stay at home, we'll let you know”			
News 15	Evlere ekmek dağıtımını başladı Fırıncılar sokak sokak dolaştı! Sıcak ekmek evlere gitti Oyun havasıyla dağıttı	Bread delivery to homes Bakers delivered to each street! People get their breads freshly baked Distribution with dance music	00:33:18 - 00:34:45	Service sector	Neutral
News 16	Testi pozitif çıktı, hastaneden kaçtı! Ekipleri peşinden koşturdu! Korona olduğunu öğrenince çıldırdı! Canına kıymak istedi,	Positive test led to escape from the hospital! The teams followed him! He went crazy when he learnt he was infected with coronavirus He wanted to kill himself but	00:34:52 - 00:35:55	Magazinish	Alarming

	polis engel oldu!	the police prevented it!			
News 17	Sağlıkçı anneden kızına duygulandıran sürpriz! Küçük Öykü'nün anne hasreti! 1 aylık hasret bitti, anne-kız kavuştu!	Emotional surprise from the healthcare mother to her daughter! Young Öykü's longing for her mother 1 month longing is over, mother-daughter reunited!	00:35:57 - 00:38:00	Corona Magazinish	Neutral
News 18	Muhtar kızdı, köye ayar verdi! “Nedir bu duyarsızlık?” Evlerine girmeyen köylülere isyan etti! Cami hoparlöründe herkesi böyle uyardı	The headman was angry and scolded the village! “What an insensitivity!” He resented the villagers who did not stay in home! He warned everyone through the mosque speaker	00:38:01 - 00:39:23	Corona Magazinish	Neutral

News 19	Yasağı hiçe saydılar, polise saldırdılar Hem suçlu hem güçlü! Polis havaya ateş açtı Takviye kuvvet çağrıldı 6 kişi gözüne alındı	They ignored the curfew and attacked the police The pot calling the kettle black! Police opened fire in the air Reinforcement s were called 6 people were detained	00:39:25 - 00:40:50	Corona Magazinish	Neutral
News 20	İşte ıssız İstanbul Sokaklar, caddeler, meydanlar bomboş kaldı Beşiktaş, Taksim, Eminönü sessizliğe gömüldü Yasağa takılan otobüs	Here is desolated Istanbul Empty streets, avenues, squares Beşiktaş, Taksim, Eminönü lapsed into silence The bus driver stuck in the	00:40:54 - 00:43:30	Corona Magazinish	Neutral

	<p>şoförü yolda kaldı</p> <p>Şehir dışından gelen yolcular yasağa takıldı</p> <p>Meydanlar can dostlarımıza kaldı</p>	<p>curfew is stranded</p> <p>Passengers from out of the city stuck in the curfew</p> <p>Squares were exclusively for our closest friends</p>			
<p>News 21</p>	<p>Tokatlılar şiveli ‘evde kal’ çağrısı</p> <p>‘Dip dibe sorutmayın, meydanda ağleşmeyin’</p> <p>Kimse anlamadı, tokatlılar mesajı aldı</p> <p>‘Gıldır gıcılı işler için sokağa çıkman!’</p> <p>Bu da yöresel dille ‘evde kal’ uyarısı</p>	<p>People from Tokat called to “stay home” in their accent</p> <p>‘Do not stand side by side, do not gather in squares’</p> <p>Nobody understood but people from Tokat got the message</p> <p>‘Do not go out for trivial things!’</p> <p>This is how they warn people to ‘stay at home’ in</p>	<p>00:43:33 - 00:45:07</p>	<p>Corona Magazinish</p>	<p>Neutral</p>

		their local accent			
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Table 3 shows that Show TV presented a total of 21 news related to coronavirus on April 11, 2020. The bulletin of Show TV has 6 alarming, 2 reassuring, and 13 neutral news. News 1 simply informed about the scope of the curfew, giving a direct quotation from Süleyman Soylu, the Minister of the Interior. News 2 and News 3 generally portray the first day of the curfew and the consequences of the curfew, mainly focusing on the public. Notably, although Show TV explained the consequences of such a sudden curfew, it refrains from criticizing the government in this respect. Indeed, Show TV makes it clear that the public had a hard time because of such an impulsive decision; for example, News 2 featured the news with the following headlines: “People waited for hours for bread” and “Traffic jam at the midnight!” It further presented the following headlines in News 3: “Hundred meters long queues due to curfew!” and “Bakers caught off guard too!” However, it avoided questioning or making any negative comment on the decision of the curfew itself.

Further, it seems that Show TV puts the blame on the public in News 5 and News 7, respectively: “They went out to traffic despite the curfew!” and “People shopping despite the ban” In fact, News 8 clarifies that “Some did not know about the curfew!”, but the underlying reasons for such situations were not identified by Show TV at all. For that reason, it can be argued that the social reality that Show TV represents is an incomplete one, or even, misleading, lack of questions that media is obliged to ask on behalf of the public.

The next stories, News 9, 10 and 11 were about the worldwide situation on the epidemic. It seems that Show TV focuses on the adverse sides of the situation in every country, perhaps portraying the situation in other countries worse than Turkey’s and justifying the decision of the curfew. In fact, there are three different news on the worldwide situation, and such coverage, which only focuses on negativities, may increase fear among the public. Overall, the news on April 11, 2020 on Show TV do not convey any reliable information on the epidemic in Turkey. There is only one direct quotation from one minister, which is not the Minister of Health. Show TV

seems to focus on the sensational consequences of the epidemic like a tabloid newspaper and lacks any insights from the experts or government officials.

Table 4. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Fox TV on April 11, 2020.

(Source: YouTube, 2020)

April 11, 2020	Turkish	English	Time	Subject	Tone
News 1	<p>48 saatlik sokağa çıkma yasağı 31 ilde sokağa çıkma yasağı Pazar gece 24.00'e kadar evden dışarı çıkmak yasak Yasak haberiyle halk ihtiyaçlarını karşılamak için sokaklara çıktı Altun: Fırın ve eczaneler açık kalacak Genelgedeki tarihin 9 nisan olmasının sebebi ne?</p>	<p>Curfew for 48 hours Curfew in 31 cities Leaving the house forbidden until 12.00 pm on Sunday People learning about the curfew took to the streets to meet their needs Altun: Bakeries and pharmacies will remain open Why is the circular dated to April 9th? Latest situation in coronavirus Deaths in</p>	00:00:52-00:05:03	Prevention	Neutral

	Koronavirüste son durum Türkiye’de can kaybı 1006’ya yükseldi Koca: Yasak Bilim Kurulu’nun gündemine gelmedi	Turkey increased to 1006 Koca: The curfew was not on the agenda of the Science Committee			
News 2	Korona tedbirleri yerle bir oldu 48 saatlik yasak öncesi sokaklarda izdiham vardı Marketler ve fırınların önünde sosyal mesafe kuralı aşıldı Polisin uyarısı da işe yaramadı Yasak açıklanır açıklanmaz pazarcılar satışa başladı Sokaklara çıkanlar	Corona measures destroyed A stampede on the streets before the 48-hour curfew Social distancing ignored at markets and bakeries Police warnings of no use Curfew announced and stallholders started selling A stampede of people on the streets	00:05:30-00:09:17	Shopping, Curfew	Neutral

	yüzünden izdiham oluştu				
News 3	Yasağın ilk günü nasıl geçti? İçişleri Bakanlığı: 31 ilde 63 milyon kişi evde kaldı Yasağa uymayan 2 bin 756 kişiye ceza kesildi	How was the first day of the curfew? The Ministry of Interior: 63 million in 31 cities stayed at home 2,756 people fined due to violation of the curfew	00:09:28-00:14:22	Curfew	Neutral
News 4	CHP'li belediyelerden tepki İmamoğlu: Yasaktan haberimiz olmadı, ona göre hazırlığımızı yapmalıydık Böcek: Yasağı televizyondan öğrendik Yavaş: Valilikle irtibat halindeyiz	Reaction from CHP municipalities İmamoğlu: We did not know about the curfew; we should have prepared ourselves accordingly. Böcek: We learnt about the curfew on TV Yavaş: We are in contact with the governor's office	00:14:49-00:17:33	Covid-19-related Politics on Curfew	Neutral

	<p>İmamoğlu İstanbul'da alınan tedbirleri açıkladı</p> <p>Böcek: Bütün vatandaşlarımızı ulaştırıyoruz</p> <p>Yavaş: Halk ekmek fabrikamız üretimde</p>	<p>İmamoğlu told about measures taken in Istanbul</p> <p>Böcek: We reach out to all our citizens</p> <p>Yavaş: Our public bread factory is in production</p>			
News 5	<p>Yaşamın siyasi yankıları</p> <p>Akşener: 2 saat önce açıklayarak acemilik yaptılar</p> <p>Soylu: Erken saatte açıklasak marketlere akın olsaydı daha mı iyiydi?</p> <p>Enginyurt: Yasak gündüz açıklansa olmaz mıydı?</p>	<p>Political repercussions of the curfew</p> <p>Akşener: It is amateurish to announce the curfew 2 hours earlier</p> <p>Soylu: Would it have been better if we had announced early and people had flocked to the markets?</p> <p>Enginyurt: Wouldn't it be better if the curfew was</p>	00:17:55-00:20:40	Covid-19-related Politics on Curfew	Neutral

	<p>Haberal: Sağlık çalışanlarının emeklerine yazık oldu</p> <p>Karamollaoğlu: Salgınla mücadele zaafa uğratılmıştır</p> <p>Kılıçdaroğlu: Panik oluşmasına izin vermeyin</p> <p>Akşener: Vatandaşlarımızı sakin olmaya, yasağa uymaya davet ediyorum</p>	<p>announced during the day?</p> <p>Haberal: It is a pity for the efforts of health workers</p> <p>Karamollaoğlu: The fight against the epidemic has been weakened</p> <p>Kılıçdaroğlu: Don't let panic occur</p> <p>Akşener: I urge our citizens to remain calm and abide by the curfew</p>			
News 6	<p>Meclis'te sokak yasağı tartışması</p> <p>Türkkan: Tüm dünyaya "virüs en hızlı nasıl yayılır" örneğini verdiniz</p> <p>Özel: Utandık, dünyaya rezil</p>	<p>Curfew debate in parliament</p> <p>Türkkan: You show "how the virus spreads the fastest" to the whole world</p> <p>Özel: We are ashamed, disgraced to the world</p>	00:21:03-00:24:06	Covid-19-related Politics	Neutral

	<p>olduk</p> <p>Özkan:</p> <p>Sokağa çıkma</p> <p>yasağı sadece</p> <p>48 saatlik</p> <p>Çıray: Bu</p> <p>karar</p> <p>Saray'da</p> <p>danışmanlarl</p> <p>a mı alındı?</p> <p>Şahin: Bir</p> <p>maske</p> <p>dağıtmayı</p> <p>beceremedini</p> <p>z</p>	<p>Özkan: Curfew</p> <p>will last only</p> <p>for 48 hours</p> <p>Çıray: Was this</p> <p>decision taken</p> <p>with advisors in</p> <p>the Palace?</p> <p>Şahin: You</p> <p>failed even to</p> <p>distribute</p> <p>masks</p>			
News 7	<p>Profesörler</p> <p>de şaşkındı</p> <p>Bilim kurulu</p> <p>üyeleri de</p> <p>yasağı</p> <p>ekranda</p> <p>öğrendi</p> <p>Yasak</p> <p>başlamadan</p> <p>temas arttı</p> <p>Uzmanlar</p> <p>kararı</p> <p>destekledi</p> <p>ama</p> <p>duyuruş</p> <p>biçimini</p> <p>eleştirdi</p>	<p>Professors</p> <p>were also</p> <p>surprised.</p> <p>Scientific</p> <p>committee</p> <p>members also</p> <p>learned about</p> <p>the curfew on</p> <p>TV.</p> <p>Experts</p> <p>supported the</p> <p>decision but</p> <p>criticized the</p> <p>way it was</p> <p>announced</p>	00:24:27- 00:27:08	Curfew	Neutral

News 8	<p>Sokağa çıkma yasağının ilk günü</p> <p>Yasağı delerek polise saldıran bir grup havaya ateş açılarak dağıtıldı</p> <p>İstanbul güne sakin başlamıştı</p> <p>İlerleyen saatlerde yasağı delerek sokağa çıkanlara ceza kesildi</p> <p>İstanbul'da ulaşımda kısıtlama</p> <p>Metro ve Marmaray seferleri durdu, otobüs ve metrobüs seferleri azaltıldı</p> <p>Sokağa çıkma yasağını deldiler</p> <p>Market</p>	<p>The first day of the curfew</p> <p>A group that attacked the police by breaking the curfew was dispersed by shooting in the air.</p> <p>Istanbul started the day calmly</p> <p>Those who went out on the streets in the following hours despite the ban were fined</p> <p>Restricted transportation in Istanbul</p> <p>Metro and Marmaray services stopped, bus and metrobus services were reduced</p> <p>Some broke the curfew</p> <p>The market owner claimed</p>	00:27:34-00:30:12	Curfew, transportation	Neutral
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	sahibi müşterilerin içeri zorla girdiğini iddia etti	customers broke in			
News 9	Yasağın ilk günü nasıl geçti? İstanbul'da toplu ulaşım kısıtlı yapıldı İstanbul'da tüm meydanlar sessizliğe büründü	How was the first day of the curfew? Transportation in Istanbul restricted All squares in Istanbul fell into silence	00:30:12-00:32:42	Transportation	Neutral
News 10	İki günlük yasak yeterli mi? Pala: Karantinanın en az 14 gün daha uygulanması gerekir Pala: Gece sokağa çıkanlar önümüzdeki 10 günde hasta olarak	Is a two-day ban enough? Pala: Quarantine needs to last for at least 14 more days Pala: Those who go out at night will be patients in the next 10 days Savaş: They will infect others when	00:32:56-00:35:15	Curfew	Neutral

	<p>başvuracak Savaş: Marketten eve döndüğünde hastalığı başkalarına bulaştıracakl ar Pala: Sadece hafta sonları yasak ilan etmek çözüm olmaz Savaş: Evlerde tarama ve test yapılması lazım</p>	<p>they return home from the market Pala: Declaring a curfew only on weekends is not the solution Savaş: Screening and testing at home should be performed</p>			
News 11	<p>Hazırlıksız yakalandılar Gece nöbetinde çalışanlar eve gitmekte zorlandı Gece uyurken yasak geldi Yasaktan habersiz köpekleri için dışarı çıktı Ürünler</p>	<p>They were caught off guard Night shift workers had a hard time going home Curfew enforced at night Unaware of the curfew, people went out for their dogs</p>	00:35:30- 00:38:32	Curfew, Pet owners	Neutral

	<p>pazarcuların elinde kaldı Yasağın başladığı saate kadar satabildikleri ni sattılar Yasak mağduru Sokakta kalana sokağa çıkma cezası kesildi, misafirhaneye yerleştirildi Sağlık çalışanları araç bekledi Ulaşım imkanları kısıtlanınca ne yapacaklarını şaşırıyorlar Cezadan kaçamadılar Köpek gezdirene de fırın yerine halk ekmeğine Gidene de ceza kesildi</p>	<p>Stallholders could not sell their products They sold until the curfew started Victim of the curfew Homeless people were fined and placed in the guesthouse Health workers waited for busses People faced with restricted transportation did not know what to do They could not avoid getting fined Those who walked their dogs and those who went to the public bread offices instead of bakeries were fined.</p>			
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News 12	Hangi hizmetler veriliyor? Eczaneler, fırınlar ve su bayileri çalışmaya devam ediyor Fırınlar nasıl çalışıyor? Yakında oturanlar ekmeği kendileri alıyor uzaktakilere ekmek götürülüyor Sosyal mesafeye nasıl dikkat ediliyor?	Which services are available? Pharmacies, bakeries and water dealers are open What time do bakeries open? Those who live nearby buy their breads themselves, deliveries are made to those far away Do people pay attention to social distancing?	00:38:36-00:45:03	News Break Service Sector	Neutral
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Fox TV presented a total of 12 news related to coronavirus, including one news break, on April 11, 2020. All news stories had a neutral tone. Unlike Show TV, Fox TV questions why such decision was taken suddenly and without any prior notice. It highlighted the consequences of such sudden decision. News 4 informs about the opinions of the opposite parties and other officials affected by this decision. News 5 criticizes the announcement of the curfew decision, asking would it be better to announce this decision earlier during the day. Fox TV both makes the voice of the officials of the opposite parties heard by the public and conveys the statement of Soyulu. Thus, it can be claimed that Fox TV questions this decision on behalf of the public and gives the last say to the public itself by presenting both opinions. Moreover, News 7 covers the opinions of the experts, extending the scope of the information provided

based on reliable resources. News 9 further questions the curfew decision from two different people and News 10 offers information on the consequences of the epidemic, focusing on the negative implications that various people suffered from due to such sudden decision. Again, similar to its agenda on March 11, 2020, Fox TV seems to act as the voice of the public and to take on the role to inform the public. It is also notable that Fox TV includes questions rather than statements more often than Show TV in its headlines. This also implies that it intends to leave the final remark to the public only by asking questions.

3.1.3. Analysis of the News Narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on June 18, 2020

Table 5 below shows the content analysis of the news narratives on the news bulletin of Show TV on June 18, 2020, when wearing masks became mandatory in Turkey. The news narratives are categorized into time, subject and tone.

Table 5. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Show TV on June 18, 2020
(Source: YouTube, 2020)

June 18, 2020	Turkish	English	Time	Subject	Tone
News 1	<p>“Kara göründü, deniz dalgalı” İşte şehir şehir korona tablosu! Son 24 saatte 19 kişi vefat etti Koca: Virüs iş başında! Yeni kısıtlama olacak mı? Yks ve Lgs’de sınırlı kısıtlama!</p>	<p>“The land appeared, the sea is rough” Here is the corona situation for each city! 19 people died in the last 24 hours! Koca: Virus is at work! Will there be new</p>	00:05:33-00:08:05	General	Alarming

		restrictions? Limited restriction during Yks and Lgs!			
News 2	Milli eğitim lgs için hazır! Sınavda koronavirüs önlemleri Dezenfektanlı, sosyal mesafeli sınav Bakan Selçuk'tan velilere çağrı Lgs günü saat 09:00-15:00 arası Kısıtlama 27 Haziran 09:30-15:00, 28 Haziran 09:30-18:30 Bakan'dan hastanede sınav eleştirisine yanı!	The Ministry of National Education is ready for lgs! Coronavirus measures during the exam Socially distant exam with disinfectants Call from Minister Selçuk to parents Restriction between 09:00-15:00 on LGS day June 27th 09:30-15:00, June 28th 09:30-18:30 Reply from the Minister to the criticism of exam in the hospital!	00:08:10-00:10:15	Education	Neutral
News 3	Tedbirlerde gevşemenin	What is the reason for the	00:10:20-00:12:11	Measures	Neutral

	<p>nedeni ne? Önlem yorgunluğuna dikkat! Önlem yorgunluğu mu yaşanıyor?</p>	<p>relaxation of the measures? Beware of prevention fatigue! Is this prevention fatigue?</p>			
News 4	<p>Sakin maskesiz sokağa çıkmayın! Ankara, İstanbul ve Bursa’da maske artık zorunlu Maskesiz sokağa çıkılamayacak! Bahane çok, maske yok! “Takar gibi yapmak” daha tehlikeli</p>	<p>Don't go out without a mask! Masks are now mandatory in Ankara, Istanbul and Bursa Everyone must wear a mask to go out! Lots of excuses, no masks! It's more dangerous to "fake it"</p>	00:24:25- 00:26:40	Measures	Neutral
News 5	<p>Maske yüzlerinde değil, ellerinde, çenelerinde! Polisin “maske” imtihanı! “Biliyorum ama takmıyorum” Maske takmadı, polisle tartıştı!</p>	<p>Masks are not on face, but on hands and chin! The “mask” test of the police! “I am aware but I do not wear it” He did not wear a mask and</p>	00:26:45- 00:28:33	Measures	Neutral

		argued with the police!			
News 6	Vakalar arttı, denetimler sıklaştırıldı Kafe ve restoranlarda denetim Kafede sosyal mesafe denetimi Pastane mutfağında denetim	Cases increased, inspections tightened Supervision in cafes and restaurants Social distancing in the café Supervision in the patisserie kitchen	00:33:35-00:35:25	Measures	Neutral
News 7	Dünyanın korona savaşı Açılan ekonominin faturası halka Her gün onbinlerce yeni vaka Her 2 kişiden biri kovid çıktı Çin'de 2. dalga kabusu Vaka sayısı 8 milyon 450 bine yakın Almanya'dan	Corona war of the world The economy opens, people suffer Tens of thousands of new cases every day One out of every 2 people suffers from covid 2nd wave nightmare in China	00:43:40-00:45:30	World Agenda	Alarming

	Türkiye kararı Dezenfekte olmayanla görüşmeyecek Öpüp öpüp hasta etti	The number of cases close to 8 million 450 thousand Germany's Turkey decision No meeting with those who are not disinfected Kisses caused Covid			
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Table 5 indicates that Show TV presented a total of 7 news related to coronavirus on June 18, 2020. Among them, 2 news stories had an alarming tone whereas 5 of them had a neutral tone.

News 1 offers direct quotation from Koca, who is a reliable source of information, but it has an alarming tone since it focuses on the number of deaths and underlines that virus is at work.

News 2 discusses the latest restriction decision for exams during the weekend based on some statements from Ziya Selçuk, who is the Minister of Education and thus authority in this regard. Finally, on News 4 and 5, the news announced that wearing masks became mandatory. News 6 focuses on supervisions and inspections regarding the new rules of the epidemic. Lastly, like the news on April 11, 2020, Show TV covers the worldwide situation on coronavirus in News 7 in an alarming tone again. This negative portrayal leads to a comparison between the world and Turkey. Portraying the situation in the world worse and in an alarming tone and the situation in Turkey in a reassuring tone, Show TV may attempt to present a more optimistic view on the situation in Turkey.

Table 6. The Content Analysis of the News Headlines of Fox TV on June 18, 2020

(Source: YouTube, 2020)

June 18, 2020	Turkish	English	Time	Subject	Tone
News 1	<p>Koca: Korona hala iş başında Hangi illerde vakalarda artış olduğunu sağlık bakanı açıkladı Yoğun bakımda ölüm oranları azaldı Entübe edilenlerden ölümler yüzde 67'ten yüzde 4'e düştü “Bunun bedelini kim üstlenir?” Piknik ve düğün yapanlara, asker uğurlayanlar</p>	<p>Koca: Corona is still at work The ministry of health announced the provinces where cases increased Mortality rates in intensive care decreased Intubated deaths fell from 67 percent to 4 percent “Who to pay for this?” Notice to those having picnic, organizing weddings and farewell ceremonies</p>	<p>00:07:06 - 00:10:38</p>	<p>Corona, Measures</p>	<p>Reassuring</p>

	<p>a uyarı “Kara göründü ama deniz dalgalı” Sınırı aşmamak için maske şartı yeniden geldi, sosyal mesafe de önemli</p>	<p>for soldiers “The land appeared but the sea is rough” Masks are required again and social distancing gains importance not to exceed limits</p>			
News 2	<p>3 ilde daha maske zorunlu oldu İstanbul, Ankara ve Bursa’da açık alanlarda da maske takılacak Maskeler cepten, şapkadan çıktı Maskesini takmayıp sadece yanında taşıyanlar vardı</p>	<p>Masks are now mandatory in 3 cities Masks to be worn in open areas in Istanbul, Ankara and Bursa Masks are taken out of pocket, out of hats Some carry their masks with them rather than wearing them</p>	<p>00:12:47 - 00:15:30</p>	Prevention	Neutral

	Cezası 3 bin 150 lira Maskesiz dışarı çıkmanın para ve 1 yıla kadar hapis cezası var	Fines are up to 3,150 TL Fines and imprisonment up to 1 year will be applied to those who go out without mask			
News 3	Sınav saatinde sokak kısıtlaması Cumhurbaşkanlığı ve Yükseköğretim Bakanlığı tarafından 20, 27 ve 28 Haziran tarihlerinde kısmi sokağa çıkma kısıtlaması var Şehirlerarası yolculuk yapanlar yasaktan muaf	Street restriction during exam time The President ordered a curfew during the exam hours of Lgs and Yks A partial curfew on June 20, 27 and 28th Intercity travelers are exempt from the curfew	00:17:40 - 00:20:47	Education, Curfew, Transportation	Neutral

Table 6 reveals that Fox TV presented a total of 3 news related to coronavirus on June 18, 2020. Among them, 2 had a neutral tone whilst 1 had a reassuring tone.

Although the number of news is lower than that of Show TV, it appears from that Fox TV offers information on the recent developments on coronavirus as extensive as Show TV. News 1 covers some statements from Koca, who is the official responsible for health communication on this epidemic. It has a reassuring tone, since it focuses on the decrease in the number of deaths by stating “intubated deaths fell from 67 percent to 4 percent” and emphasizes that mortality rates in intensive care decreased. News 2 informs about the mandatory rule of wearing masks and the potential fines for those who do not wear masks. In this way, it encourages the public to wear masks. News 3 is about the restrictions in education due to the Covid-19 outbreak. The bulletins on March and April 11, 2020 and June 18, 2020 on Fox TV and Show TV together have a mixed tone on coronavirus; that is, there are some reassuring and alarming news as well as some neutral ones. According to Zelizer (1995, p. 221),

“[c]ollective memory is not necessarily linear, logical or rational. It can take on any of these characteristics but it does not depend on any of them”.

Thus, the findings from the news bulletins contribute to a clashing collective memory, which was in its early formation.

3.2. The Critical Discourse Analysis of the News Narratives

This section presents the critical discourse analysis of the news narratives of Fox TV and Show TV provided in the previous section. Accordingly, **Section 3.2.1.** discusses the news narratives on March 11, 2020; **Section 3.2.2.** offers the CDA of the narratives on April 11, 2020 and lastly, **Section 3.2.3.** takes a critical stance towards the news narratives on June 18, 2020.

3.2.1. The CDA of the News Narratives of Fox TV and Show TV on March 11, 2020

The coverage of the news on the Covid-19 epidemic is of great importance as it implies whether the channel has the priority to offer information on this new virus to the public. Such coverage is more and more important on March 11, 2020 when a coronavirus case was first announced in Turkey. Show TV allocated most of its prime-time news (except for News 4 and 5) to the Covid-19 outbreak and coronavirus (about

34 minutes out of 49 minutes) and the prime-time news of Fox TV were similarly about the Covid-19 outbreak and coronavirus (about 34 minutes out of 46 minutes). This means that both channels prioritize this health crisis and seek to inform people about it. Here, it is striking that Show TV includes two news reports (News 4 and News 5) that are not related to the Covid-19 outbreak in its bulletin; these reports are political reports that intend to criticize the main opposition party of Turkey, CHP. By doing so, Show TV may have attempted to lead the attention of the audience, who are already attracted through the news on coronavirus and actively viewing the relevant news, to the political issues. In the following news reports, Show TV goes on informing on the Covid-19 outbreak and coronavirus. This abrupt interruption in the flow of information from a reassuring statement by Erdoğan on the Covid-19 outbreak seems to aim to make a political propaganda.

Regarding the overall tone of the news reports, Show TV had a neutral tone (3 news had a reassuring tone; 4 had an alarming tone and the rest 6 had a neutral tone). Fox TV had a neutral tone as well (7 news stories had a neutral tone; 1 had an alarming and 1 had a reassuring tone). However, as seen, neutral tone was more dominant in Fox TV. Still, it is remarkable that both channels attempt to keep its neutral tone in informing such a critical health threat that may alarm the public and cause panic among them. Which news stories had a reassuring or an alarming tone is also of great importance, as this may reveal the aspects on which the channel intends to reassure or alarm the audience. Show TV presents the worldwide situation on the Covid-19 outbreak in an alarming way. News 8 includes words such as “death”, “deadly”, “nightmare” and “red alarm” and has an alarming tone in informing about the situation in the world. On the other hand, it presents the situation in Turkey in different tones - in a neutral tone (see News 1, 2, 6, 12) or in a reassuring tone (see News 3 and 7) and in an alarming tone (see News 10, 11 and 13). Particularly the news stories on shopping and market stocks (News 10 and 11) appear to have an alarming tone and include phrases such as “exhausted stocks”, “shopping spree”, “empty shelves”, “long queues” and “stock wars”. This may further incite the panic among the public on market stocks. On the other hand, Fox TV had only one news story in an alarming tone; this news story (News 6) is similarly about shopping and market stocks and has phrases such as “rush”, “anxiety”, “fear”, “overpriced”, and so forth. Fox TV, unlike Show TV, presented only one news story (News 9) in a reassuring tone and this was about the thermal camera protection for Erdoğan in the Parliament. Using a quote from Fahrettin

Koca that reads “No virus is stronger than the measures we take” makes the tone of this news story reassuring.

Further, the diversity of the news regarding the Covid-19 outbreak is also of importance to convey a more complete picture of the outbreak to the audience. Show TV presented news stories on health, education, tourism, shopping, prevention and symptoms of the Covid-19 outbreak, politics, world agenda and transportation, whereas Fox TV seemed to present news stories as diverse as the stories of Show TV, including stories on trade, tourism, sports, health, education, transportation, prevention, symptoms and world agenda.

The voices conveyed through these channels are also critical. Thus, the question of “Whom do they want to be heard in relation to the Covid-19 outbreak?” is of great importance. The media is expected to be versatile and inclusive, but to offer a reliable source at the same time. In this sense, the use of direct quotations from reliable sources enhances the reliability of the news stories and makes the audience feel safe. Show TV uses statements from Fahrettin Koca, the Minister of Health in News 1 and 2, and from Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the President, in News 3, from Ruhsar Pekcan, the Minister of Trade, in News 2 and from Mehmet Nuri Ersoy, the Minister of Culture and Tourism, in News 2. On the other hand, Fox TV uses various resources, or voices, in its news bulletin. It draws on statements from Fahrettin Koca - the Minister of Health- the Minister of Trade and the Minister of Sports in News 1, as well as from Ziya Selçuk - the Minister of Education – and the Minister of Health in News 2 and from Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in News 9.

In this regard, it is striking that Show TV featured its anchorwoman to show how we should wash our hands to protect ourselves from the coronavirus in News 14. The anchorwoman herself illustrated how to do it. Yet, given that she has no expertise or education on health, she is not a reliable source of health communication. An expert or a doctor would be a reliable source for such practice. Unlike Show TV, Fox TV invited an expert, Dr. Şadiye Kartalkanat, an expert on infectious diseases, in News 4 to show how to wear a mask and to wash hands properly. Fox TV also relied on an expert while informing about the symptoms of the coronavirus in News 5. This is a highly-respected expert who is also present in the Coronavirus Science Committee in Turkey – Prof. Dr. Alpay Azap.

Also, News 15 on Show TV is about what to eat for a strong immune system and features an expert, Dr. Ümit Aktaş, an expert on phytotherapy. Aktaş gives a ‘cure

recipe' for protection against the coronavirus, which does not have any proven effect or any reliable source. It seems that this myth recipe is only for attracting attention and conveys misinformation. Again, on News 9, we see that an expert offers information on the symptoms of the coronavirus, Dr. Hülya Kuşoğlu, an expert on infectious diseases. However, the voice of Kuşoğlu is very limited; the reporter asks mostly the public about the symptoms, rather than the expert herself.

Comparing Show TV and Fox TV regarding their news bulletins on March 11, 2020, one difference is striking; Fox TV gave a news break announcing that the Covid-19 is declared as a global pandemic by the WHO in News 8. Despite being aired on simultaneously; the news bulletin of Show TV did not include such announcement. Furthermore, what is lacking is as significant as what is present in the news stories. For example, unlike Show TV, Fox TV avoided giving cure recipes for the coronavirus; indeed, the expert in News 5 clearly stated that there is no specific food to protect against the coronavirus.

3.2.2. The CDA of the News Narratives of Fox TV and Show TV on April 11, 2020

In terms of the coverage of the news on the Covid-19 epidemic, both Fox TV and Show TV prioritized informing the public about the coronavirus on April 11, 2020. Show TV presented 21 news stories (except for News 4, 5 and 8 which are not related to the Covid-19 epidemic) whilst Fox TV presented 12 news stories on the Covid-19 epidemic, but both channels allocated 40 to 45 minutes to the news on the Covid-19 epidemic.

Regarding the tone of the channels, Show TV had 11 news with a neutral tone (News 1, 2, 3, 7, 9, 14, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21), 5 news with an alarming tone (News 6, 11, 12, 13, 16) and 2 news stories (News 10, 14) with a reassuring tone. On the other hand, all of the news stories on Fox TV on April 11, 2020 had a neutral tone. The news stories with an alarming tone need further consideration; for example, Show TV presented News 6 in an alarming tone. This news stories featured two experts who stated that the number of cases may increase or that the virus can spread further because the public flocked to the streets upon the announcement of the curfew. This tone certainly caused more fear among the public. News 11 and News 12 on Show TV were about the situation across the world about the Covid-19 epidemic. Show TV again used an alarming tone to inform about the worldwide situation and focused on the

death and poverty related to the Covid-19 epidemic around the world. In this way, Show TV perhaps intended to portray the situation in other countries worse than the situation in Turkey. It is further striking that News 13 featured headlines such as “Corona caused unemployment” or “Confluence in food distribution”. This news story showed such dramatic scenes from Africa where lots of people were in panic and got stomped on in the rush in an attempt to obtain food. In this way, Show TV once again emphasizes the difference between the situation in Turkey and other countries. News 16, which was about a Covid-19 patient escaping the hospital in Turkey, had an alarming tone as well. On the other hand, Show TV also presented two news stories in a reassuring tone. One of them is News 10 which portrayed the police in Istanbul skillful and capable. Headlines such as “Istanbul police kept a sharp outlook” or “Police rushed to the aid of the needy” intended to praise the police and gave a reassuring portrayal of the police. Thus, the channel makes a propaganda using the Covid-19 agenda. The other news story with a reassuring tone is News 14 which informed that services such as bakery, pharmacies, water stores, etc. will not be interrupted during the curfew.

The channels presented similarly diverse news on April 11, 2020. The news stories of Show TV were about shopping, curfew in general, transportation, world agenda, service sectors. Show TV also had some soft news that contained magazine’s incidents in News 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21. For example, news 17 featured the encounter of a doctor mother and her daughter, who longed for her mother for one month. This news was designed to attract the attention of the audience, and the content was rather sensational, instead of informative. Thus, Show TV seems to focus on the sensational consequences of the epidemic like a tabloid newspaper. The news stories of Fox TV, on the other hand, were diverse, including news on prevention, shopping, curfew, transportation, pet owners and service sectors as well as politics. In this regard, Fox TV presented three news stories on politics regarding the Covid-19 epidemic (News 4, 5 and 6). Unlike Show TV, Fox TV questions why such decision was taken suddenly and without any prior notice. It highlighted the consequences of such sudden decision. News 4 informs about the opinions of the opposite parties and other officials affected by this decision. News 5 criticizes the announcement of the curfew decision, asking would it be better to announce this decision earlier during the day. News 6 questioned the capability of the government in managing the Covid-19 crisis.

The voices heard in the news bulletin of Show TV on April 11, 2020 are quite limited; News 1 simply informed about the scope of the curfew, giving a direct quotation from Süleyman Soylu, the Minister of the Interior. News 6 presented the opinions of two experts, Alpay Azap and Ateş Kara. Compared to Show TV, Fox TV allowed for various voices in its news bulletin, including politicians, experts, and other authorities. Indeed, News 1 included statements from Süleyman Soylu, Fahrettin Koca and Fahrettin Altun, Head of Communications Department. News 3 presented Soylu again. Different politicians such as Ekrem İmamoğlu, Muhittin Böcek and Mansur Yavaş (News 4) and Meral Akşener, Süleyman Soylu, Cemal Enginyurt, Erkan Haberal, Temel Karamolluoğlu, Kemal Kılıçdaroğlu (News 5), Lütfü Türkkan, Fikret Şahin, Özgür Özel, Cahit Özkan, Oya Ersoy, Aytun Çıray (News 6) as well as experts such as Prof. Dr. Kayıhan Pala and Dr. Serdar Savaş (News 10) were present in the news bulletin of Fox TV. It is notable that most of these voices had a political identity, but Fox TV featured different politicians from different political backgrounds and thus portrayed an objective picture.

As for the reliability of the information given in the news bulletins of Show TV and Fox TV, Show TV used only one reliable source, giving a direct quotation from Süleyman Soylu, the Minister of the Interior in News 1. Show TV also portrayed an incomplete picture of the curfew as the channel puts the blame on the public for the negative consequences of such a sudden curfew, given that News 5 and News 7 respectively read the following headlines: “They went out to traffic despite the curfew!” and “People shopping despite the ban”. News 8 also informed that “Some did not know about the curfew!”, but the underlying reasons for this were not identified by Show TV at all. Thus, Show TV failed to provide an objective and reliable image in its new bulletin on April 11, 2020. On the contrary, Fox TV covered the opinions of various experts and politicians, as mentioned above, and extended the scope of the information provided based on reliable resources.

No misinformation has been identified in the news bulletins of Show TV and Fox TV on April 11, 2020. Yet, one finding is striking: Show TV constantly blames the public and makes a propaganda for the government. In fact, Show TV clearly illustrates the consequences of such a sudden curfew, but refrains from criticizing the government. For example, News 2 (with the headlines of “People waited for hours for bread” and “Traffic jam at the midnight!”) and News 3 (with the headlines of “Hundred meters long queues due to curfew!” and “Bakers caught off guard too!”) indicate the

negative consequences of the curfew, but the channel failed to question or make any negative comment on the decision itself. On the other hand, Fox TV questioned this decision on behalf of the public and gave the last say to the public itself by presenting both opinions. Again, similar to its agenda on March 11, 2020, Fox TV seemed to act as the voice of the public and to take on the role to inform the public. It is also notable that Fox TV includes questions rather than statements more often than Show TV in its headlines. This also implies that it intends to leave the final remark to the public only by asking questions.

3.2.3. The CDA of the News Narratives of Fox TV and Show TV on June 18, 2020

Show TV presented 7 news whilst Fox TV presented 3 news on the Covid-19 outbreak on June 18, 2020. Yet, Show TV covered its news bulletin with the news stories on the Covid-19 outbreak; Fox TV allocated half of its bulletin to the Covid-19-related news stories.

Out of 7 news of Show TV, 2 had an alarming tone whereas 5 had a neutral tone. Fox TV, on the contrary, had 2 neutral and 1 reassuring news stories. The news stories with an alarming tone on Show TV were News 1 and News 7. It is notable that Show TV again had an alarming tone in portraying the world situation on the coronavirus in News 7, which described the Covid-19 outbreak as “nightmare.” Show TV used a neutral tone in portraying the situation in Turkey in this news bulletin, except for News 1, which only provided the number of deaths due to the coronavirus. Fox TV, on the other hand, used a reassuring tone to describe the situation in Turkey in News 1. For example, one of the headlines in News 1, which reads “Intubated deaths fell from 67 percent to 4 percent”, focused on the decrease in the number of deaths. In this way, Fox TV avoided fostering further panic among the public.

The diversity of the news stories was similar, despite the difference in the number of the news stories. Show TV presented news on education, measures, prevention and world agenda whilst Fox TV presented news on measures, prevention, education and transportation.

Show TV used the statements of Fahrettin Koca in News 1 as well as statements of Ziya Selçuk in News 2. The channel also benefited from the opinions of an expert, Prof. Dr. Seçil Özkan, in News 3. Similarly, Fox TV covered some statements of Koca in News 1 and News 3 and Ziya Selçuk in News 3. Fox TV also used Prof. Dr. Tevfik Özlü’s tweet in News 3; Özlü is a member of the Corona Science Committee in Turkey.

The channel also presented Dr. Serdar Savaş, an expert of public health, in News 3. Both channels thus benefited from the statements of various experts and the official responsible for health communication on this epidemic.

As for the reliability of the channels, both channels provided reliable information based on solid sources. No misinformation has been identified in their news bulletin on June 18, 2020.

The CDA analysis overall shows that the collective memory in the making is a complicated one, giving latent signals and deliberately leaving some questions unanswered. Given that

“the construction of collective memory is a continuous, multi-directional process” (Neiger, Meyers and Zandberg, 2011, p. 4)

and the collective memory about coronavirus is currently in the making, this study can only provide preliminary findings about how these channels contributed to the way such collective memory will be constructed. And, it yields that the collective memory in the making still needs to be completed, with some of its big puzzle pieces being missing.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS, DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This study has intended to take the Turkish media as its case and to examine the news narratives on Show TV and Fox TV, two Turkish television channels with different images, selected through purposeful sampling method, on coronavirus. To that end, this study, the first of its kind to trace news narratives in the Turkish media in the context of collective memory, misinformation and social reality, has analyzed the news bulletins on Show TV and Fox TV on three different dates, March 11, April 11, and June 18, 2020, through a mixed methodology that consists of content analysis, as a quantitative method, and critical discourse analysis, a qualitative methodology. The findings have provided important insights into the difference between these two channels in portraying the same collective trauma as well as into the understanding of the representation of the Covid-19 epidemic in the Turkish media.

Before going any further, it should be noted that the collective memory addressed in this study is one that belongs to the mainstream media. That is to say, this study indeed deals with the representation of the mainstream media within the Turkish society. It should be further considered that the mainstream media overall provides the society with the information by citing from the government authorities, the national and international medical authorities. It is within this context that this study takes the discourses in the Turkish mainstream media as its case. As a researcher, I am aware that there are different, controversial perspectives towards the Covid-19 epidemic; as mentioned before, only a retrospective perspective of future research on the Covid-19 epidemic, when it is finally over, will yield a more comprehensive argument on the construction of the collective memory on coronavirus.

Now returning back to this study, **Chapter 1** provided a background for this study. It once again underlined that:

“remembering the coronavirus pandemic represents an obligation to the present and the future” (Kosciejew, 2021, p. 1),

which constructed the main motivation of this study. As clear from **Chapter 1**, this study is the first of its kind to trace news narratives on the Covid-19 epidemic in the Turkish media in the context of collective memory, misinformation and social reality with a mixed methodology. It also identified six research questions that helped guide this research. Recognizing its limitations regarding the research sample, this

study ensured that the channels analyzed are among the most popular channels in Turkey and represent two different images as opposition and pro-government, which are worth of further investigation. This study also offered an in-depth analysis of these two channels on these three dates specified earlier to overcome the representation challenge.

Then, **Chapter 2** overviewed the media and collective identity and revealed that collective memory is a media construct as well and that news narratives are fruitful sources that can potentially provide insights into how such memory is constructed by the media. Further on **Chapter 2**, this study made it clear that health communication is critical in pandemics and misinformation is a real threat. It is also remarkable in the case of Turkey that Turkish people are returning to television or social media to learn about the recent developments on the Covid-19 outbreak. Lastly in **Chapter 2**, this study addressed the concepts of collective memory, misinformation and social reality in the context of pandemics.

The following chapter, **Chapter 3** presented the analysis part, including the content analysis and the critical discourse analysis of the news narratives on Show TV and Fox TV on March 11, 2020, April 11, 2020 and June 18, 2020. These analyses offered various findings useful for the conduct of this study because the news stories were categorized by the time allocated, subject and tone. The findings from the content analysis revealed that both channels attributed a similar amount of time to the agenda on coronavirus in all of the news bulletins, despite having a different number of news stories, and thus prioritized health communication in the midst of such a global threat. The findings from the CDA have been more illuminating for this study. From the findings, it is clear that these two channels presented two different social reality in relation to coronavirus. Show TV attempts to reflect a more optimistic picture regarding this health crisis in the country and a more pessimistic picture in the rest of the world whereas Fox TV portrays a relatively more inclusive and objective picture, refraining from the unnecessary use of an alarming or a reassuring tone; this finding answers the second research question on the tone of each channel in presenting the Covid-19 outbreak on the specified dates as well as the fourth research question on the way the news narratives in the specified channels shape the social reality on the coronavirus in Turkey.

Despite informing on the same collective trauma, the channels differed in their views about those responsible for the further spread of the virus and the negative

implications of this health crisis. The former blamed the public whilst the latter blamed the government. The former disregarded the poor management of the government and highlights the irresponsibility of the public in obeying the rules whereas the latter heavily criticized the decisions and measures taken by the government in this process and paves the way for questions on the efficient management of the government. Indeed, both channels benefited from this crisis; the former to support the adequacy and capability of the government and the latter to criticize it and its poor management. This also offers an answer to the third research question on the difference between the images of the Covid-19 outbreak portrayed by these two channels. Yet, in doing so, Show TV agitated the public whilst Fox TV kept its neutral tone as much as possible.

Such great differences in the representation of a serious health crisis about which there was originally almost no information available, are remarkable. Here, it is important to remind that

“during crises, the public increases its dependence on the media”. (Ball-Rokeach and De Fleur, 1976, p. 7).

In such situations, it is more critical that the media remains objective and offers reliable information to the public. This study also reported that Show TV offered a myth recipe for protecting oneself against coronavirus in the earlier period of the Covid-19 outbreak, where panic and anxiety among the public was perhaps at the highest level. In this way, the channel disseminated misinformation on this unknown virus to the public and toyed with the fear of the public. This again provides an answer to the fifth research question on whether the news narratives disseminate misinformation on the coronavirus. This piece of finding is congruent with the finding of Selman Selim Akyüz (2020) that this epidemic can be considered as a misinformation outbreak and misinformation is mostly about the properties, effects and treatment of the coronavirus.

Overall, this study offers significant insights into the collective memory about coronavirus in Turkey, which is still in the making, based on the portrayal of two different channels. The importance of this virus can be once again emphasized by Erll as follows:

“Covid-19 is the first global pandemic of the digital age”. (Erll, 2020b, p. 49).

These digital media sources are thus of critical significance for the collective memory on coronavirus. This study, offering a glimpse into such collective memory, reveals that both channels prioritize health communication; that whilst Show TV used

more news with an alarming or reassuring tone, Fox TV opted for neutral tone in general; that Show TV mostly benefited from an alarming or reassuring tone to portray a better situation in Turkey and a worse situation in the rest of the world regarding the Covid-19 outbreak, and abused the Covid-19 crisis to make a political propaganda and to contribute to the confidence in the capability of the government and police officers in managing the Covid-19 crisis. This study also concludes that Show TV made advantage of this crisis to attract more attention, as it presented various soft news regarding the coronavirus that were merely intended to agitate the public; that Fox TV contributed to the cool headedness of the public by not dominantly using an alarming tone. When it used an alarming tone, its purpose was simply to describe what happened in order to help generate action. It lastly shows that Fox TV portrayed a more objective and inclusive picture, making more people heard whilst the image portrayed by Show TV is not completely reliable due to misinformation (the myth recipe presented) and biased as it prioritized the voices of the government officials and praised the capability of the government.

Returning to the principal findings of this study, the news bulletins of Show TV and Fox TV on March 11, 2020 yield various important findings. It is evidently clear from the findings that both channels prioritize health communication; however, Show TV used more alarming and reassuring tone than Fox TV, which means that Show TV sought to manage the Covid-19 crisis and alter the public perception. In other words, Show TV attempted to manipulate the crisis using an alarming tone in news on worldwide situation and a reassuring or neutral tone in news on Turkey. The reality portrayed by Show TV offers a better image than it exists regarding the situation in Turkey and looks at Turkey through rose-colored glasses. This optimistic image is, needless to say, in favor of the ruling government. Portraying the government adequate and capable in the fight against coronavirus, Show TV makes a political propaganda. Show TV further makes such propaganda directly in News 4 and News 5 in its bulletin on March 11, 2020. Interrupting the flow of news related to coronavirus, Show TV suddenly changed the topic to the main opposition party and criticized this party in News 4 and 5. However, it continued to give Covid-19-related news further in News 6 and so on.

In line with this, Show TV also featured more government officials than Fox TV. Yet, no reliable expert was invited to the news bulletin; what's more, the anchorwoman herself showed how to wash hands properly. In this way, in the news

bulletin of Show TV, politicians appeared more than scientists or health experts and doctors. This implies that Show TV intends to use this virus to make a political propaganda; through this propaganda, Show TV gradually contributes to a collective memory where the people in Turkey remember an efficient management of the ruling government during the Covid-19 crisis in Turkey. Thus, it is reasonable to claim that Show TV does not prioritize offering an objective health communication based on reliable sources. Merely to attract attention, Show TV does not even refrain from producing a myth recipe for coronavirus, thus toying with the fear of the public.

On the contrary, Fox TV kept its neutral tone in its new bulletin as much as possible. It seems that Fox TV is not in an attempt to agitate the public. Given that there was lack of information on this new coronavirus in March 11, 2020, and fear towards the unknown was great, Fox TV contributed to the cool headedness of the public by not dominantly using an alarming tone. Despite the lack of information on how serious the coronavirus was at that time, Fox TV used objective and neutral reporting terms and mostly avoided using an alarming tone. Yet, it is striking that Show TV used an alarming tone in two news (News 10 and 11), which were both about market stocks. Provoking discourse such as “exhausted stocks” or “corona craze” or “shelves went empty” would do nothing other than triggering fear and anxiety among the public. This would also increase panic buying against this unknown new virus. Fox TV used an alarming tone as well in its News 6 which was about shopping too. However, it mostly focused on reporting what happens in more neutral terms, using words such as “coronavirus rush” or “coronavirus opportunism”. One of the headlines in this news reported that the Ministry of Trade asked the public to report overpriced sales, which sounds reassuring. So, it is plausible to claim that Fox TV used an alarming tone simply to describe what happened in order to help generate action related to stocks problems experienced.

Fox TV featured as many politicians as Show TV, but the channel also included experts to its bulletin. This reinforced its image as a reliable news channel. It also helped relieving the anxiety among the public and removing confusion on coronavirus. One striking finding of this study is that both channels provided diverse news and prioritized this virus in their news bulletins; nevertheless, Show TV prioritized this virus from a political point of view and eventually validating the actions taken by government officials during this crisis. Indeed, Show TV also used the statements of the President Tayyip Erdoğan on coronavirus to make a political propaganda in News

3 where the news story began with the headline “The virus is not stronger than our measures” but later merely criticized the leader of the opposition party. In this way, Show TV benefited from this virus agenda, or even abused it. Its sensationalist discourse did not help too; terms such as “death toll”, “deadly nightmare” and “red alarm” added to the already pronounced fear among the public. On the other hand, Fox TV focused on objective and reliable health communication, serving the public as the fourth estate. Asking the questions on behalf of the public, Fox TV designed its news to remove confusion. Also, explaining the measures taken in detail, it helped relieving the anxiety of the public and making them feel safe to some extent.

The news bulletins of Show TV and Fox TV on April 11, 2020 yield various important findings as well. With a similar amount of time attributed to the Covid-19 agenda, both channels prioritized this crisis. Show TV used varying tones (11 neutral, 5 alarming and 2 reassuring) whilst Fox TV maintained its neutral tone in all of its 12 news stories. This is congruent with the findings from the analyses of the news stories by tone on March 11, 2020. Whilst Fox TV informed the public without attempting to change the perception, Show TV benefited from different tones to alter the public perception. The news with an alarming tone on the bulletin of Show TV again served for manipulating the crisis and offering a better image than it exists in Turkey and a worst image in the rest of the world. The alarming news also triggered fear and anxiety among the public in the midst of a curfew. Moreover, the news with a reassuring tone contributed to the confidence in the capability of the government and police officers in managing the crisis. In this regard, Show TV again served as a voice for the government. The lack of any questioning about the decision and time of the announcement of the curfew itself is also important. Show TV presented the out-of-stock products in the markets because of the curfew, leading more fear, but refrained from questioning why such impulsive shopping occurred. In fact, it put the blame on the public for the negative consequences of such a sudden curfew. Further blaming the public for the crowdedness of the markets due to curfew, Show TV makes a propaganda. On the other hand, Fox TV questions the decision of curfew and held the government responsible for flocks to the markets before the curfew.

It is further striking that the news bulletin of Show TV on April 11, 2020 included the sensational consequences of the epidemic like a tabloid newspaper. The soft news in the bulletin made the Covid-19 outbreak look like a magazine’s incident, thus portraying a less critical situation. This news also implied that Show TV sought

to present a rather sensational, instead of informative, content to attract attention. Another important finding is that the voices heard are quite limited in the news bulletin of Show TV (one government official and two health experts) whilst Fox TV presented various voices, including different politicians with different ideologies, experts, and other authorities. This means that Fox TV portrays a more objective and inclusive picture, making more people heard.

Overall, Show TV made a biased image in favor of the government against the public and Turkey against other countries in its news bulletin on April 11, 2020. On the contrary, Fox TV questioned the decision of curfew on behalf of the public and gave the last say to the public itself by raising questions on behalf of the public.

Lastly, the news bulletins of Show TV and Fox TV on the Covid-19 outbreak on June 18, 2020 yield similar findings consistent with the news bulletins in other two dates. Show TV again presented alarming news in portraying the world situation on the coronavirus while neutral news in portraying the situation in Turkey. On the other hand, Fox TV used a reassuring tone in describing the situation in Turkey, focusing on the decrease in death. This finding emphasized that Show TV attempted to alter the public perception whereas Fox TV was not in such attempt. This seems to offer an answer the first research question as well. Both channels benefited from the statements of various experts and the official responsible for health communication on this epidemic in this news bulletin.

Table 7. The distribution of the tones in the news bulletins of Show and Fox TV on March 11, April 11, and June 18, 2020

	March 11, 2020	April 11,2020	June18,2020	Total News
Fox TV	9 news	12 news	3 news	24news
Tone	7 (neutral) 1 (alarming) 1 (reassuring)	12 (neutral)	2 (neutral) 1(reassuring)	
Show TV	13 news	23 news	7 news	43news
Tone	6 (neutral) 4 (alarming) 3 (reassuring)	15 (neutral) 6 (alarming) 2 (reassuring)	5 (neutral) 2(alarming)	

Based on these findings, the collective memory on the Covid-19 outbreak in Turkey constructed by Show TV is more alarming than the collective memory constructed by Fox TV is (See Table 7). Out of 43 news in the news bulletins on March 11, April 11 and June 18, 2020, Show TV presented 12 alarming news (27.9%), 5 reassuring news (11.6%) and 26 neutral news (60.5%). On the other hand, out of 24 news, Fox TV only had 1 alarming news (4.2%) and 2 reassuring news (8.3%), and 21 neutral news (87.5%).

This is an important piece of finding that this study yields through the content analysis method. It shows that Show TV tends to make a propaganda through the news, either by presenting them in an alarming way or in a reassuring way. While the content analysis method clearly demonstrated that Show TV contributes to a different reality on the agenda of the Covid-19 outbreak in Turkey, it fails to identify what the channel intends to do. The CDA conducted under this study yielded further important findings in this regard. It is obvious from the CDA that Show TV attempted to alter the perception towards coronavirus by portraying a better situation in Turkey and a worse situation in the rest of the world. This sensational presentation of the news seems to be deliberate, intending to make political propaganda as well. It is not surprising that

Show TV benefited from this crisis for such purposes as it is known to represent a pro-government image. Although this is a private media outlet, as Adaklı (2014) explains, it was sold to Ciner Group in 2013:

“Media outlets such as Show TV, Skytürk and the Akşam newspaper posted huge losses, and were unable to pay employee salaries for months on end. On May 24, 2013, the Security Deposit Insurance Fund seized the Group’s media companies, and almost immediately, Show TV was sold for a ludicrously low sum to Turgay Ciner, who enjoyed strong relations with the government”.

Ciner Group is also among the media outlets that dominate the media market; indeed, Karlıdağ and Bulut (2021) argue that

“[i]n terms of media ownership, Doğuş, Demirören, Albayrak, Ciner, Kalyon, and İhlas dominate the holding media market.”

These close relations with the government are apparent in that Show TV mirrors the views of the government on the Covid-19 outbreak, validates the decisions taken by the government and serves as a spokesperson for the government.

Thus, creating a reality through its presentation of the news on coronavirus, Show TV contributed to a collective memory on the Covid-19 outbreak in Turkey where people recall the capability of the government and the so-called success of the government officials in managing such crisis, and put the blame on themselves for the negative consequences of the sudden decisions taken by the government. Such collective memory will also clash between ‘the capability’ of the government and ‘the incapability’ of the public (because of failing to obey the rules). While people attribute the negative consequences of this crisis to themselves in the future, they will validate that the government did its own part in managing this crisis. Such collective memory will reflect a more positive image of Turkey relative to the rest of the world too. This outbreak will be anchored to the memory of the public from the perspective of the politicians, rather than the public or health experts, as they were the only ones foregrounded by Show TV, which acted as the unofficial voice of the government, promoting the decisions taken by the government and shying away from other views.

It is necessary to elaborate on one specific aspect of such collective memory contributed to by Show TV, which is its insistence on “the irresponsibility of the citizens” in the Covid-19 outbreak. Congruent with the finding of Şirvanlı (2021) that the news on the Covid-19 epidemic varied on the axis of “the irresponsibility of the

citizens” and “the inadequacy of state officials”, the news on Show TV mostly foregrounded “the irresponsibility of the citizens”. This is an important finding that needs more attention. The headlines such as “Nobody followed the social distancing rule!”, “Social distancing rule forgotten!” and “They went out to traffic despite the curfew!” all blamed the public for the spread of the coronavirus. Show TV tended to put the public as the actor of the news on coronavirus; thus, covered the inadequacy of the government. In this sense, with an alarming tone, the channel both frightened and blamed the public. The panic caused by this alarming tone, combined with the urge of the public to consider themselves as the responsible of the spread of the virus, prevented the public from questioning the government and created a different social reality where the public seemed to be the one who set the rules and took the measures related to coronavirus.

To the contrary, Fox TV, as a main opposition channel of the government, owned by the Walt Disney Company and defined

“a Turkish subsidiary of an international monopoly, which remained in the centre-right opposition” (Ataman, Çoban and Erkmen, 2020),

bluntly criticized the government and decisions as well as measures taken by the government, albeit without using an alarming tone or creating panic among the public. Yet, to do so, Fox TV presented various politicians with different backgrounds, including both the officials from the government and other figures from the opposition parties. In this way, it represented an inclusive political atmosphere for the audience, to whom it offered a rich array of arguments.

Also, this study finds out that Fox TV kept its neutral tone as much as possible. Unlike Show TV, Fox TV used an alarming tone to help generate action to the problems related to market stocks. Thus, Fox TV contributed to a collective memory on the Covid-19 outbreak in Turkey where people recall the poor management of the government related to coronavirus articulated by various political voices. However, people will also remember how deadly this virus was, as Fox TV did not offer a milder picture regarding the virus. As the public was presented with reliable information on coronavirus based on health experts by Fox TV, such collective memory perhaps allows them to take proper actions against any future pandemics, recognizing the deadliness of such virus. For that reason, it can be argued that Fox TV helped the public effectively fight against future pandemics as well, as the public would not underestimate the implications of such pandemics in the future thanks to the objective

and inclusive picture offered by the channel regarding the Covid-19 outbreak. That said, this discussion of the findings provides insights into the last research question on how coronavirus will be anchored to the collective memory of the Turkish people.

In conclusion, although the collective memory about coronavirus is currently in the making, these channels contributed to the way such collective memory will be constructed. Collective memory in the case of global health threats and collective traumas become more and more critical for people to take the consequences of such threats and traumas seriously and to take the required actions in the future. Collective memory, in this regard, helps people recall these threats and traumas and say

“[t]his’ is like ‘that’, we survived that and can survive this”. (Demertzis and Eyerman, 2020, p. 435).

In this sense, it is of pivotal importance that the media portrays the situation objectively and presents the implications of such threats and traumas as it is. So that people can recognize how serious these threats and traumas have been, and recall such memory, when necessary, in the future.

Given that the effects of the Covid-19 outbreak are still dramatically felt all around the world, the collective memory on it is still being shaped. This brings about the need to make further research on the effects of the media on the collective memory regarding coronavirus. Future studies may focus on different channels, perhaps with different images, and on different dates, covering a larger period of time. In this way, they can help completing the big picture and put another piece of the puzzle regarding the collective memory in the making. Insights into such collective memory are critical, considering that there is very few research on this. The concept of collective memory is thus a promising area of study that can offer a perspective towards the past, which will allow for future contributions to the field.

I am aware that the findings here are only preliminary given that the outbreak is still affecting the world and the representation of the coronavirus by the media is currently in the making. It should be noted that only ‘retrospective’ findings of research that will be conducted 5-10 years from now have the potential to fully discover the collective memory of coronavirus and to uncover the different portrayals of the same collective trauma. However, this current study, exploring the collective memory regarding coronavirus in Turkey and presenting certain preliminary findings, humbly pave the way for future research, which will certainly help a greater understanding in this regard. Thus, taking Show TV and Fox TV as its case, this study

presents a reference for further studies to build on and to add impulses to the field to explore how the social reality created by the media contributes to our collective memory on coronavirus.



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