



KADİR HAS UNIVERSITY
GRADUTE SCHOOLE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
NEW MEDIA DISCIPLINE AREA

**THE USES OF DIGITAL MEDIA IN OVERTHROW THE
COUP: THE CASE OF 15 JULY 2016 COUP IN TURKEY**

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SUPERVISOR: PROF.DR, SEVDA ALANKUŞ

MASTER'S THESIS

İSTANBUL, MARCH, 2018

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MASTER'S THESIS

Submitted to the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Kadir Has University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master's in the Discipline Area under the program of New Media.

ISTANBUL, MARCH, 2018

I, BASSAM ABUYOUNIS;

Hereby declare that this Master's Thesis is my own original work and that due references have been appropriately provided on all supporting literature and resources.

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ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL

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ABSTRACT

ABOYOUNIS, BASSAM. *THE USES OF DIGITAL MEDIA IN OVERTHROW THE COUP: THE CASE OF 15 JULY 2016*, MASTER'S THESIS, İstanbul, 2018.

The internet became the biggest network worldwide and Facebook became the largest virtual community with 2 billion users around the world in the last six years. The Middle East has witnessed several revolutions in many countries such as Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Yemen and Syria, and a military intervention took place in Egypt in July 2013. All these developments are deeply related with the speedy revolution on the internet, especially the social media. People in those cases used the social media to participate in and organize crowds in the streets and squares, to boost their morale, and mobilize the resentment. In this study I tried to analyze how Turkish people benefited from the use of social media, with a specific reference to the use of social media in Turkey in the 15 July 2016 coup attempt. The thesis argues that digital media, more specifically the social media and the Facetime application played a crucial role in mobilizing, organizing, and motivating the masses revolt against the military forces which aimed at overthrowing the elected government.

Keywords: Coup attempt, Facetime, social media, overthrowing.

ÖZET

ABOYOUNIS, BASSAM. *15 TEMMUZ DARBESİNİN PÜSKÜRTÜLMESİNDE DİJİTAL MEDYANIN KULLANIMI*, YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ, İstanbul, 2018.

İnternet dünya çapındaki en büyük ağ hâline geldi ve Facebook, son altı yıl içinde 2 milyar uluslararası kullanıcısıyla en geniş sanal topluluk oldu. Orta Doğu Tunus, Mısır, Libya, Yemen ve Suriye gibi pek çok ülkenin devrimlerine ve Temmuz 2013'te Mısır'da gerçekleşen askeri müdahalesine şahitlik etti. Tüm bu gelişmelerin internetin (özellikle de sosyal medyanın) hızla evrimleşmesi ile derin bir ilişkisi bulunmaktadır. Bu tür güç durumlarla karşı karşıya kalan insanlar, sosyal medyayı kalabalığı organize etmek, halkı sokaklara ve meydanlara çağırarak, moralleri yükseltmek ve seferber olmak için kullandı. Bu çalışmada Türklerin sosyal medya kullanımını nasıl avantaja çevirdiklerini, 15 Temmuz 2016 tarihinde meydana gelen darbe girişimi kapsamında incelemeye çalıştım. Bu tez, dijital medyanın (özellikle de sosyal medyanın ve Facetime uygulamasının) seferberlik, organize olma ve devleti yıkmaya çalışan askeri güçlere karşı direnen kitleleri motive etme konularında ne kadar önemli bir rol oynadığını öne sürmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Darbe girişimi, Facetime, sosyal medya, püskürtme.

INTRODUCTION

Since 2006, Facebook has been the largest social media platform which includes more than two billions users according to the last statistics, which implied a big revolution in the history of communication technologies. This study is looking at how people benefit from digital media in the critical events in their life. In other words, how Turkish people could benefit from the use of digital media as it happened during the Arab Spring. What we see is the masses in Turkey largely benefited from the social media in stopping the 15 July coup attempt.

This study aims to shed light on the uses of new media in the overthrow of the coup of 15 July 2016 in Turkey. It focuses on the role of the FaceTime live conversation between the CNN Turk presenter Hande Fırat and the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on the night of the coup. This case was an example to the speed and effectiveness of the social media, which drew the attention of the journalists, academics and politicians and on the uses and effects of the social media.

The main hypothesis of this study is that digital media tools, specifically the Facetime application played a critical positive role in presenting the president on TV. The course of events has dramatically changed as the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan invited the Turkish people to go out on the streets and squares to stop the military intervention. In addition, the researcher supposes that the time of the interview between President Erdogan and the presenter Hande Fırat on the Facetime application was important. At that specific time President Erdogan couldn't be reached directly by TV. Also, the body language of both of them was significant in the success of the call on the facetime application at the start of the events at the time.

Furthermore, digital media tools are not only confined to the Facetime application, but there are few other tools the researcher is going to analyze in this study, including are continuous coverage of the events in Ataturk Airport and Taksim square on Twitter and Facebook.

The researcher used qualitative research methods. In addition to the second hand studies on the subjects, interviews were made with journalists, academics and politicians covered and commented on the coup attempt. Finally, digital media is among many

other variables which can be used to understand the dynamics, process, and consequences of the coup attempt. The humanity limit in the study is journalists, politicians and academic who are working in Turkey. However, the institutional limit are the TV channels, newspapers and agencies in Turkey. In addition, the place limit is Turkey.

CHAPTER 1

THE NEW MEDIA AGE

1.1. THE HISTORY OF NEW MEDIA

In 1833, the analytical engine started weaves algebraically patterns as Jacquard loom, then a programmed machine was already synthesizing image before it was put to processing numbers. Jacquard loom and the analytical engine is not something historians of computers make much of, since their computer image synthesis represents just one application of the modern digital computer among thousands of others. However, according to a historian of new media, it is full of significance (Crowley, 2003, p. 320).

There is a strong relationship between the old media (or television and newspapers) and digital media, considering both of them are mass media. Although there are more than a billion of users accessing the Net and the Web daily, they are accessing in different ways. And there are already over eight billion pages on the World Wide Web. The Web and the Net differ from the traditional media like TV and radio, since they incorporate a two-way, interactive communication. New media give more space to users' participation, and users became parts and active producers of content and information.

According to Lev Manovich 1936 was the history of media and computing he said " a German engineer Konrad Zuse had been building a computer in the living room of his parents' apartment in Berlin. Zuse's computer was the first working digital computer. One of his innovations was program control by punched tape. The tape Zuse used was actually discarded 35 mm movie film" In the provided a theoretical description of a general purpose computer later named after its inventor 'the universal Turing machine'. On every step the tape would be proceeding to get back the next command, read the data, or write the result. Its diagram looks suspiciously like a film projector'.

'The identity of both media and the computer is one. No longer just a calculator, control mechanism, or communication device, the computer becomes a media processor.

Before, the computer could read a row of numbers, producing a result. Now it can read pixel value, blurring the image, adapting the disparity, or checking whether it contains an outline of an object. Building on these lower level-operations, it can also perform more ambitious ones searching image data-bases for images similar in composition or content to an input image' (2001, pp.45-48).

On every step the tape would be proceeding to get back the next command, read the data, or write the result. Its diagram looks suspiciously like a film projector. The identity of both media and the computer is one. It is no longer just a calculator, control mechanism, or communication device only, but the computer becomes a media processor.

According to Wilson Dizard, Jr's 'although the few improvements in the technology of media, the industry is still receive products from the old-fashioned ways as newspapers, magazines and Hollywood films. Until today the only important breaking in these huge practices is the use of communications satellites for the products of radio, television and cable TV networks. And in 1990, older media caught up with the high-tech telecommunications revolution, the existence of telecommunications network, which date back to the nineteenth century, is also obviously crucial as the theoretical tools for the design of the networks, exemplified by the development of information theory in the late 1940 (1994, p. 45).

According to Marshal McLuhan, as he had found out the starting of new media on 1964 when the old media of communication was concentrated by computers, he showed a radical difference that compared to the mechanical media and technologies like the printing press, newspapers and the clock. Some of these new media are not classified as new media, however they must be included to make our update complete. Here the tape of recorder, the video camera, fax, the photocopier, and personal computers (2010, pp. 1-3).

On the researcher's point of view, Marshal McLuhan related between TV, new media and computer, due to the findings of this study the researcher thinks that new media and TV are related and no one of them can replace one another.

The first personal computer network was created in 1990. As Brian Wiston stated, it was created as a virtual new dimension of human experience. Most technologies in history have been dependent upon the establishment of the networks. Despite the improvements in new communication technologies, the industry still receives products in old-fashioned forms as newspapers, magazines and Hollywood films. Until today, the only important break in these huge practices is the use of communications satellites for the products of radio, television and cable TV networks (Wiston, 1998, p. 243).

Previously, the computer could read a row of numbers and, produce a result. Now it can do more than things such as reading pixel value, blurring the image, adapting the disparity, or checking whether it contains an outline of an object. Building on these lower level-of-orations, it can also perform more ambitious ones such searching image data-bases for images similar in composition or content to an input image (Manovich, 2001, pp. 45-48).

From Rebecca Ann Lind's point of view, the design of the timeline of Facebook began to roll out in 2011. All the changes on Facebook met with both of praise and condemnation. And as Ann Lind says "our activity on Facebook is bounded (2015, p.1).

In UK 2014s, the Reuters Institute organized a seminar, and discussed how media became new and how journalists are going to be new media journalists. There were several journalists with different opinions. Carla Buzasi (2014) thinks that this age is the stage of digital media and the most exciting time to be working in journalism. She argues that "most people in the industry of new media are going to be a multi-media journalist. In her personal point of view, it is important to combine the old journalism skills to the new ones, such as social media and technology-related skills. Buzasi says 'mastering technology is going to be more important in the future. The Huffington Post has found a way of bringing traffic from 'evergreen' content which is not news-based but seasonal.'

However, Buzasi argues "journalists still have to trust their talents beyond metrics otherwise, it is impossible to give people what they want. At the same time they will deliver something that people didn't know that they want yet." Buzasi proposes that more new media brands will break through in the future, because young audiences aren't tied to old brands in the same way the older generations are.

Buzasi finds BuzzFeed, Vice and Flipboard to be particular interest, and she has the confidence in journalism as she sees'. Buzasi focuses on young people in her speech because they are the most active segment of the population, they spend most of their time in social media platforms, and they have the ability to change and influence of the public sphere. They have some way of showing that they can be journalists; blogging is a good way to do it.

1.2. THE LIFE AFTER NEW MEDIA

Being on Facebook or twitter, having a smartphones or a digital camera, and gaining one's genetic profile on a CD after being tested for a variety of genetic diseases became part of many people's lives. We maintain that there is a need to move beyond the initial glamor.

There is also a need to look at the overlap of technical and biological process of mediation, so discovering fast things during certain circumstances becomes enunciated as a medium which is subject to the same cloning reproduction, and transformation such as other media forms like CD, video, cassettes, and chemically printed photographs.

In a parallel movement, the rise of modern media technology allows the storage of images, image sequences, sound, texts using different material forms, photographic plates, film stocks, gramophones records, and etc. (Kember and Zylinska, 2014, p. xiv)

It is true that the environment of the use of digital media is computer, smartphones, iPads, etc, and they are related to each other. The revolution in technology has changed the face of the world. All types of old media try keeping up the new media age in order to stay alive!

According to Dizard, "changes in the media sector are taking place at three levels: technical, political and economic. Technologically, all media that are adjusting to the new prospects opened up by the digitization of their traditional products.

Politically, news, laws and regulations at the federal, state, and local levels are reducing the barriers that limited media organizations in taking full advantage of the new

technologies. Economically, two trends dominate. At one level, there is the continuing consolidation of power into larger media conglomerates. Opposing this is the rise of smaller, new enterprises that are challenging the conglomerates in both product innovation and in marketing savvy" (Dizard, 2000, p. xiii).

1.3. THE DEFINITION OF DIGITAL MEDIA

According to Hassan and Julian Thomas, "the popular understanding of new media identifies it with the use of a computer for distribution an exhibition rather than production. Accordingly, texts distributed on a computer 'web sites and electronic book' are considered to be new media, whereas texts distributed on paper are not. Similarly, photographs that are put on a CD-ROM and require a computer to be viewed are considered new media; the same photographs printed in a book are not considered so" (Hassan and Thomas 2006, p. 5).

According to Leah A. Liverouw and Sonia Livigston, "most of the definitions of new media and ICT have focused on their technological features. Wilbur Schramm (1977) classified communication media on the basis of channel characteristics that parallel human sensory perception, such as motion versus still visual, sound versus silent, text versus picture, or one-way (simplex) versus two-way (duplex) transmission (liverouw and Livigston 2002, p. 5).

According to Bolter and Grusin in 2000s, "new media in terms of remediation, the representation of one medium in another remediation and that remediation is the defining characteristic of the new digital media".

According to Marshal McLuhan, "new media refer to digital media, which are interactive, incorporate two-way communication and involve some form of computing as opposed to "old media" such as the telephone, radio and TV. These older media, which are in their original incarnation, did not require computer technology (McLuhan, 2010, p.4).

According to Charles Moore, digital media is something along the lines of centralized electronic record around the interest, behavior, demographics, and other personal data

relating to an individual online, both a mix of passively collected data, as well as proactively contributed data (Moore, 2007, p.19).

According to Sarita Nayyar, digital media is defined as products and services that come from the media, entertainment and information industry and subsectors. It includes digital platforms such as websites and applications, digitized content such as text, audio, video and image, and services like information, entertainment and communication that can be accessed and consumed through different digital devices (Nayyar, 2016, p.5).

According to Terry Flew, new media can be thought of as digital media. Digital media are forms of media content that combine and integrate data, text, sound, and images of all kinds. They are stored in digital formats and are increasingly distributed through networks such as those which are based on broadband fibre-optic cable, satellites, and microwaves transmission systems (Flew, 2005, p.2).

According to Rachard, Campbell, Charistopher R. Martin and Bettina Fabos, social media are a fairly new form of media that is still growing. Practitioners and researchers have offered several ways of describing the world of social media including: a venue for social interaction-a place where people can share creations, tell stories, and interact with others. Multi-platform, participatory, and digital are essential features of a true democratic public life. Platforms that enable the interactive web by engaging users to participate in, comment on, and create content as means of communicating with their social graph, other users, and the public (Rachard, Campbell, Martin and Fabos, 2014, p. 52).

According to Alan Cann, Konstantia Dimitriou and Tristram Hooley, social media is internet services where the online content is generated by users of the services. Although there are other, large synonymous terms for such services such as web 2.0 and participatory media, for consistency this guide will use the terms “social media” to describe the phenomenon, or “social tools” to describe the technologies”. Social media rely on web-based technologies to turn discrete, usually rather short, user contributions such as status updates or comments into an activity stream (Cann, Dimitriou and Hooley, 2011, p. 7).

Wendy Chun commented on the new media; the term 'new media' came into prominence in the mid-1990s, usurping the place of multimedia in the field of business and art. Unlike its predecessor, the term 'new media' was not accommodating; it portrayed other media as old or dead. It converged rather than multiplied, and it did not efface itself in favor of a happy if redundant plurality.

The singular plurality of the phrase new media is plural noun treated as a singular subject stemmed from its negative definition; it was not mass media, specifically television. It was fluid and individualized connectivity and a medium to distribute control and freedom. Although new media depended heavily on computerization; new media was not simply 'digital media'. It was not digitized forms of other media such as photography, video, text, but rather an interactive medium or form of distribution as independent as the information it relayed (Chun, 2006, p, 1).

1.4. THE CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW MEDIA

Digitality, in the process of new media, means that all input data are converted into numbers. The terms of communication and representational media usually take the form of qualities such as light or sound or represented space which have already been coded into a 'cultural form' such as written text, graphs and diagrams, photographs, or recorded moving images.

Interactivity, the interactivity has become a board term which carries a cluster of associated meaning. It is understood as one of the key 'value added' characteristics of new media. While old media offer passive consumption, new media offer interactivity.

Hypertext: hypertext is a work made up from discrete units of material, each of which carries a number of pathways to other units. The work is a web of connection which the user explores using the navigational aids of the interface design. Each discrete 'node' in the web has a number of entrances and exits or links. The microfiche technologies of the post war period were unable to create Bush's vision. However, twenty years later, as digital computing began to be more widespread, his ideas were revived, most notably by Ted Nelson.

Dispersal: the new media determine a segmented and different audience, yet massive in terms of numbers, not in terms of simultaneity and uniformity of the message it receives. The new media are no longer mass media in the traditional sense of sending a limited number of messages to a homogeneous mass audience because of the multiplicity of messages and sources.

Virtuality: The term of virtual reality has become part of everyday language. The more abstract concept virtuality or virtual is the topic of many academic texts about contemporary media and culture. Any attempt to survey the field of developments associated with these terms is made difficult because they are applied to several different forms of media and image technologies simultaneously.

Virtual reality is the space where participants in online communication feel themselves to be. This is a space famously described as where you are when you're talking on telephone, or, more carefully, as a space which comes into being when you are on the phone, not exactly where you happen to be sitting or not where the other person is. Also, virtual realities are described as the non-immersive and screen-based 3D worlds explored by computer game player (2003, pp. 13-40).

1.5. THE IMPACT OF NEW MEDIA IN PUBLIC SPHERE

1.5.1. The Coherence and Effectiveness of Small Groups

According to Mancur Olson, the greater effectiveness of relatively small groups is evident from observation and experience as well as from theory. Consider, for example, meetings that involve too many people, and accordingly cannot make decisions promptly or carefully. Everyone would like to have the meeting end quickly, but few, if any, will be willing to let their pet concern be dropped to make this possible. Although all of those participating presumably have an interest in reaching sound decisions, this all too often fails to happen.

When the number of participants is large, the typical participant will know that his own efforts will probably not make much difference to the outcome, and that he will be affected by the meeting's decision in the same way no matter how much or how little effort he puts into studying the issues.

John James has done empirical work on this subject with results that support the theory offered in this study though his work was not done to prove any such theory. Professor James found that in a variety of institutions, public and private, national and local, action taking groups and subgroups tended to be much smaller than non-action taking groups and subgroups (Olson, 2002, pp. 53-54).

1.5.2. The Internet And Public Sphere

According to Peter Dahlgren, the theme of the Internet and the public sphere now has a permanent place on research agendas and in intellectual inquiry; it is entering the mainstream of political communication studies and underscoring three main analytic dimensions: the structural, the representational, and the interactional.

In particular, the destabilization of political communication systems is seen as a context for understanding the role of the Internet. It enters into and contributes to this destabilization. At the same time, the notion of destabilization can also embody a positive sense, pointing to dispersions of older patterns that may have outlived their utility.

Further, the discussion takes up obvious positive consequences that follow from the Internet; for example, it extends and pluralizes the public sphere in a number of ways. Thereafter the focus moves on to the interactional dimension of the public sphere, specifically in regard to recent research on how deliberation proceeds in the online public sphere in the contemporary environment of political communication (Dahlgren, 2005, p. 147).

1.5.3. The Impact of Power of Network Society

According to Castells, the sources of social power in our world violence and discourse, coercion and persuasion, political domination and cultural framing have not changed fundamentally from our historical experience, as theorized by some of the leading thinkers on power.

But the terrain where power relationships operate has changed in two major ways: it is primarily constructed around the articulation between the global and the local. It is primarily organized around networks, not single units because networks are multiple, and power relationships are specific to each network.

But there is a fundamental form of exercising power that is common to all networks, exclusion from the network. This is also specific to each network. A person, or group, or territory can be excluded from one network but included in others.

There are citizens of the world, living in the space of flows, versus the locals, living in the space of places. Because space in the network society is configured around the opposition between the space of flows global and the space of places local, the spatial structure of our society is a major source of the structuration of power relationships.

There is another major source of power, which is networks that is programming capacity. This capacity ultimately depends on the ability to generate, diffuse, and affect the discourses that frame human action. Without this discursive capacity, the programming of specific networks is fragile, and depends solely on the power of the actors entrenched in the institutions.

Discourses, in our society, shape the public mind via one specific technology: communication networks that organize socialized communication. Because the public mind, that is, the set of values and frames that have broad exposure in society, is ultimately what influences individual and collective behavior, programming the communication networks is the decisive source of cultural materials that feed the programmed goals of any other network (Castells, 2009, pp. 50-53).

In the events of Turkish coup and Arab spring, the impact of picture, video and speeches on digital media was clear on the consequences of the events by overthrowing a few Arab regimes and failing the Turkish coup.

1.5.4. The Dark Side of Digital Media

According to Gerbaudo, when contemporary activists as Laurie Penny describes social movements as leaderless, horizontal aggregates, they often do so by resorting to the language of networks. No concept has been as influential in capturing the impact of new media on activism, as testified by the sheer number of instances of the term in contemporary activist discourse. The concept in itself is not all that new. At least since the times of the French philosopher de Saint Simon, fantasizing about networks of canals uniting the whole Europe; has been used to invoke an imaginary of modernization and social connection.

Moreover, since the 1960 the term has been used in sociology in relation to the dynamics of groupings of friends, relatives, colleagues, and comrades but it was the Catalan sociologist Manuel Castells who popularized the term among contemporary activists, transforming it from an analytic, almost technical, category into an overarching spatial metaphor for describing the ‘morphology’ of post-industrial societies.

Used to express the idea of increasing flexibility and de-centralization, the concept quickly became a standard reference point for many authors studying the impact of new media on contemporary activism(Gerbaudo, 2012, pp. 21-22).

Although digital media has made big digital revolution worldwide, it has a dark side that is decentralized, which had created a lot of fake news easily especially in the critical events, and was created by lots of ignorant and famous people. Given that, social media an open forum for people which contributed to the widespread fake news and rumors.

Also that, this is a virtual platform, where a lot of anonymous people contribute their posts, ideas, thoughts and share their news without verification. Furthermore this is not

encrypted platform, so it is not a safe environment for the personal information, and could be hacked.

CHAPTER 2

USES OF DIGITAL MEDIA IN POLITICS:

THE CASE OF 15 JULY COUP IN TURKEY

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW: THE ROLE OF THE DIGITAL MEDIA IN POLITICS

Mubarek Zoda studied how did social media played a main role in the success of Tunisian revolution, in his study about the role of social media in making public opinion -Tunisian revolution as a model, 2012. He found out the following results: the social media in Tunisia contributed in making the public opinion in Tunisia and guided people to go out to the street. Social media did not create the revolution; however, it contributed in its success. He asked the following questions: what is the role of social media in making Tunisian public opinion? What are the habits of social media users and what is the impact of its usage? What are the stages of moving from the real mobilizing to the virtual one during the Tunisian revolution days? What is the role of social media in making virtual mobilizing of Tunisian public opinion and making Tunisian revolution?

The researcher used the sample survey- the public opinion study survey method. The study came out with the following results: Facebook website is the most used network with 79.68% prevalence; WordPress website is the most used by the bloggers of the research sample; the daily surf of social media website is the most used habits by the Tunisian with 71.87% prevalence of the research sample. The sample spent an hour to two hours surfing social media websites. The majority of the sample assures that their aim is to drop the regime. More than half of the sample were always exposed to social media websites during the revolution with 60% prevalence; more than two or three of the samples think that bloggers are able to change the regime with the prevalence of 71.87%.

Social media websites contributed in making Tunisian public opinion and directing it towards serving the benefit of the revolution, but it did not make the Tunisian revolution. However, social media websites participated effectively and directing in fulfilling the revolution (Zoda, 2012).

According to Abdullah Al-Roud in his study "the role of Social Media Networks in the Political Change in Egypt and Tunisia from Jordanian Journalist's Perspective, 2012", the first role of social media in overthrowing the regimes was in 2001 in Philippines when people had sent 2 million SMS in 2 hours and had gone out in order to overthrow the president Joseph Estrada.

In the Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions, social media played an important role in incitement people to the protests as a way of changes; social media had an important role in resistance the blocking and censorship in the official media. The researcher's study aimed to identify the social media networks role in the political change in Egypt and Tunisia from Jordanian Journalists.

To achieve this, descriptive and analytical approach was used. The study sample consisted of 342 cases that were selected using simple random sample method. The study reached the following results: The third field was "the influence in the public opinion locally, regionally and internationally". Came in the second place an average of (2,68). The first field "configuration and incitement of protests" came in the third place with an average of (2,67). The fourth field "influence on traditional media" came in the fourth place with an average of (2,53). There is statistically significant differences in samples respond to the role of Social Media Networks in the Political Change in Egypt and Tunisia that attributed to the variables (academic qualifications) and the differences were for the favor of the Literature Major (Al Roud, 2012).

Nadeem Al-Mansory aimed to clarify how the new media tools participated in making political change in Arab countries in his study about the role of New Media Tools in mobilizing Arab Revolutions. The researcher addressed four main aspects in his study which are the role of social media websites, the role of online blogs and citizenship journalism, the role of participatory video websites, and the role of satellites and its link with the internet.

The researcher concluded that media tools played the main role in changing the world affairs on the various levels especially new media tools and their role in the Arab spring which was not limited on political field but also influenced the social, economic and cultural aspects.

Unver and Al Assaad wrote an article about the role of mosque and hashtag in mobilizing Turkish people in the front of the coup. The researchers collected and analyzed the data from social media and other open data sources in real-time and capture data with a high level of spatial and temporal granularity. The researcher's analysis showed that mosques and hashtags on twitter played a main role in mobilizing Turkish in the main places in Turkey.

Also, the President Erdogan played a significant role in galvanizing his followers in order to go out to the streets. In the beginning of the events, there were several Twitter accounts began calling it a coup. The first hashtag that emerged at this time was #DarbeyeHayır (no to coup). Then at 10:30 PM EEST, when rogue forces shut down Ataturk Airport, people again rallied on the Internet by using the hashtag #AtaturkHavalimani, which made it to the nation's trending topic list.

As mentioned earlier, and mosques mobilized alongside the social media campaigns through a well-coordinated sequence of broadcasted prayers which served as local district-level alarm bells as well as outlets for bolstering the spirits of the protestors on the ground (Univer, Al Assad, 2016).

According to Rahima Eesani, his study aimed to identify new media and its characteristics distinguish it from traditional media, besides pointing out to the fields of competition among both types, as well as revealing the mutual point, in addition to trying to predict is the future of traditional media. The researcher found out the following findings: The most important advantage of new media is that it become a platform for people to influence the public opinion so the authorities realized that new media can make changes, and it is not easy for authorities to control the platforms of new media because it is like the traditional media. New media didn't cancel traditional media, however it improved a traditional media and contributed in spreading and diversified the content of traditional media in order to attract the audience. New media

surpassed traditional media, as some newspapers closed, however new media can't cancel traditional media. (2013)

The researcher found out the following findings: the most important advantage of new media is that it became a platform for people to influence the public opinion so the authorities realized that new media can make changes, and it is not easy for authorities to control the platforms of new media because it is like the traditional media. New media didn't cancel traditional media; however, it improved a traditional media and contributed in spreading and diversifying the content of traditional media in order to attract the audience. New media surpassed traditional media, as some newspapers were closed. However, new media can't cancel traditional media (2013).

There are mutual points in the studies that are mentioned above such as using digital media in the actions of revolutions of Arab spring rather than crowding people in streets by using social media to invite them in Arab spring and Turkish coup and covering events in social media. For example, Facebook and website was the most used network with 79.68% prevalence. In Univer and Al Assaad's article that I related to it in my study, they talked about the role of mosques and hashtag in mobilizing people in the front of the coup.

2.2. The Ex-Coups in Turkey

It is important to take in consideration that Turkish Republic witnessed 5 coups since its establishment on 29 October 1923. The first coup was, the Turkish coup of May 27th (Turkish: 27 Mayıs Darbesi) was the first coup d'état in the Republic of Turkey. The coup was staged by a group of 38:103 young Turkish military officers acting outside the Staff Chief Chain of command, orchestrated by Alparslan Türkeş and ultimately led by General Cemal Gürsel, against the democratically elected government of the Democrat Party on 27 May 1960.

The second coup was, the 1971 Turkish military memorandum (Turkish: 12 Mart Muhtırası), issued on 12 March that year, was the second military intervention to take place in the Republic of Turkey, coming 11 years after its 1960 predecessor. Known as

the "coup by memorandum", which the military delivered in lieu of sending out tanks, as it had done previously, it came amid worsening domestic strife, but ultimately did little to halt this phenomenon.

The 12 September 1980 Turkish coup d'état (Turkish: 12 Eylül Darbesi), headed by Chief of the General Staff General Kenan Evren, was the third coup d'état in the history of the Republic. The 1970s in Turkey were marked by right-wing/left-wing armed conflicts, often at the scale of proxy wars between the United States and the Soviet Union, respectively. To create a pretext for a decisive intervention, the Turkish military allowed these conflicts in Turkey to escalate; some say they actively adopted a strategy of tension. The violence abruptly stopped afterwards, and the coup was welcomed by some for restoring order. In total, 50 people were executed, 500,000 were arrested and hundreds died in prison.

The fourth coup was in 1993, there was a "coup d'état" in 1993 in Turkey, allegedly organised and carried out by elements of the Turkish military through covert means. Although the early 1990s were a period of great violence in Turkey due to the Kurdish-Turkish conflict, 1993 saw a series of suspicious deaths: of President Turgut Özal, leading military figures, and journalists. Particularly in the context of the Ergenekon trials from 2008 onwards and related investigations of the Turkish "deep state" and of suspicious deaths from this period, claims of a "covert coup" intended to prevent a peace settlement (and to protect the covert relationships between the Turkish military, intelligence services including JITEM, Counter-Guerrilla, Kurdish forces including Kurdish Hizbollah, and the Turkish mafia) have been made. Fikri Sağlar, a former member of the parliamentary commission which investigated the Susurluk scandal which first began to shed light on the Turkish deep state, is one who has made such claims, describing "a covert military coup". Former PKK commander Şemdin Sakık has described an Ergenekon organization-linked group named the Doğu Çalışma Grubu, holding it responsible for assassinations including those of Turkish Gendarmerie General Commander Eşref Bitlis (17 February), President Turgut Özal (17 April), General Bahtiyar Aydın (22 October) and former Major Cem Ersever (4 November). In addition to the assassination of key figures supporting a peace process, several massacres took place in 1993, which it is claimed were intended as part of an alleged

"strategy of tension". These include the May 24, 1993 PKK ambush, and the Sivas massacre and Başbağlar massacre in early July.

The fifth coup was on 1997 which called (white coup), the 1997 military memorandum (Turkish: 28 Şubat, "28 February"; also called 'Post-modern darbe', "Post-modern coup") in Turkey refers to the decisions issued by the Turkish military leadership on a National Security Council meeting on 28 February 1997. This memorandum initiated the process that precipitated the resignation of Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan of the Welfare Party, and the end of his coalition government. As the government was forced out without dissolving the parliament or suspending the constitution, the event has been famously labelled a "postmodern coup" by the Turkish admiral Salim Dervişoğlu. The process after the coup is alleged to have been organised by the Batı Çalışma Grubu (Western Working Group), a purported clandestine group within the military.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS

3.1. RESEARCH: OBJECTIVES, SIGNIFICANCE, LIMITS, HYPOTHESES AND SAMPLE OF THE STUDY

The overall research objectives of this study can be listed as such:

1. Shedding light on the role of digital media in overthrowing the failed coup in Turkey focusing on the role of FaceTime Application.
2. Revealing the reasons behind the speediness and effectiveness of spreading the news of withdrawing the coup

Drawing the attention of the politicians, journalists, and academics to the significant role of digital media tools in influencing people's opinions.

The present study is significant and original in the following senses:

1. The study links between two updated subjects which are the digital media-Facetime application- and the overthrown coup in Turkey which made a big echo around the world because of Turkey's political position.
2. The current study will provide information regarding a subject which has not been adequately analyzed through scientific endeavor.
3. The results of this study is expected to benefit the following target groups:
 - Decision makers in political rank and ministries in taking advantages of digital media tools.
 - Politicians, analysts, and academics who are interested in making prediction about the political situation and its relation with the digital media users' trends.

Finally, the study is limited with the participants who are inhabited and working in Turkey, in TV Channels, newspapers, news agencies, and universities.

The main hypothesis of the study is that digital media tools specifically Facetime application played a main critical positive role in failing the coup in turkey, 15th July 2016. In addition the researcher supposes that the time of the interview between President Erdogan and presenter Hande Firat besides the strong body language of the president were so significant in convincing the crowd of the ongoing situation regarding the coup, furthermore, digital media tools do not confined just by Facetime application. However, it is also included continuous coverage of the event in Ataturk airport and square on Twitter and Facebook, In addition the contact of people on WhatsApp's group and invite each other to go out to streets and the main big places contributed else in overthrow the coup as these tools were feeding offline media too.

Furthermore, digital media tools were not confined just by Facetime application. However, it also included continuous coverage of the event in Ataturk Airport and square on Twitter and Facebook. In addition, people were contacting on WhatsApp groups and inviting each other to go out to streets and the main big places that contributed in overthrowing the coup as these tools were feeding offline media too.

The research is mostly based on qualitative research methods, more specifically semi-structured in-depth interviews with Journalists, politicians and academicians who are working in Turkey. Via the semi-structured interviews, the researcher seeks to find out the positive elements of FaceTime Application interview that pushed it to reach the largest crowd of people contributing in overthrowing the failed coup and the main factors that contributed in overthrowing the coup of 15 July.

The sample that will be used in the research study are the journalists who are working in the TV channels, newspapers and agencies who is as editors, social media editors, managers of channels, newspapers, agencies, correspondents of channels, agencies, presenters in channels, the activists of digital media politicians, academics and specialists who are interested in the Turkish policy in Turkey and had participated in the coverage the events of the 15July coup.

During the study, the researcher faced few problems in doing the interviews. For example, the researcher had to speak three languages: Turkish, English and Arabic. The interviewees had no time to do the interviews due to their works, so it was hard to take minutes from their time.

The participants of the study include journalists of TV channels, newspapers and agencies, editors, social media editors, managers of channels, newspapers, and agencies, correspondents of channels and agencies, presenters in channels, activists of digital media in Turkey, the politicians (decision makers), and the academicians of media, policy and history who have participated in the coverage of the events of the coup of 15 July.

3.2. ANALYSIS: HOW, WHERE AND WHEN HAD THE COUP STARTED?

The real event of the coup started when the tanks had closed Bosphorus Bridge in Istanbul at 22:00 o'clock Friday evening on 15 July. In Ankara, some tanks controlled the Headquarters of the Chief of Staff of army and some helicopters towered in the sky and started to shoot it and the building of parliament.

The events starting by F-16 bombed the Grand National assembly of Turkey four times on 15 July at 22:00. This happened after four planes started flying on the sky of Ankara. In the same time, the soldiers have closed the bridge of Bosphorus in Istanbul with reaches between the European and Asian side of Istanbul and they went by the tanks to Ataturk Airport in order to control it at 22:10. The helicopters started to shoot government buildings and TRT (Turkish Radio Television) headquarters. By 22:50, the soldiers have gone and controlled the buildings of the center. They threatened the staff that they will shoot them. (Yeni Darbe Girişimi-Belgese, 2016)

However, Merve Şebnem Oruç the presenter on TVNET TV channel has a different opinion about the starting of the events as she said:

“early events of the coup started around 20:00 o'clock, when she was coming from the Asian side to European side in Istanbul. She faced a military barrier of Turkish army and asked them what's going on. They answered her that there are few security procedures against terrorist attacks. Then, when she felt that there is something strange and tried to

ask more questions, the soldier talked rude to her and hit the car in order to make her move without any questions. Here, the soldiers who did the coup started the event of the coup'. (Yeni Darbe Girişimi , 2016)

The difference of the starting of the events because Ankara is different than Istanbul, Ankara has the governmental institutions and she is the capital city of Turkey, so the starting of the events was different.

Then, the prime minister appeared in a voice call on TV and said that "apparently, there is an illegal action outside the chain of command by some people within the army. I want to ensure our people that anything to undermine our democracy will not be tolerated. (Yeni Darbe Girişimi , 2016)

The Turkish Prime Minister Binali Yıldırım, hadn't said in the starting of the events there is a coup happening clearly, and he hadn't do anything to the coup rather than his statement.

Yassin Aktay (2017), an AKP deputy, high rank party officer, and academic, said "we have known late that the director of Turkish intelligence couldn't reach the President immediately because he was in a vacation. This was around 20:00; however, the situations weren't clear enough if there is a real coup or not".

"The director of the intelligence asked the President if there are any arrangements to bodice any attack from the mainland or helicopters to protect the President because there is a real danger, but the intelligence director couldn't measure or estimate the amount or dimension of the danger'. After that, the President planned fast to leave the hotel in Marmaris. "At the official level, we haven't felt that there is a coup coming, but we have known that there is a little and limited movement at the army. The coup was crazy and it had kind of mess".

The official political level in Turkey couldn't do anything substantially in the front of the coup until the appearing of the President rather than the statements.

The digital publication manager at Yeni Şafak newspaper, Ersin Çelik (2017), said:

"we were the first Turkish newspaper that said there is a coup happening. We have taken news from social media that was saying there are strange movements at Bosphorus Bridge. In the beginning, we had thought that there was a terrorist attack, but when the movement of the army increased to other places in Istanbul, we contacted our especial resources in

the army to ask about the matter. They told us that there is a group of the army doing a coup. Immediately, we wrote on social media that there is a coup and some soldiers of the army are doing it. That was around 22:00. Then, I appeared on TVNET TV channel which is one of our Al Bayrak media group and invited Turkish people to go out to the streets in order to stop this coup. That was before the statement of the army on official TV channel which was broadcasted by the presenter Tijen Karaş".

Some of the Turkish journalists said at the starting of the events that, there is a coup happening, and invited people to go out to the streets on their official accounts on social media platforms in order to stop the coup.

Al Jazeera TV channel had covered the coup from the first moment as international covering of the event, and the correspondent in Istanbul Amer Lafi was the first Arabian journalist who reported the coup in Turkey, He said when he was covering the events, “depending on the history of the coups in Turkey and the procedures of the Turkish army when he begins launching a coup, these procedures mean that there is a coup happening and we are still waiting any official statement from the government’.

Mutaz Billah Hassan (2017), the correspondent of Al Jazeera in Ankara, who appeared on the screen later while he was covering, said “although I had had a lot of in formations about the coup, I hadn’t appeared on the screen immediately after the events of the coup had started, I just derived my car and had taken a tour around in Ankara and the governmental buildings’.

Evner Kaptanoğlu (2017), an editor on CNN TV channel in Istanbul, was on his job when the coup had happened. He said:

‘I was working when the helicopter has come to the building of CNN and landed soldiers. They had broken into the building and arrested us and tried to stop the broadcasting in the channel. I used my account on twitter from the first moment and posted that we are trapped from the soldiers of the coup. After short time, a lot of Turkish people had come to the channel in order to help us’.

CNN TURK channel had used the social media platforms since the starting of the events, so when the soldiers of the army had tried to control it, the journalists there had invited people by social media to go to the channel’s building in Istanbul and protected it.

3.2.1. The Broadcast Of Statement Of Turkish Army On TRT TV Channel And The Governmental Media Reactions On It

Among the diathesis of the institutions of the government by bombing of the helicopters and E-16, at 22:50 approximately 50 soldiers of the army broke into the center of the public broadcasting agency TRT and took it under control. They controlled the main channel there, TRT1, and arrested the journalists (Yeni Darbe Girişimi-Belgesel, 2016).

TRT presenter started reading the declaration:

"This is an order from Turkish army to the people in all cities in Turkey, dear citizens. Due to a threat facing our country, all the governmental institutions in Turkey will be under control from the Turkish army in order to protect them. The President and the government had injured the democracy, rights, freedom, and the secularism in Turkey, and Turkish people became victims because of the foreign policy of Turkey. Because of the current governance, the situation became more complicated and worse. Atatürk's principles were ignored. So, to reopen the road of struggle by these procedures we will rebuild our international relations, and to save the security and stability in our country. There is a treason from the government to Turkey"

(Yeni Darbe Girişimi-Belgesel, 2016).

"A group of our colleagues are being held hostage. People shouldn't take into account this broadcast from TRT because it is pirate broadcasting"(Yeni Darbe Girişimi-Belgesel, 2016).

“We were forced to lie down on the ground. Then they took us to the studio control room and forced us to lie down again. They instructed us to put our hands behind our bodies with legs wide open. They told us never to move, talk, or ask any questions. They did not even allow us to keep our hands up”.

The presenter at TRT TV official channel, Tijen Karaş, described how the soldiers of army who did the coup forced her and the other journalist to broadcast the statement of the coup (Yeni Darbe Girişimi , 2016).

The soldiers of army could control the building of TRT and used it for broadcast the statement of the coup as the traditional coups, and the journalists of TRT could do anything in the front of the coup, even on social media platforms.

“After the quick and consecutive actions that had happened in Istanbul and Ankara mainly, I was still waiting and hadn’t decided whether it was a real coup or not though all the actions were saying there was a real coup regarding to the history of coups in Turkey”.

On the other hand, the programmer on Halk TV, Erol Mütercimler (2017), said:

“while Tijen Karas was appearing on the official TV and broadcasting the statement of army about the coup, I smiled because I wasn’t surprised from the coup in front of the others. All the events before the coup were saying there is a coup coming in the way. However, when the coup had happened, I hadn’t supported it although I don’t agree with the policy of the government”.

3.2.2. The Situation Before the Appearing of the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan on TV

A lot of Turkish people rather than old people who witnessed the ex-coup or young who already have heard about the ex-coup went out to the streets in the front of the tanks in order to stop the coup. People were looking for the president if he fine or dead, if he under arrest or free, they were too worrying about his destiny.

They were waiting for his speech to know what’s going on, although the prime minister have appeared on the TV and explained there is a trying of coup, however the government is going to control it, it wasn’t enough to let people reassure. They were waiting for the president because he can solve as these issues.

All media institutions in turkey had tried to reach to the president to broadcast a statement from him to the people. Some of them could reach but the other couldn’t. Here the contact by social media was the main road in the trying.

Anadolu agency could reach to the place of the President in Marmaris at the first but they couldn’t broadcast the speech of the President due to a technique problem as the

director of digital media on Anadolu agency Türker Çeltik he said “We could reach to the President in his holiday place in the hotel in Marmaris and the correspondent of Anadolu agency had recorded a short video of a statement for the President. He tried to send it by WhatsApp, but he failed because of a technical problem in the contact”.

However, Muharrem Sarıkaya (2017) said:

“when we have known about the coup after 22:00 we had come to Haber Türk TV channel and started live broadcastings from wherever we could. We were thinking how we can stand in front of this coup and how we can overthrow it. Social media wasn't used in the channel in the opposite of the others due to our work nature”.

3.2.3. The Appearing Of President Erdogan On A Call Of Facetime Application On Cnn Turk Tv Channel And The Impact Of The Call On People

All media in Turkey had tried to reach to the President in his vacation place in Marmaris however they couldn't, the only journalist could reach to the President is Hande Fırat, the presenter on CNN TURK channel, that was by Facetime application.

Fırat (2017) could reach to the President by his manager Hasan Doğan, as she said:

“I have gone out from my work evening on 18:30 in Ankara and just had gone with my daughter to the restaurant to have our dinner and returned to home, at 21:30 the news started coming to me there is a strange movements from soldiers of the army in a few places in Ankara and Istanbul. We said we should be careful may be there are terrorist attacks or some things like that. As a journalist I tried to reach to the administrations to ask them what's going on. I could reach to one in the begging who said to me there is a strange movements are happing in Istanbul as the army have attacked the police, I immediately returned to my work. Here my friend called me from Diyarbakır and told me there are military movements happing and this night will be long”.

“I wrote to the staff on the work to come immediately to the channel there is a huge attack or a coup. By the way while I and my daughter were moving in the street, the helicopter started bombing and shooting the streets, we heard that on 22:15. I had no time even to change my clothes in order to go live. At that time some streets were closed, so the mobility was difficult, I had asked from my work to send a reporter in order to follow

the news, when I came to the office I tried to reach to the administrations and politicians to ask about the situations however no one answered. I continued my attempts in order to reach to my sources even while I am live on air. At that moment I was continuously calling the manager of the President Mr. Hasan Doğan he was in Marmaris with the President, also I called the Prime Minister, the Ministers, or the opposition, this is the journalism. I tried to reach to anyone I could contact with as possible, and I explain all these information to the audience on the screen”.

“All that was before Tijen Kardeş had broadcasted the statement of the army which referred that there is a coup. In fact, I was afraid at that time, and I wondered whether they controlled the official TV center and broadcasted the statement of coup what will happen else. Then when I called the manager of the President office, he told me the President is going to go out in live broadcast and explain what is going on, I kept waiting the statement from the President but nothing came out, when I called him again he told me the President have talked, I said we didn’t see anything, he said we did that via Periscope”.

“I told him, this is a very critical moment it is impossible to do a live broadcast via Periscope, the news in social media is too much which say the President was killed or under arrest. Here, the live broadcast was between Ankara and Istanbul, while I was contacting with the manager of the President office while I was on live broadcast, I said to the manager Hasan Doğan contact with me now in live broadcast to let the President talk to the people he asked me how, I told him by phone, he asked me do you have skype, I said no I have Facetime’.

“All that was in two minutes, it was too fast, when he said ok the President is beside me and he is ready, I became too enthusiastic. I said to the manager I can call you, but before that I told the channel in Ankara give me the live broadcast now I have to go out now the President on my phone. when I called the manager of the President office, he told me the President is going to go in a live broadcast and explain what is going on via Facetime application’.



Figure 2.1. President Erdogan and CNN Host Hande Fırat on Facetime,

Source: *Hürriyet*, 04.08.2016

“I told the people that the President is alive and he is going to talk to you about the events. The researcher asked her about her personal notes at that time. She said ‘I am a journalist for 23 years. This thing came coincidence without advance layout with the old experience. Also, my daughter Nehir is 12 years old and she uses Facetime application all the time at home with her friends in doing homework and playing. She stays in the front of his phone all the time at home and talks with her friends via Facetime application. So we used to use Facetime application at home daily because it an easy application. Today is the age of technology and digital media’”.

The call have succeed due to several factors, the smartness of the journalist Hande Fırat, her ability to manage the situation successfully, her long experience in media and journalism for 23 years. Given her long experience in journalism and media, Mrs Fırat innovatively managed to combine traditional media outlet ‘TV and digital media, Facetime’ to get the president out of the his enclave to address his people in live broadcast.

The appearing of the President by the call of Facetime at that time, had changed all the events, and was the first reason in failing the coup especially by the critical time. He ensured the people that he still alive and he invited them to go out to the streets and he was going to meet them there.

According to Mutaz Matar (2017) an Egyptian journalist, works in Turkey, he commented about the Facetime call and the body language of the President during in the call he said:

“the President was too tired. He tried to be okay and patient in order to encourage people to go out and overthrow the coup. He was honest about the situation that he said there is a coup and the people have to go out at the moment. The talk expresses 15% of the speech of anybody; however, the body language expresses the main part of the person’s situation. The President was too tired and effected from the coup especially due to the events that Turkey was going through in general”.

“The speech of the President in the call had given the hope to the people, and he offered the leader and the symbol to Turkish people. Also, he tried to neutralized those who didn’t participant in the coup from the military or wasn’t sure if they participant or not by

leaving the door of returning open. It is a fact that there were too much people have gone out immediately to streets and squares before the call of the President and the call which included many letters in the interview have increased the numbers of people significantly. Also, the speech in the call increased the morale in people, and the different stages of facing the coup had started that night which ended with the morning by failing the coup and returning the control over situations to the government”.

However, according to Said Al Haj (2017) he said:

“the call of facetime had two contradictory means by the appearance complete by the content, the first one is that didn’t controlling the situations perfectly so there is a danger to protect himself. As he appeared in a classic call on opposition TV channel wasn’t on a general press conference. The second mean that the situations weren’t deducted in favour of the coup so it means there is a battle, as the president -who has the executive authority which the coup wants to overthrow it- is still a live, and the coup couldn’t arrive to him. This mean was too important and contributed in reaction of Turkish people in streets”.

“The appearance of president in that way was meaning that in one mean, the coup isn’t completed and all of Turkish army didn’t do the coup otherwise the first step was killing the president or arresting him. On other hand, the appearance of the president as he still alive and he’s challenging the coup as an implicit signal to that the coup didn’t completed until that moment, as the coup couldn’t do the most important thing in any successful coup that dissimulation the president of executive authority and make an empty political place”.

“From a third angle, Turkish people found in the character of the president Erdogan the leader who can lead the in this ‘battle’, and the symbol they could unite in the behind of him, he isn’t just as a president of the Republic, he also has characters and known leadership skills. And the President added to all of these implicit meanings a clear and crucial factor else in order to invest all of the above that is concentrating in the implicit of his speech, that he appeared challenger, composed, and too sure that is the coup going to failing and confirms that meaning to the followers. And as he mentioned in his speech that a little ‘platoon’ of military have done the coup ‘not all of the military’, also he invited Turkish people to land to the streets, squares, and airports in order to overthrow the coup and he confirmed to Turkish people he will be among them and in the vanguard”.

Although the President was tired on the call, he could stop the coup by inviting people to go out to the streets in the front of the tanks, and he have joined them in next time.

3.2.4. The Coverage Of The Traditional, Digital And Citizenship Media During The Night Of The Coup Attempt

The coup attempt in Turkey have taken a big space in the coverage of international journalism rather than Arab or English press, on traditional and digital media. The first Arab channel have covered the coup attempt was Al Jazeera channel.

The manager of Al Jazeera office in Turkey AbdulAzem Muhammed (2017) said:

“It was normal in the age of digital media and smartphones to use the platforms as Facebook and Twitter to cover, follow and share the news rather than TV channels or people and the mass of new at that time was too huge we were too careful about the news especially with the statement without official sources, however as we are working for TV channel the main work was live broadcastings for our correspondents, and as usual we post and tweet the news on our social media platforms”.

However, the correspondent at Al Jazeera in Ankara Mutaz Billah Hassan (2017) said:

“the depending on social media started after the call of facetime application between the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and the presenter on CNN TURK TV channel Hande Firat which was the first appearing of the President on TV that he invited people to go out to the streets, squares and airports in order to stop and overthrow the coup. Because the statement of army at the begging was on TV”.

The interesting of the using of digital media on the night of the coup, started after the Facetime call of the Turkish journalist Hande Firat to the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. All media in Turkey and word have used digital media at the night of the coup.

Turkish opposition, whether than parties or media, were in the front of the coup especially the biggest two parties, CHP and MHP, principally the appearing of official administrators on the oppositional TV channels, which started in basic by the appearing of the president on CNN TV channel. The patriotic and moral attitude of the oppositional media in Turkey during the night of the coup contributed mainly in failing the coup. There were just one opinion about the coup of some of the Turkish army, because everyone at that night was going to stop and overthrow the coup for the country.

According to the Ismail Hakkı Polat, he said:

“the main applications that were used to stop and overthrow the coup, Facetime which was used by politicians to appear on TV, Facebook and Twitter to post and share videos and pictures here the personal covering from people played a huge role in cover everything in the square. WhatsApp application was used mainly between people inviting each other to go out and gathering the main and big places all over turkey”.

The pictures of soldiers of the coup who were caught by police or people who have too impact on people and social media platforms, which meant that the coup is going to fail. The pictures of the President when he reached to the airport between people who have given ensure for people, the President is fine and encourage them to go out to the streets more and more.

3.2.5. The International Press Coverage Of The Coup Attempt

There are several international media institutions said after the statement of the coup on TV formal channel TRT, that is the coup had succeed and the President Erdogan has left Turkey to Germany as Sky news and Al-Arabiya.

Mutaz Matar (2017) an Egyptian journalist, works in Turkey, he had started the coverage of the event since the first moment before the appearing of the President, he said:

“I went to Taksim square to go out alive on Facebook about the coup and I saw few of Turkish people in the street before the appearing of the President, although the situations weren't clear enough, because people were have the real will to overthrow the coup even by bodies which happened really, the conflict between people, police and the coup was hard and difficult as everyone wants to win”.

According to Matar (2017) he said:

"In the Turkish coup, I stay in the front of the Egyptian and international Arabian media who support the Turkish coup and played a bad role by saying the army in Turkey controlled the authority and everything on his hand that was in the starting of the events when the statement of the coup was broadcasted on a national TV channel, they tried to do a propaganda against the Turkish government, however my role was to explain and

clarify the facts to the international audience on social media because it wasn't possible to reach to my workplace at that moment. This coup weakened Turkey in every side especially the economy side. Turkish people by going out by millions after the invitation of president on facetime could overthrow the coup, as I think the Turkish people have the awareness about the coups, social media helps in make everyone know the truth, because traditional media is under control''.

According to Nidal Hamdi (2017), he said:

“the attitude of some Tunisian politicians in the time of the coup in Turkey as a part of the international propaganda that support the coup since 21:00 o'clock that time which the event started on, they stay in the side of coup and support the group of the army who have done the coup, and said the government was down however I was one of the journalists who worked on transmit the event that Turkish people have gone out to the street and sat in the front of the coup. I used and worked from the first moment on social media and followed the news as a follower and as a programme presenter in order to post about the events'.

The coverage of the Turkish attempt coup differed from country to country especially in Arab countries in the middle east, according to the political ideological, for example the first revolution in Arab spring was in Tunisia and the coverage there was divided, the Tunisian journalist Nidal Hamdi he works in Turkey and witnessed the coup attempt, he said that "the attitude of some Tunisian politicians in the period of the coup in Turkey, as a part of the international propaganda that supports the coup since 21:00 o'clock.

That time which the event started on, they supported the coup and the group of the army who did the coup, and said that the government was down, however I was one of the journalists who worked on transmitting the event that Turkish people have gone out to the street and sat in the front of the coup.

3.2.6. The Similarity And Differences Between The Uses Of Media In Overthrowing The Turkish Coup, Arab Spring And The Egyptian Coup

Tunisia was the first country in Arab Spring, the starting of Arabian revolutions and the using of digital media was in Tunisia, the journalist Hamdi (2017) said that:

“the demonstrations of revolution started by the invitees on social media which people respond to and had gone out to the streets in order to overthrow the Tunisian regime. The dependent on social media continued during the period of revolution and we have managed all activities on Facebook because all traditional media were under the control of government. So the main factor and reason behind the success of the revolution is social media”.

However, Matar (2017) said:

“I have witnessed the Egyptian revolution on Jan 2010, and the coup which happened there on July 2013, I have a good experience in using traditional media and digital media, the media is leading the conflict since the starting of the revolution of Jan 2010, the Egyptian army used the media in order to control the policy directly and indirectly, they established new TV channels and spend millions of dollars to continue their control of the institutions of the country which was called ‘the deep country’ they succeed in fact”.

“Today the situation is different from the past. Today social media changed everything, the regimes before social media were doing everything far away media and they were success in hiding the truths in the past. However, in social media age, we have used social media as we crowded the people to the streets in our revolution of 25 January 2010 which is a basic part of Arab Spring”.

“The army in Egypt had closed a lot of TV channels in order to control the media and do the coup on 2013 that confirms the important role of media in the conflict. The uses of media in the coup in 2013 in Egypt, and the coup of 15 July in Turkey had started in broadcast the statement of the coup on TV. The Egyptian army could control the oppositional media by close all the channels of opposite and used the official media to do the coup on 2013”.

“Digital media not just networks for communication between people, it exceeded that a lot, social media today contributed mainly in spared the knowledge worldwide. Social media as a positive side of it reduces the ignorance among people, and when I say knowledge I mean news not just education. So everyone has smartphone with camera can record every things by an icon and post it on social media which contributes in spread the news too speed”.

“Close a few TV channels was one of the first step on the coup in 2013 in Egypt and establish new channels in order to continue the coup and stay as far as possible, that confirms the too important role of media in the conflict. The uses of media in the coup in 2013 in Egypt, and the coup of 15July in turkey are alike in broadcast the statement of the coup on TV to start the coup, this on one hand. However on other hand, the

communication, the invite to go out to the streets, the continuo post on social media and the interaction of people in the revolution of Jan2010 in Arab spring and the participant in overthrow the coup in turkey are alike”.

“The army in Egypt leads and controls the traditional media today, we as journalists in the front of the coup we depend on social media in the coverage of the events in Egypt since the coup happened I received in my programme as a presenter hundreds of messages on social from people or you can say ‘citizenship press’ they cover the events in Egypt by their smartphones and sent the materials to me then I broadcast them on my programme”.

In the case of Arab Spring there wasn’t any leadership to guide and enlighten the people, and there was lack of awareness among them. However in the case of Turkish coup of 15July, the leadership had guided people by the new media to what to do during the event of the coup.

3.2.7. The Differences Between The Success Of The Ex-Coups In Turkey And Failing The Coup Of 15 July 2016

According to, Cengez Tömer and Galip Dalay (2017) “there were many elements contributed to the success of the last coups as control of traditional media at that time, lack of people’s resistance, arresting the politicians. However in the last coup the soldiers of army couldn’t arrest the President, people went out to the streets by millions from the first moment and stopped the coup.

“Also, in the coup of 15 July, the uses of digital media was as a reason behind the failure. Especially the appearance of the President on the critical moment when he invited people to go out to the streets was crucial. People used digital media such as WhatsApp and Twitter from the first moment to organize and mobilize against the coup. Then covering the events in Facebook and Twitter from the first moment to all days of the coup in the all areas”.

There were some differences and similarities between the coup of 15July and ex-coups in Turkey, the Professor Ahmed Aoissal commented about the coup, he said ‘due to that a few ex-coups that some of generals of Turkish army in Turkey since Turkey was established 1n 1923, I should start from the history of guardianship of army or the

generals of Turkish army which we call it in policy 'the intervention of army in policy' which usually happens in Arabian countries.

According to Ahmed Aouissal (2017), he mentioned:

“due to that a few ex-coups that some of generals of Turkish army in Turkey since Turkey was established in 1923, I should start from the history of guardianship of army or the generals of Turkish army which we call it in policy 'the intervention of army in policy' which usually happens in Arabian countries. Intervention has started after establishing Turkey Republic in 1923, the first coup was in 1960 in the period of the ex-prime minister 'Adnan Menderes' who gave a field for religious freedom, and when I talk about religious freedom I mean the appearances of Islam as hijab and building mosques, etc. In this point I should talk about 'westernization persons' within the army who's interested in the application of the western model in modernity' the ex-prime minister 'Adnan Menderes' was governor democratic as the president today 'Erdogan'.”

“I think there is a contradiction in claiming the democratic and modernity in the approach of rather than 'westernization persons' of Turkish army or 'kemalism' persons the persons who has Mustafa Kemal Atatürk approach' they have wrong ideas about Islam as they think 'you can have Islamic approach in your heart just, but you can't apply your ideas in your life. The audience of ex-prime minister 'Adnan Menderes' was in the colleges, the case was the poverty, and he couldn't change a lot because of the big challenges at that time, there is a big likeness between Menderes and Erdogan however the situations are different”.

“Turkish people realized that how their country will be after a coup, for this reason they went out after they know there is a coup immediately, and by millions after the president invited them on Facebook's call on CNN TV channel. The President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan was too clear in dealing with Turkish people which contributed in overthrowing the coup. When he said to people there is a coup and you have to go out to the streets and the squares. In the opposite of the Egyptian ex-president Mohammed Morsi in the Egyptian example that Morsi didn't say to people there is a coup. However Turkish President invited people to go out to streets 'he gave the treatment in the exact time'. And I had posted on Twitter in the starting of the coup: 'if there is a coup go out to the streets' at 11:55 P.M”.

Turkish people have taken benefits from the history of the coups in Turkey, and they had gone out to the streets and stopped the coup.

The major reasons behind the failure of the 15 July coup can be listed as such:

1. The flow of 8 million Turkish people to streets and in front of the tanks to stop the coup started from the first moment of the events and increased after the appearing of the president on CNN TV channel.
2. The mosques in all Turkey contributed in going out people to the streets by Prayer and Salas.
3. The divide within the army, between the ones who supported and did not support the coup.
4. The firm stand of the opposition parties against the coup attempt.
5. The popular rejection of the coup from people that produced from the increasing of awareness, after the revolution on social media of people as they refused the coup from the first moment.
6. The firm stand of the opposition media against the coup attempt.
7. In some cities, even the municipalities took active stand against the coup by blocking the army vehicles' pass with heavy bulldozers and trucks.
8. Turkey's unpleasant past experiences with military coups and awareness among the population.

CONCLUSION

When President Erdogan appeared on Facetime application on the critical moment and ensured the people that he's alive, the crowd of people in the streets had increased speedily by millions while it was not more than few thousands before that.

The journalist Hande Firat was very brave and succeeded to show the president on the screen by live broadcast after Anadolu agency failed in broadcasting a video of him due to a technical problem. This critical moment resulted in succeeding the call and ensured the people that the president is fine and alive. This encouraged them to go out and overthrow the coup.

The use of the traditional or digital media in covering the events, moment by moment from the beginning contributed in overthrowing the coup. For example, people used WhatsApp application in order to invite each other to the crowd on the streets, squares and airport.

All media in Turkey were against the coup whether they were governmental, private or oppositional; none of the Turkish institutions such as TV channels, agencies, newspapers or journalists had supported the coup. The use of digital media wasn't the only reason of failing the coup; there were other main factors contributed in overthrowing it.

Using digital media during night events in the coup, had an important role in overthrowing the coup in Turkey, crucial parts were the appearing of the Turkish President, journalists used social media in coverage, and people inviting each other to go out to the streets to stop the tanks and overthrow the coup. There is a similarity between the uses of digital media in the Turkish case, Arab Spring and Egyptian coup, in covering the event, crowding people in the squares using social media as a window to share opinions because the traditional media is under the governmental censorship.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONS OF THE INTERVIEWS OF THE STUDY

1. When and how did you know about the coup?
2. What did you do when you knew about the coup?
3. In your opinion, how do you see the uses of politicians and people, of digital media through the night of the 15July coup have contributed in overthrow the coup?
4. What do you think about the uses of journalist and media institutions of digital media during the night of the coup?
5. What do you think about the position of the Turkish opposite about the coup?
6. What were the main factors that contributed in other coup?
7. What are the differences between the failed coup and the ex- success coups?
8. What are the similarities between the uses of digital media in Arab spring and Turkish coup?

APPENDIX B

THE LIST OF THE INTERVIEWS

The researcher will analyze the content of the followings:

1. HANDE FIRAT (Turkish journalist)
2. ABDULKADER SELVE (Turkish journalist)
3. GURKAN (Turkish journalist)
4. YASSIN AKTAY. (Turkish academic)
5. ISMAIL HALKI POLIT (Turkish academic)
6. MERVE ŞEBNEM ORUÇ. (TV presenter)
7. GALİP DALAY. (Turkish politician)
8. MOHAMMED ABDULAZZEM. (The director of Al Jazeera office in Turkey)
9. YUSUF ZİYA CÖMET. (Turkish journalist)
10. AHMET AOİSSAL. (Turkish academic)
11. MUHARREM SARIKAYA. (Turkish journalist)
12. CENGİZ TÖMER (Turkish academician)
13. MUTAZ MATAR (Egyptian journalist)
14. NIDAL HAMDİ (Tunisian journalist)
15. EROL MÜTERCEMLER (Turkish journalist)
16. TÜRKER ÇELİK (Turkish journalist)
17. MUTAZ BILLAH HASSAN (Syrian journalist)
18. ERDOĞAN AKTAŞ (Turkish journalist)
19. ERSİN ÇELİK (Turkish journalist)
20. ENVER KAPTANOĞLU (Turkish journalist)
21. SAID AL HAJ (Palestinian researcher)

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WORK EXPERIENCE

- Dec 2010- Apr 2011 My responsibilities include but limited to work at the public relations department in Rafah municipality –Gaza strip- as a reporter and editor for the activities of the municipality.
- May 2011- Sep 2011 My responsibilities include but limited to work at the programs department in Al Quds TV channel, as an editor and creative for political and social news for –new day- TV program.
- Feb 2012- July 2012
- My responsibilities include but limited to work at the newsroom of Al Aqsa TV channel as an editor for external political news.
- March 2013- Sep 2013 My responsibilities include but limited to work at the news department of Al Manara Production Company, as an editor for external news.
- May 2014- Oct 2014 My responsibilities include but limited to work at the newsroom of Al Aqsa voice and radio, as an editor for internal and external news.
- Nov 2012- Feb 2017 My responsibilities include but limited to work at Al Balagh newspaper as an editor, reporter and creative in the Palestinian, international political and social news.
- Oct 2015 My responsibilities include but limited to work at the newsroom of Al Jazeera TV channel as an editor.
- My responsibilities include but limited to work at several Arabian website as an editor, creative, reporter and writer in Palestinian issue.
- June 2016 My responsibilities include but limited to work with BBC TV channel –I am the witness- program as a reporter from Istanbul.

EDUCATION

Umma university

2010 - 2014

Bachelor in press and media

Kadir Has university

2015- 2018

Master in new media

SKILLS AND COMPETENCIES

- Communication skills
- Presentation skills
- Writing skills

Languages

- Arabic
- English
- Turkish

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