A Social Network Analysis of the July 15 Coup Attempt: Social Resistance, Network Patterns, and Collective Discourse[*]

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Abstract

Many aspects of the July 15 failed coup attempt were significant and included social resistance, community formation and network patterns, collective discourse, perception management and power of the new media. Based on these notions, the main objective of this research is to examine the July 15 failed coup attempt within the perspective of social media. In a mixed method study, in which social network analysis and discourse analysis were used, the research revealed that different layers of the community demonstrated a collective discourse in favor of democracy and online social networks were used as a space where masses would communicate with each other, mobilize, rally against the plotters, and express how they felt; all of which eventually changed the fate of the July 15 failed coup attempt.

Keywords

The July 15 failed coup attempt, social resistance, collective discourse, network patterns, perception management, social network analysis, discourse analysis.

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Introduction: Coup D'état

Etymologically, *coup d'état* originated from the French expression for a coup attempt. It refers to a sudden and decisive action in politics, especially one resulting in a change of government illegally or by force. On the night of July 15, the citizens of Turkey witnessed such an event, which was broadcasted on both mass media and social media. In fact, in its long history, Turkey has experienced many coup attempts (2016 Dalay). Of these, four (1960, 1971, 1980, and 1997 coups) were successful, while two (the 1962 and 1963 coup attempts) failed (Esen and Gumuscu 2017). Even though it was expected to happen in the early hours of the day, as had been the case previously, on this occasion the July 15 Coup attempt lost track of time (Yayla 2016). As a result of this, every citizen in Turkey was able to monitor the coup attempt live from the beginning to the end (Yayla 2016, Yılmaz, Yılmaz and Erbay 2016).

It is certain that the failed coup attempt aimed to destroy civil society, design a different political and social order, and those involved intended to rule Turkey for their own ambitious purposes (Haklı 2016); however, contrary to the plotters expectations, the coup failed due to a set of factors (Yayla 2016). One of these factors was the failure to take into account the power of social media (Aslan and Kiyici 2017).

Essentially, the reaction to the failed coup attempt was "as novel as the nature of the attempt itself: the plotters failed when civil and political society stood firmly against the plotters" (Çalışkan 2016: 99). Interestingly, for the first time in the history of Turkey, a coup was prevented by street resistance (Yılmaz *et al.* 2016) that was "against the putschists who attempted to control the streets with tanks, flew very low with F16 fighter jets in populated areas, bombed the parliament building, attacked the presidential palace and the National Intelligence Organization (MİT), and shot innocent unarmed civilians trying to resist them" (İçener 2016: 70).

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Though Turkey is immune to coups and the July 15 coup attempt failed, this does not make it any less important than the previous successful coups and coup attempts (Milan 2016). In contrast, considering the role of social media, it appears to be an interesting case to examine. During the failed coup attempt, the Turkish media played a critical role, by standing together against the antidemocratic act and supporting the democratically elected president and government (Önder and Güler 2017). That night, Turkish citizens witnessed how political leaders were able to use social media to rally their followers in just a few hours (Kılıç 2016, Esen and Gumuscu 2017). As a consequence of these efforts, online social networks appeared as a space, where collective social resistance would change the fate of the coup attempt.

Social Networks and Collective Social Resistance

According to the Castells (2009), we live in a network society and social movements have a greater chance of entering public spheres by means of new-networked technologies. Following the advent of the Social Networking Sites (SNSs) such as Twitter and Facebook, these spaces appeared as powerful public spheres to promote causes or organize social events (Lingdren 2013). Not surprisingly, in the 21st century world, user-generated content and social networking (Comninos 2011) are used as an *unconventional warfare* approach and the globe has seen that most revolutions, social events or social reflections now begin with 140 characters (280 characters by 2017). In fact, the power of the discourse in SNSs has been proven in the recent developments observed in many parts of the globe (Chiluwa 2012). As an example, movements in the Arab Spring (Passini, 2012), Orange Revolution (Purtaş 2005), Occupy Movements (DeLuca, Lawson and Sun 2012), and Indignados (Theocharis, Lowe, van Deth & García-Albacete 2015) can be given as known examples, among many others.
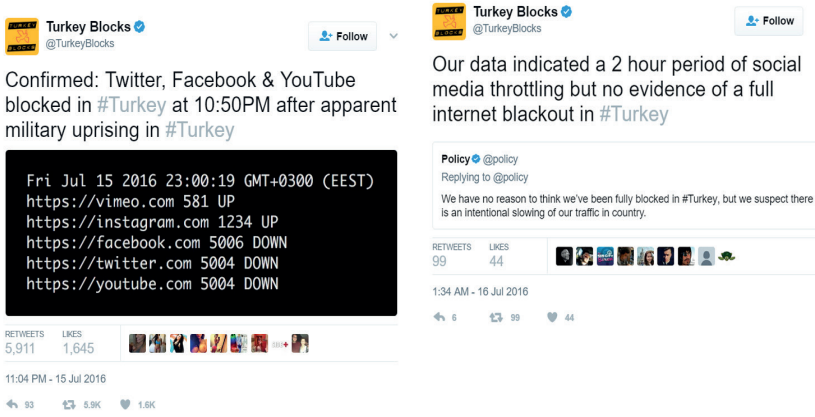
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What happened on SNSs during the July 15 failed coup attempt?

Generally, it can be seen that SNSs are used to trigger or ignite social events, such as protests, uprisings, or social movements. However, in the case of the July 15 failed coup attempt, it was seen that SNSs were used as both a shield and a sword to defend democracy in Turkey, to act against the coup attempt (Figure 1).
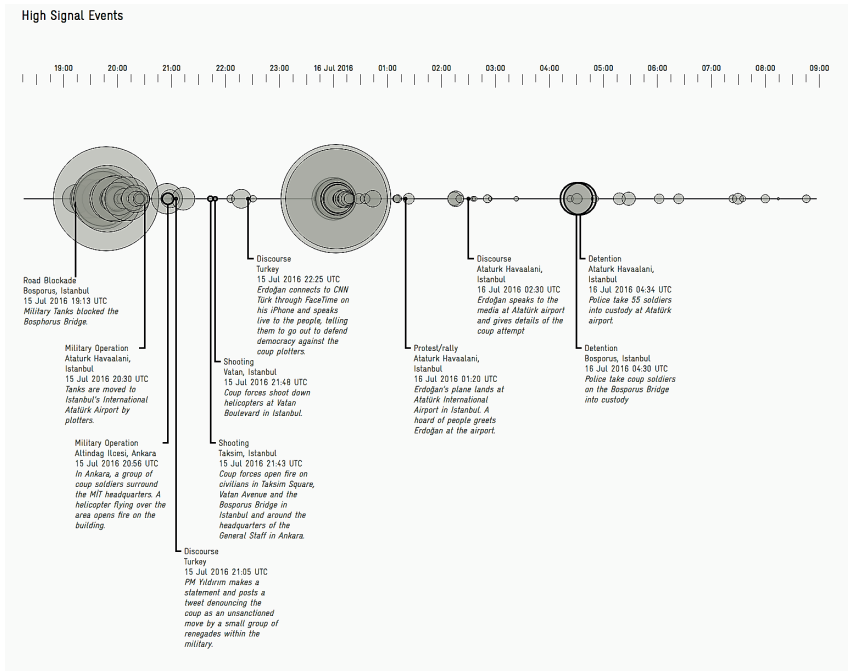

Figure 1. *Timeline of ongoing events during the failed coup attempt and their manifestation on social media* (Unver and Alassaad, 2016)

The first tweet concerning the July 15 failed coup attempt was at 21:48. In the early hours of the coup attempt, there was disinformation about what was happening. A Twitter account that monitors Internet activities in Turkey reported a blocking (throttling) in three widely used SNSs at 23:04 on July 15. The same account reported at 01:34 on July 16 that this social media throttling lasted for about two hours (Figure 2).

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Figure 2. *Tweets reporting social media throttling*

Even though social media throttling in Turkey during the early hours of the July 15 failed coup attempt, the use of SNSs, especially Twitter, was massive in terms of numbers. Around 6M Tweets are tweeted during a normal day in Turkey. On the other hand, after bypassing social media throttling, more than 18M tweets were tweeted, which are three times the number of tweets generally seen (Figure 3).
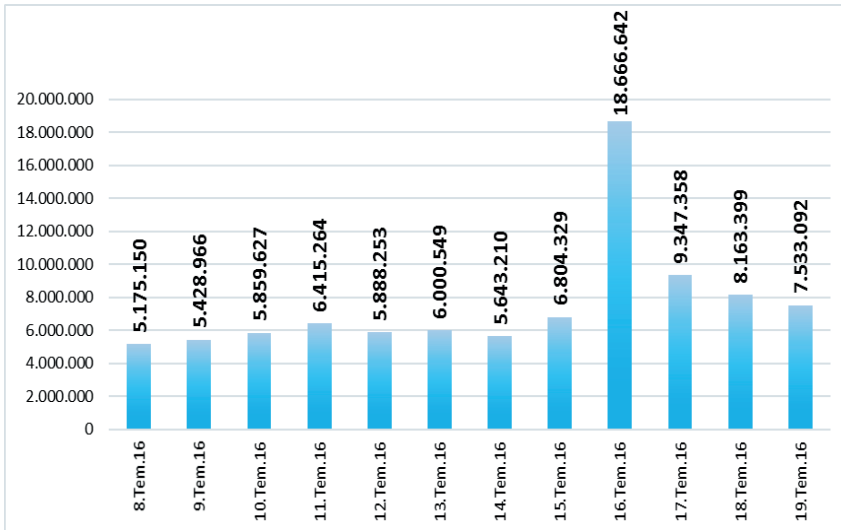
Figure 3. *Trend in the number of the tweets before and after the July 15 failed coup attempt*

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When examined in more detail, it was seen that information flow through the calls from SNSs and live broadcastings in mass media had played an important role in the failure of the July 15 coup attempt. As can be seen in Figure 4, the number of the tweets increases after 22:00 and peaks at 01:00, just after the call for the resistance against the July 15 coup attempt at 00:30 on CNNTurk (through live broadcasting with the help of the smart phone application, Face Time) and at 00:38 by the President of the Republic of the Turkey on Twitter (Figure 4).
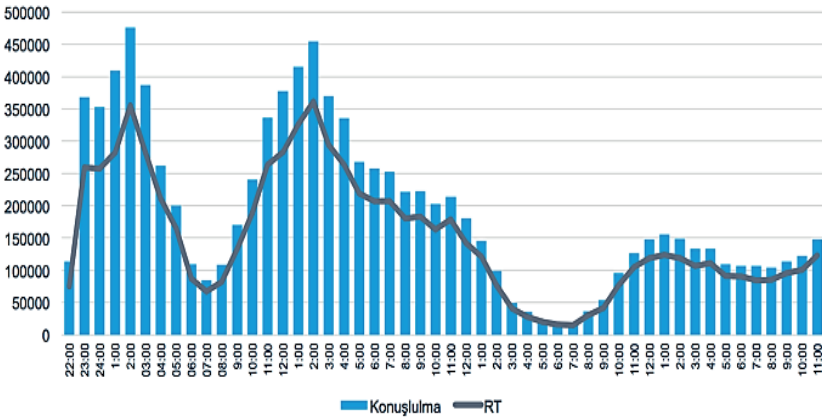
Figure 4. *Trend in the number of the tweets between 22:00 on July 15 and 11:00 on July 17*

According to the Somera and Monitera, the number of the tweets increased by 233% during and after the coup attempt. Between July 15 and July 17, more than 34M tweets were generated, which reached about 15B impressions. On July 15, 6804329 and on July 16, 18666642 tweets were generated. During the coup attempt, between 21:00 on July 15 and 07:00 on July 16, the most popular hashtags were #HulisiAkar (11 Hours 48 Minutes), #NoCoupInTurkey (8 Hours 10 Minutes), and #DarbeyeHayır (NoCoup) (7 Hours 50 minutes). The following day, on July 17, 9347358, on July 18, 8163389 and on July 19, 753392 tweets were tweeted. Collective resistance against the coup attempt was obvious from the hashtags used. Accordingly, the most used hashtags were #DarbeyeHayır (NoCoup; n=6333), #AskerimeDokunma (DontTouchSoldiers; n=5573),

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#NoCoupInTurkey (n=5551), #DemokrasiBayramı (DemocracyFestival; n=5235), #MilletTarihYazıyor (TheNationWritesItsHistory; n=4527), #DarbecileriYargılaErlereDokunma (JudgePlottersDontTouchPrivat es; n=4426), #AskerimeSevgimSonsuz (MyLoveForSoldiersIsEternal; n=4423), and #VatanBirBayrakBir (OneCountryOneFlag; n=4380).

Purpose of the Research

Based on above discussions, this empirical study focuses on activity on a popular SNS, Twitter, which is used for microblogging, during the first 24 hours of the July 15 failed coup attempt. The main purpose of this research is to identify and map community structure and discourse on online social networks that emerged during the failed coup attempt. In this regard, the research intends to seek answers to the following research questions:

- What was the network pattern on online social networks during the July 15 failed coup attempt?

- How did the discourse emerge on online social networks?

In these contexts, the study investigates network relations, community formation and interaction patterns, and then examines the discourse, which determined the destiny of the failed coup attempt.

Methodology

Research Method

In this study, both quantitative and qualitative data was used. Based on data collection and the analysis sequence, an explanatory sequential mixed method design was employed (Creswell, 2004). In the first strand of the study, Social Network Analysis (SNA) was used to analyze numeric quantitative (network metrics) and visual qualitative data (sociograms/ network graphs). In the second, discourse analysis was used to analyze textual qualitative data.

In the first strand, SNA was used to analyze the network structure of two hashtags: #Ankara and #DarbeyeHayır. SNA is a methodology that offers powerful ways to map, summarize and visualize networks, as well

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as identify key nodes that occupy strategic locations and positions in the network (Hansen, Shneiderman and Smith 2010). Based on global and local metrics, networks can be visualized through sociograms (network graphs) in which nodes are represented as points and ties are represented as lines. In sociograms, a node can be a living or non-living entity. The interactions, relationships, or links among these nodes, define the ties. In this sense, SNA offers a kind of x-ray image of the organizational structure of a community, in order to discover patterns, trends, clusters, and outliers (Hansen, Shneiderman and Smith 2010).

In the second strand of the research, by considering that "the social world is a system of symbolic exchanges," and "social action is an act of communication" (Bourdieu 1977: 646), the researchers applied discourse analysis (Partington 2006) to analyze the viewpoints, perspectives and aims hidden in the textual data (Van Dijk 1993). After identifying the main themes in the discourses, significant quotes were provided for each discourse. Using significant quotes is a technique (Orcher 2005) used for portraying the participants' perspectives (Yin 2010, Creswell 2012) by using the participants' actual words, along with their account and understanding (Schreiber and Asner-Self), to support interpretations (Krippendorff 2004), or increase reliability and validity of the qualitative research findings.

Data Collection, Sampling, and Analysis Procedures

The data used in this research was collected in real time during the first 24 hours of the July 15 coup attempt by using NodeXL software, which allows users to download directly and import a variety of network data. To do this, the Top Trending (TT) topics that were related to the July 15 coup attempt in a social networking site (SNS), that is Twitter, were identified and tweets were collected for sampling.

The sample for this research consists of the tweets collected during the failed coup attempt. On the night of July15, two distinct hashtags became Trending Topic: #DarbeyeHayır and #Ankara. The first hashtag #Ankara, which was collected on July 15, 2016, consists of 2968 tweets (edges)

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created by 2919 individuals (nodes). The second hashtag #DarbeyeHayır, which was collected on July 16, 2016, consist of 2366 tweets created by 2219 individuals. The first hashtag #Ankara has a symbolic meaning, which refers to capital of the Turkey and represents the Turkish Government. The second hashtag, #DarbeyeHayır, means #NoCoup in English; this clearly represents the general perception for the events that happened that night.

For the social network analysis of sampled data, local and global metrics that were calculated through algorithms provided by NodeXL software were used. For discourse analysis, NVivo software which is a powerful software to organize, analyze and find insights in qualitative data was used.

Strengths and Limitations

This study provides measurable data collected from online social networks during the failed coup attempt. In this regard, the findings represent a snapshot of what really happened during and just after the coup attempt, based on empirical evidence. Nevertheless, in addition to the strengths of the study, it should be noted that there were other significant hashtags used during the failed coup attempt, which are the limitation of the study.

Ethical Considerations

The data of the research includes sensitive information. In this context, the researchers followed AOIR's (2012) Ethical Decision-Making and Internet Research Report to analyze the research findings. Even though the data was collected from the public domain, after a critical investigation, the data originated from individuals were anonymized (individual names were omitted) and only those names belonging to organizations or institutions were explicitly used.
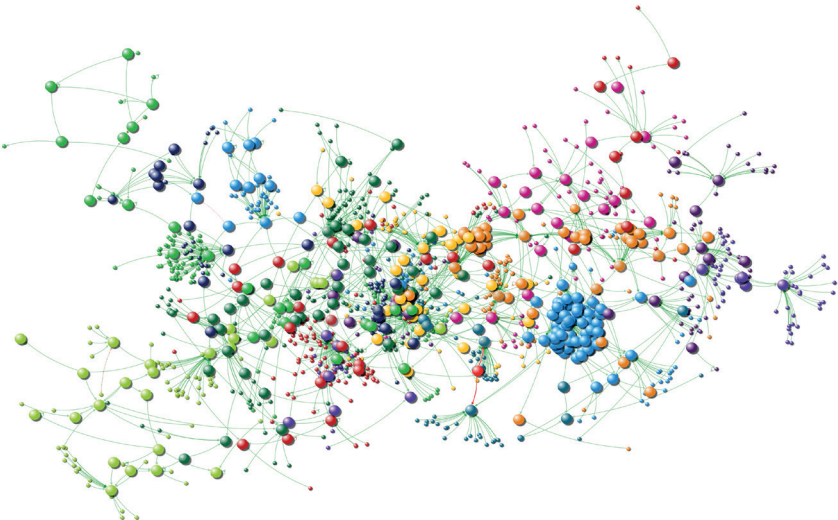
Findings and Discussion

First strand: social network analysis

For the purposes of the study, network metrics were calculated for the two identified hashtags. The network metrics for the first hashtag, #Ankara, were calculated to obtain a quantitative insight.
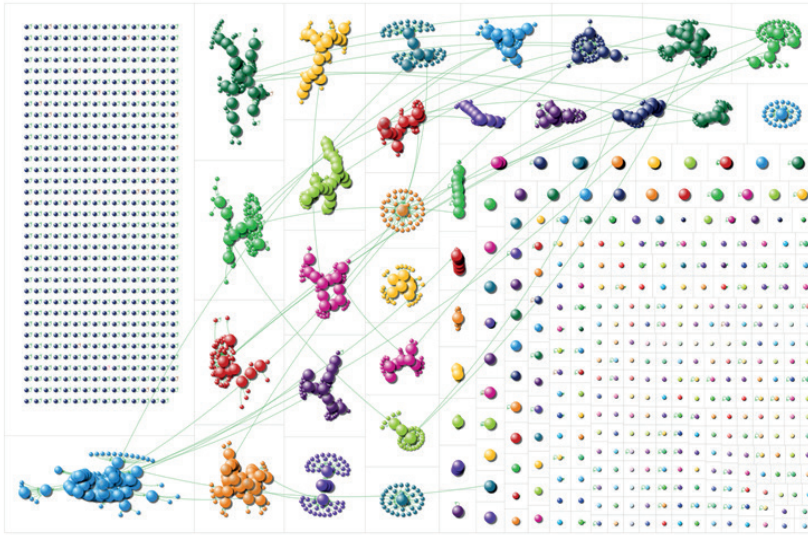
Table 1. *Network Metrics for #Ankara*

Graph Metric	Value
Graph Type	Directed
Vertices	2919
Unique Edges	2839
Edges With Duplicates	129
Total Edges	2968
Self-Loops	724
Reciprocated Vertex Pair Ratio	0.000453104
Reciprocated Edge Ratio	0.000905797
Maximum Geodesic Distance (Diameter)	33
Average Geodesic Distance	9.3674
Graph Density	0.000259227
Modularity	0.824653

Then two sociograms, that is to say networks graphs were created for #Ankara. The first network graph was developed using the Harel-Koren Fast Multiscale layout algorithm (Harel and Koren 2001) (Figure 5). The Harel-Koren Fast Multiscale layout algorithm is a force directed graph drawing approach, which is used to find the multi-scale representation of a graph and to devise a locally aesthetic layout.

Figure 5. *The network graph for #Ankara*

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Following that analysis, the nodes in the network graph for #Ankara were grouped by cluster, using the Clauset-Newman-Moore cluster algorithm (Figure 6) (Clauset, Newman and Moore 2004, Clauset, Moore and Newman 2008). The Clauset-Newman-Moore cluster algorithm is a probabilistic model of hierarchical clustering for complex networks. In this study, this algorithm was used to detect community structure and extract meaningful communities from the #Ankara network.


Figure 6. *The clustered network graph for #Ankara*

Similar to the analysis and visualization techniques applied for the #Ankara hashtag, the same procedure was followed for the second hashtag, #DarbeyeHayır. Accordingly, network metrics for #DarbeyeHayır were calculated (Table 2).
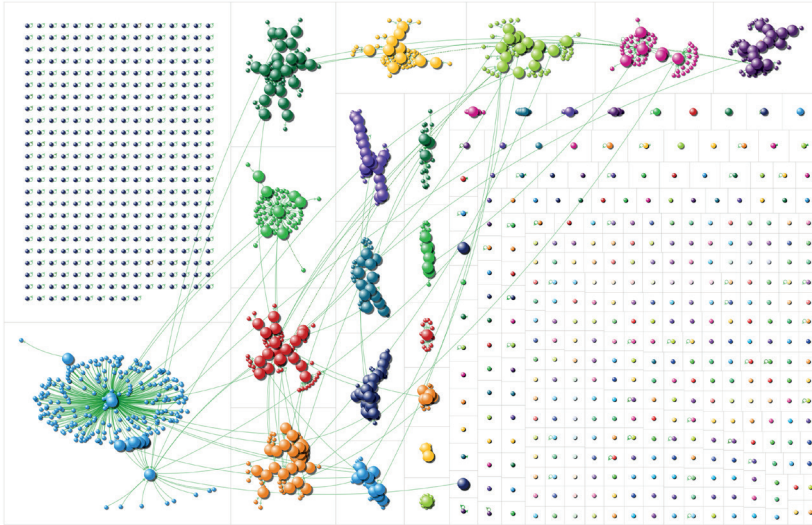
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Table 2. *Network Metrics for #DarbeyeHayır*

Graph Metric	Value
Graph Type	Directed
Vertices	2219
Unique Edges	2214
Edges With Duplicates	152
Total Edges	2366
Self-Loops	492
Reciprocated Vertex Pair Ratio	0
Reciprocated Edge Ratio	0
Maximum Geodesic Distance (Diameter)	21
Average Geodesic Distance	6.449089
Graph Density	0.000370194
Modularity	0.788492

Based on network metrics, a network graph for #DarbeyeHayır was prepared using the Harel-Koren Fast Multiscale layout algorithm to better understand the network visualization (Figure 7) (Harel and Koren 2001).
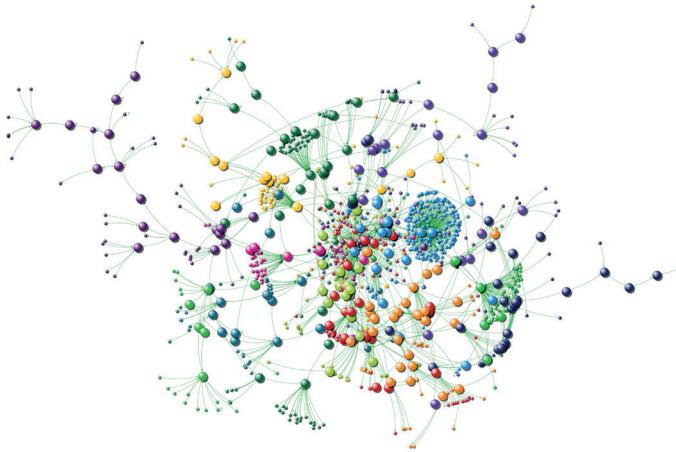
Figure 7. *The network graph for #DarbeyeHayır*

After this analysis, the nodes in the network graph for #DarbeyeHayır were grouped by cluster, using the Clauset-Newman-Moore cluster algorithm (Clauset, Newman and Moore 2004, Clauset, Moore and Newman 2008) (Figure 8). In doing this, the aim was to interpret and visualize how the network structure was formed.

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Figure 8. *The clustered network graph for #DarbeyeHayır*

This study reveals some interesting findings. First of all, SNA identifies some facts about the structure of the network organization. Accordingly, the network with the #Ankara hashtag comprises 2919 nodes and 2968 edges (Table 1), while the network with #DarbeyeHayır hashtag comprises 2219 nodes and 2366 edges (Table 2).

According to the Milgram Experiment (Milgram 1967), the six degrees, or steps, mean that even in large networks where most people are not directly connected, people can be reached from every other person through a small number of steps. In theory, it is estimated as six, which could be considered as the threshold for this research. When analyzed it can be seen that maximum geodesic distance was 33 and the average geodesic distance was 9.3674 for the #Ankara hashtag. On the other hand, the maximum geodesic distance was 21 and the average geodesic distance was 6.449089 for the #DarbeyeHayır hashtag. Both values are far beyond of the average threshold of 6. This data demonstrates that both networks are highly distributed, thus representing a great diversity of people. Other network metrics support this pattern. Graph Density, which varies between 0 and 1, was calculated as 0.000259227 for #Ankara and 0.000370194 for

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#DarbeyeHayır, which indicates that interaction within the network was very low. In line with these findings, modularity, which demonstrates the degree to which a system's components may be separated and recombined, was calculated as 0.824653 for #Ankara and 0.788492 for #DarbeyeHayır, indicating that both networks had distributed, separated clusters. In support of the above explanations, Figure 4 and Figure 6 demonstrate that nodes are distributed across the network, and Figure 5 and Figure 7 demonstrate that neither network is densely clustered. These findings are important in terms of demonstrating a collective discourse in networks that are remarkably separate. Accordingly, even though people that are separated and come from different backgrounds, they have a common discourse against to the failed coup attempt and they reacted in the same way even though they are not densely connected to each other.

Following these analyses, the findings were interpreted to identify network structure. Smith, Rainie, Shneiderman and Himelboim (2014) identified six different conversational archetypes: the divided-polarized crowd, the unified-tight crowd, fragmented-brand clusters, clustered-community clusters, the in-hub and spoke-broadcast network, and out-hub and spoke-support network. Each type describes a specific conversation network and provides an explanation of how they are shaped by the topic being discussed and how people drive the conversation. Accordingly, the hashtags, #Ankara and #DarbeyeHayır, demonstrate the *community clusters pattern* (Figure 5 and 7). This type of community pattern is created around global news events and popular topics (Rainie 2014). Community Clusters usually have large numbers of disconnected contributors who mention the topic but do not link to one another and subgroups that have heavier levels of interconnection (Smith *et al.*, 2014). The SNA data clearly demonstrates that diverse individuals reacted to the same reaction and that this prevented the plotters from creating perception management, losing the coup attempt on online social networks. In addition, it could be said that the hashtags served as a kind of *social glue*, around which people with the same perception gathered and demonstrated a collective discourse.

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Second strand: discourse analysis

This section of the study categorizes tweets based on two hashtags and presents examples from general discourses that emerged during the failed coup attempt.

#Ankara

When analyzed, it could be seen that #Ankara was used as a generic hashtag by a variety of users. In addition to tweets in Turkish, there were a great many in other languages too. First of all, as a word that refers to capital of the Turkey, many international news agencies used the hashtag to address their global audiences. As shown in the examples given in the following sections, the second group to use the hashtag comprised those who mobilized against the coup attempt.

The tweets from the international news agencies articulated a neutral discourse by reporting ongoing events during the first hours of the coup attempt. They reported the political leaders' expressions as quotes.

> • #BREAKING 2 bridges closed by mil police in #Istanbul, tanks on highways, reports of jets flying low in #Ankara.

> • #BREAKING: Gunshots heard in #Turkey capital of #Ankara as military jets & helicopters were seen flying overhead say witnesses in #Istanbul

> • Settling on the term "uprising," #Turkey's PM Yıldırım says that those behind military maneuvers "will pay the highest price…

In addition to the tweets from news agencies, it was seen that government institutions also used Twitter as a communication medium. Many individuals retweeted these calls to spread the word (see original tweets in Appendix 1A).

> • In #Ankara, the police department calls all personnel for duty.

Other tweets were about heroic discourses, call for resistance, or hatred for the plotters. Some of the heroic discourses appeared as in the following example (see original tweets in Appendix 1B):

> • May God help us. I owe a life for my homeland. I can sacrifice my life for my homeland. #Ankara

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The tweets that contains discourses are about resistance were highlighting unifying as one, against the plotters and reacting to them at their best (see original tweets in Appendix 1C).

- Turkey give a shout against coup plotters! #Ankara

- Call for our soldiers! Shoot your commanders who attempted the coup! #Ankara

- This not the old Turkey! You will not succeed! #Ankara

Hatred appeared in the form of demands for the punishment for plotters, supporters and other individuals who were involved in the failed coup attempt (see original tweets in Appendix 1D).

- Whoever gave orders for this coup attempt or complied with orders and whoever was involved should be HANGED!!! #Ankara Bosphorus Bridge

- There is no prison sentence this time. Shoot them at site. Those who act viciously should be knocked down right now!!! #Ankara

#DarbeyeHayır (#NoCoup)

In contrast to the first hashtag, the second hashtag, #DarbeyeHayır, demonstrates a harsher discourse against the July 15 failed coup attempt. Ultimately, the collective discourses in this hashtag emphasize unity, resistance, patriotism, and anger towards the plotters.

In this hashtag, the first set of tweets was about unity. It was seen that Turkish citizens united against the failed coup attempt, leaving behind all personal identities and demonstrating a collective identity (see original tweets in Appendix 1E).

- We stand by civil government against those who target the public with its own guns. We will not go back… #NoCoup

- I am Turkey! I didn't surrender my homeland to the united world and I will not surrender to its servants. #NoCoup

- Today is the day for unity, today is the day for resurrection, today is the day for the enlightenment, today is the day for existence,

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today is the day for independence. #NoCoup

• You should learn that: The more you act sneakily, the more we will interlock. #NoCoup

The second set of tweets was about resistance. The collective discourse showed a call for resistance. In addition to general tweets to resist to the plotters, it was also interesting to see that people were tweeting about exact locations, which would be critical in terms of the resistance. Finally, some of the tweets were calling for resistance by picturing a future if the plotters were successful, which would be important to raise awareness for those who were being less active against the failed coup attempt (see original tweets in Appendix 1F).

• #NoCoup. [go] to the squares, squares, squares

• Threat Continues!!! Do not leave the streets and squares… The plotters are still in Department of Chief of Staff headquarter building… #NoCoup

• If you go inside now, you cannot go outside anymore! #NoCoup

The number of heroic, patriotic tweets was also salient. Accordingly, the collective discourse perceived unity, resistance and other actions against the plotters as an epic written on the streets and squares by standing against the tanks, jets and helicopters targeting civilians with their bombs and bullets (see original tweets in Appendix 1G).

• And history writes how a nation stopped the coup attempt by resisting tanks! #NoCoup

• The response of this nation hasn't changed for those who betrayed, who came to invade since 1919: "As they have come, so they will go" #NoCoup

• Sovereignty unconditionally belongs to the nation #NoCoup

• They used to silence calls to prayer with coups! Now public silence coup attempts with calls to prayer!! #NoCoup

• If we didn't dare to die today, we would die everyday tomorrow. This nation has not accepted to live in captivity throughout the history… #NoCoup

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Similar to the discourse with the first hashtag, #Ankara, the discourse with #DarbeyeHayır, showed a strong anger for the plotters, and demands for their severe punishment (see original tweets in Appendix 1H).

• #NoCoup, Yes for execution! We want their heads!

• #NoCoup, Whoever attempted to coup should be exiled from this country! Traitors should look for a new country for themselves!

• In a country where the parliament was hit; it is not the penal law that is applicable, but law of war. Execution is fair in a war. #NoCoup

Finally, some tweets that were created following the early hours of the failed coup attempt demonstrate that the public believed from the very beginning that the plotters would fail. This might be the reason why the collective discourse became viral and triggered a chain of events that encouraged Turkish citizens to stand as one, resist and fight against the plotters (see original tweets in Appendix 1I).

• How great you are, glorious nation! Coup attempt has been parried by the nation. #15July2016 #NoCoup

• It was the longest night for Turkey. Calls for prayer were not silenced flags were not lowered. May Allah not leave this nation without call for prayer, flag and homeland... #NoCoup

• This nation showed the most glorious resistance and uprising against the most treacherous attack of the history of Republic! #NoCoup

• The nation claimed its flag, country, willpower and said #NoCoup

According to the discourse analysis, the two hashtags were used for different purposes. The first hashtag #Ankara was generally used by both news agencies and individuals while the second hashtag #DarbeyeHayır was used mostly by individuals.

Furthermore, the findings related to the collective discourse demonstrate that the #Ankara hashtag was used to broadcast the failed coup attempt by news agencies and citizens. This hashtag also contained tweets that included patriotic discourses in addition to tweets calling for resistance and tweets

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showing anger and hatred towards the plotters.

Endorsing the findings of this study, Unver and Alassaad (2016) reported that social media did play a significant role in mobilization against the July 15 failed coup attempt. In line with this conclusion, Esen and Gumuscu (2017) highlighted that, by supporting elected government, social media played a critical role during the failed coup attempt. They further indicated that, in the absence of reliable media coverage, social media was used to rally and mobilize the crowds against the plotters. Similarly, Devran and Özcan (2016) reported that, while the plotters used specially encrypted software to communicate with each other, they ignored the power of new media, which resulted in the acceleration of their failure. As revealed in the research findings, the reaction of Turkish citizens was fast and forthright, and the collective discourse from diverse layers of society was in favor of democracy. Devran and Özcan also stated that civil society used social media effectively and efficiently, which changed the course of action for the failed coup attempt.

The findings of this study further confirm those of Melek and Toker (2017), who reported that Turkish newspapers with differing ideologies mostly adopted discourses that dealt with democracy, terrorism (coup attempt) and patriotism. Similar to social media, the mass media also perceived the failed coup attempt as a great threat to democracy in Turkey. Likewise, Şeker and Nisan (2017) indicated that Turkish newspapers adopted a common discourse in which national unity and solidarity themes were emphasized. Saf (2017) examined the President and Prime Minister's speeches and the President's speech that was broadcast live on CNN Turk and found that the discourses were structured within the framework of discrediting their rivals, democracy, charging with traitor and terrorism, rule of law, attractiveness of fear, unity and solidarity and punishment themes. Supporting these suggestions, Yılmaz, Yılmaz and Erbay (2016) indicated that the media in Turkey stood against the coup in its publications and undertook an important intermediary role in mobilizing the crowds. The above findings confirm the idea that Twitter supports the distributed conversation among the participants and that journalism, in this era of social media, has become a conversation (Gillmor, 2004) in the context of major events, in which such conversations involve a host of interested parties (Lotan, Graeff,

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Ananny, Gaffney and Pearce, 2011). Overall, the July 15 failed coup attempt demonstrated "the victory of the digital age over an analog coup" with anti-coup messaging, and mobilization of the masses, which resisted the failed coup attempt (Cagaptay & Jeffrey 2016: para. 3).

Conclusion

In conclusion, in the first strand, the findings identified through social network analysis indicate that individuals who gathered around Twitter hashtags demonstrated a community cluster pattern which is generally seen for global news events and popular topics and includes large numbers of disconnected contributors who mention the topic, but do not link to one another and subgroups. This finding showed that even though the individuals in the July 15 network come from different layers of community, they had a common discourse, and thus reacted and unified against to the plotters. These individuals used specific hashtags to communicate with each other and act together during the coup attempt. For discourse analysis in the second strand, the research benefited frım these hashtags and the textual data in two hashtags, #Ankara and #NoCoup, were analyzed. As a result, it was seen that both #Ankara and #NoCoup was used for heroic and patriotic discourses, call for resistance and unity, and anger and hatred for the plotters.

In all, the July 15 failed coup attempt was an excellent example of showing the power of new media in general and social media in particular. It was seen that that in contrast to other examples of unconventional warfare, in which social media was used to change government; in this case, social media was used to protect democracy and to organize the masses to stand as a one against the plotters.

Mass communications has been transformed and gone through a paradigm shift that has resulted in its emergence as a powerful tool. As has been witnessed in many previous cases, it can be used as a sword and a shield either to end or defend democracy. Who controls it determines how it is used. Based on the impressions given by the data examined in this research, citizens, political and social leaders used social media effectively and did not let the plotters use it for perception management, manipulation and the misdirection of the masses.

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Based on findings of this research and impressions gained examined tweets, the following suggestions can be considered for future research directions. First of all, it was seen that the tweets in Turkish had a specific discourse, which was against to the failed coup attempt. However, further research that focuses on the discourse of tweets in English might yield interesting research findings. Such a future study would be helpful to understand how outsiders perceived the July 15 coup attempt. Secondly, findings of a follow-up research that focuses on discourse in mass media in local and global scales would be complementary to this study. Finally, as claimed in literature and apparent in the findings of this research, the social media is kind of unconventional warfare in digital age. In this regard, research on developing strategies for the use and control of the social media in the time of crisis would be very critical for the elected governments to sustain their existence and prevent masses not to be manipulated by unknown sources.

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Appendix 1

1A

- #Ankara'da Emniyet Müdürlüğü, tüm personeli göreve çağırıyor.

1B

- Allah yardımcımız olsun. Bu vatana bir can borcum var. Vatanım için canımı seve seve veririm #Ankara

1C

- Darbecilere karşı ses ver Türkiye! #Ankara
- Askerlerimize çağrı! Darbeye teşebbüs eden komutanlarınızı vurun! #Ankara
- Eski Türkiye değiliz! Başaramayacaksınız! #Ankara

1D

- Bu darbe girişiminde emir veren, emre uyan zerre kadar müdahili olan kim varsa asılsın!!! #Ankara Boğaziçi Köprüsü
- Bu sefer hapis falan yok direk VUR. Bu ülkeye bu alçaklığı yapanlar anında vurularak indirilmeli. Hemen.!!! #Ankara

1E

- Milletin silahlarını millete doğrultan teröristlerin karşısında dimdik ayakta, sivil yönetimin yanındayız. Geriye gitmeyeceğiz… #DarbeyeHayır
- Ben Türkiyeyim! Karşımda birleşen Dünya'ya bu Vatanı teslim etmedim, uşaklarına da etmeyeceğim. #DarbeyeHayır
- Bugün Birlik günüdür, Bugün Diriliş Günüdür, Bugün Aydınlanma günüdür, Bugün Varoluş Günüdür, Bugün Kurtuluş Günüdür. #DarbeyeHayır
- Ve Şunu öğrenin; Siz Hain oyunlarınızı oynadıkça, biz birbirimize daha çok kenetleneceğiz. #DarbeyeHayır

1F

- #DarbeyeHayır meydanlara, meydanlara, meydanlara
- Tehlike henüz sona ermedi !!! Sokakları ve meydanları boş bırakmayın... Darbeciler hala Genelkurmay Karargahı binasında… #DarbeyeHayır
- Eve girersen sokağa çıkamazsın! #DarbeyeHayır

1G

- Ve Tarih; Bir milletin tanklara karşı direnerek darbeyi önlediğini yazdı! #DarbeyeHayır
- Bu halkın işgale gelene, ihanet edene cevabı 1919'dan beri hiç değişmedi: "Geldikleri gibi giderler." #DarbeyeHayır
- Egemenlik kayıtsız şartsız milletindir #DarbeyeHayır
- Bir Zamanlar Darbelerle Ezanları sustururlardı! Şimdi Halk Ezanlarla Darbeleri susturuyor! #DarbeyeHayır
- Eğer bugün ölümü göze almasaydık yarın her gün ölecektik. Bu millet esaret altında yaşamayı tarih boyunca kabul etmemiştir… #DarbeyeHayır

1H

- #DarbeyeHayır idama Evet! Bize bunu yaşatanların kellesini istiyoruz!
- #DarbeyeHayır Kim darbe girişiminde bulunduysa, bu memleketten ihraç edilsin! Hainler kendine vatan arasın!
- Meclisin vurulduğu ülkede ceza kanunu değil, savaş hukuku geçerlidir. Savaşta idam serbesttir. #DarbeyeHayır

1I

- Ne Büyüksün Aziz Millet. Darbe Girişimi Halk Tarafından Bertaraf Edilmiştir… #15Temmuz2016 #darbeyehayır
- Türkiye için en uzun gece idi. Ezanlar susmadı, bayraklar inmedi. Allah bu milleti ezansız, bayraksız ve vatansız bırakmasın… #DarbeyeHayır
- Cumhuriyet tarihinin en hain saldırısına, en şanlı direnişi ve başkaldırıyı gösterdi bu millet! #DarbeyeHayır
- Millet Bayrağına, Devletine, İradesine sahip çıktı ve #DarbeyeHayır dedi.

15 Temmuz Darbe Girişimine yönelik Sosyal Ağ Analizi: Sosyal Direniş, Ağ Örüntüleri ve Kolektif Söylem*

Köksal Büyük**
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Öz

15 Temmuz darbe girişimi birçok açıdan önemlidir ve sosyal direniş, toplumun yapılanması ve ağ örüntüleri, kolektif söylem, algı yönetimi ve yeni medyanın gücü bağlamında birçok konuyu ilgilendirmektedir. Bu düşünceler ışığında bu çalışmanın genel amacı sosyal medya bakış açısıyla başarısız 15 Temmuz darbe girişimini incelemektir. Sosyal ağ analizi ve söylem analizinin kullanıldığı karma yöntem olarak desenlenmiş bu çalışma bulgularına göre toplumun farklı katmanları demokrasi yanlısı bir söylem sergilemiş ve çevrimiçi sosyal ağlar kitlelerin birbirleriyle iletişime geçtiği, darbe girişimcilerine karşı harekete geçtikleri, ayaklandıkları ve darbe girişimine karşı nasıl hissettiklerini ifade ettikleri bir ortam olarak kullanılmış, bu durum ise 15 Temmuz darbe girişiminin kaderini değiştirmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler

15 Temmuz darbe girişimi, sosyal direniş, kolektif söylem, ağ örüntüleri, algı yönetimi, sosyal ağ analizi, söylem analizi.

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Анализ попытки государственного переворота 15 июля в социальных сетях: общественное сопротивление, сетевые модели и коллективный дискурс[*]

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Аннотация

Многие аспекты неудачной попытки государственного переворота 15 июля были значительными и включали в себя социальное сопротивление, сплочение сообщества и сетевые модели, коллективный дискурс, управление восприятием и силу новых медиа. Исходя из этих представлений, основной целью данного исследования является изучение неудачной попытки государственного переворота 15 июля в контексте социальных сетей. В исследовании применен анализ социальных сетей и анализ дискурса. Исследование показало, что различные слои сообщества продемонстрировали коллективный дискурс в пользу демократии, и социальные сети в Интернете использовались в качестве пространства, где массы общались друг с другом, мобилизовывались, сплачивались против заговорщиков и выражали свои чувства; все это в конечном итоге изменило судьбу попытки государственного переворота 15 июля.

Ключевые слова

Попытка переворота 15 июля, социальное сопротивление, коллективный дискурс, сетевые модели, управление восприятием, анализ социальных сетей, анализ дискурса.

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