

Research Article

The Last Point in the Evolution of Human-animal Perception and Its Reflection on the News in Turkey

Kazım Tolga Gürel* 

Independent Resarcher, İstanbul, Turkey

Abstract

The human-animal relationship has changed from time to time with the evolution of cultural history. In the theoretical part of the study, a journey from being one or brother and sister to seeing the animal as an object and from there to be reduced to a means of healing traumas is described to the extent permitted by the dimensions of the article. The main stops in this evolution are emphasized, and the structural constructions of this relationship are analyzed. Following this analysis, the discourse analysis of the news articles was carried out. Through this analysis method, it was show what the real purpose of the news articles was and where this purposes tood in the evolution described in the theoretical part. After constructing the background of the article's narrative with qualitative-historical descriptions and interpretations in the theoretical part, discourse analysis was chosen as the method. Since the November 25th incident at the Konya Animal Shelter created a debate in a large segment of social institutions, four news articles from four newspapers covering the incident on the same day on the internet were selected and analyzed. The newspapers where the news items were published were identified based on their closeness to and opposition to the government. Findings on how the same news item was constructed were shown and interpreted. The attitude of the newspapers while reporting the event and the point in the evolution of the animal-human relationship were discussed. Thus, in the light of anthropological interpretations, this study has also revealed how animals are objectified in newspapers.

Keywords

Power, Animal, Human, News, Ideology

1. Introduction

Man's relationship with nature has changed from time to time and from community to community throughout history. Affected by many factors and showing the effect of this change in the relationships he enters into, man is an entity that experiences ruptures in his perspective on the objects around him. Being one of the fastest and most powerful beings with the fastest adaptation, humans change themselves and make their perception dominant over other objects. Adaptation is the adaptation of a living being to its environment. However, at the

point where human beings arrive, a phenomenon different from biological adaptation takes place. While other living things change their environment to some extent, human beings change their environment much more intensely than other living things, and this is not just a biological adaptation. This is a story of producing, developing and transforming the cultural forms of one's limbs to make everything familiar and known because of the fears and anxieties that centre on one's existence. In this story, the ruptures in man's perspective on his environment can

*Corresponding author: kazimtolgagurel78@gmail.com (Kazım Tolga Gürel)

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be described with three fundamental distinctions:

1. Pre-ownership perspective
2. The perspective in property societies
3. The new perspective that spread around the world thanks to the 1968 generation

A scientific myth is perpetuated about human nature in which selfishness is emphasised, primarily through some conclusions in genetic science, and that this nature is "bad" and incapable of coexistence. Studies such as the "selfish gene" in socio-biology and evolutionary psychology support producing a nature for the reality of accumulation societies and today's "capitalist man". However, there is scientific literature that presents different facts that are at least as powerful. This scientific literature is not as popularised as Harari's "Sapiens". This is because man legitimises himself, and marketers sell to subjects the subject that the system has constructed. However, the subject is constructed in every period by the construction of the structure of that period. The writings of many influential theorists, from Steve Taylor to Pierre Clastres, from David Graeber to Michael Tomasello [30], do not become as popular as "Sapiens" because they speak of another "human being", and the theories on "capitalist human beings" become even more solidified due to the broad audience for these theories.

This study, after briefly explaining how the relationship between humans and animals has evolved, has tried to show through the news that the objectification of the animal and its use for specific purposes at the endpoint of this relationship has not changed in news production and that this logic can be used as a material for various biases.

2. Pre-proprietary Perspective in the Animal-Human Relationship

The transition to a settled society is not a change that occurs in a short period but simultaneously throughout humanity. It also varies temporally from continent to continent. In the same geography, nomads and settlers who were close to each other have sometimes lived together. This line can be read as a transition from hunter-gathering to the dominance of sedentarisation. However, this reading is also controversial.

It is known that hunter-gathering shaped human existence for much longer than settlement. This situation affects not only the biology of man but also his consciousness and body. Today, there are traces of hunter-gathering in consciousness, body and biology. For example, the human body is adapted to starvation and the famine hormones (catabolites), testosterone and cortisol rise after a certain period of starvation, and man becomes a hunter. On the other hand, the constructive hormones, the stabilisers, give a man a feeling of peace and settledness. Physiological adaptations that make the body much more active after starvation are indicators of adaptation to hunger. Obesity is a problem because this hunter-gatherer biology has not yet adapted to the rapid changes in consciousness. Consciousness

has become accustomed to three meals and more, whereas, for the body, food still means movement and is perceived as a "scarce input".

Human consciousness has endured many famines throughout history. While these famines were observed as macro climatological changes in some periods of history, they were also recorded as local famines specific to some regions. It is estimated that starvation societies before the industrial revolution were much more fearful than today's abundant societies. For this reason, human beings instrumentalise everything they see around them and their consciousness is transformed as a result of this instrumentalisation. For example, like many animals, man's list of food types is influenced by the presence or absence of food. One of the most erroneous revolutionary practices Mao-Zedong wanted to carry out in China was the agricultural policies that completely instrumentalised nature.

For this reason, the Chinese Communist Party had a period of "national unity" against agricultural pests. Peasants hunted and chased birds that damaged crops. They changed the migration routes of birds. As a result, the natural cycles of the cultivated fields were broken, and pests overran the fields. During China's "Great Famine", bats etc., entered the food list of Chinese culture. In the famine that lasted between 1958 and 1962, it is known that around 70 million people died, although the exact number is unknown. This estimated number multiplies the population of many countries [13].

This and many other examples show that the food list of mammals can vary to a certain extent

According to the presence or absence of available food. This change is seen in all of them when it comes to the natural motives of survival. The fear of famine and the measures taken against it are one of the most fundamental determinants in shaping civilisation. The emergence of accumulation societies or the human habit of eating animals may also have come from here.

Sahlins says that today's man, who is half-human according to paleontological findings, is the animal creature of culture and is equipped with the biology of his system of symbols. However, the idea that he is necessarily a slave to animal tendencies is an illusion that takes its source from culture. As Sahlins explains while explaining the expression "half-human", this "half" part originating from nature is more resistant than any cultural product, even if it is evolving [21].

In hunter-gatherer times, the contents of this "half" are much more significant. For this reason, the hunter-gatherer approaches animals and nature less for pragmatic purposes. He is a whole with them. Humanisation can also be read as a process of detachment from this whole. Charles Patterson [20] emphasises this point, on which many anthropologists agree, as follows:

"The "domestication" of animals - the exploitation of goats, sheep, sheep, cattle and other animals for their milk, meat and labour in the Near East 11,000 years ago - changed human history. In hunter-gatherer societies there was a kind

of kinship between humans and animals, as we can see in myths and totems that depict animals or half-animal, half-human creatures as the creators or ancestors of the human race."

The Western tradition's endeavour to determine human nature is based on two philosophical distinctions. One of these is the Hobbesian tradition. This tradition, which finds its essence in the sentence "Man is the wolf of man", is a series of studies based on the theories of biology and evolutionary psychology, which deny or relegate anthropology to the background, and which inspire the attitudes and behaviours of today's capitalist individual. The other is the Rousseauist myth of nature and the peaceful, non-violent "wild golden age". While the first of these is flawed by its biological reductionist approach, the other presents a picture of cultural and linguistic determinism that can be described as extreme [17].

The concept of "Mana", which Mauss observed in the South African natives, depicts the belief in the savage culture. Mauss [16] mentions that this concept is encountered in many tribes from Latin American culture to Indonesia. The phenomenon of "mana" is an essential clue to understanding the intellectual plane of hunter-gatherers. Mana is a unified spirit with animals, plants and humans. It is the soul of all living things. Looking at existence through such a phenomenon, man cannot separate himself from nature. The motive that reaches as far as monotheistic religions (wahdat) and even gathers many irrelevant elements around an idea while circulating a scientific theory or judgement may be the product of thousands of years of hunter-gatherer experiences. Mana is a form of perception that is the starting point of many esoteric and parapsychological activities today.

Mana is not just a simple force or entity; it is also an action, a quality and a state. In other words, this word is simultaneously a noun, an adjective and a verb. To indicate that an object has these qualities, it is said that the object is Mana; in this case, this word is a kind of adjective (and this cannot be used for a human being). A being, a tin, a person, a stone, or a ritual is said to have Mana. It is said to have the mana/power to do this or that. The word Mana is used for different forms of different verb conjugations; in this case, Marcel Mauss uses it to mean to have Mana, to give Mana, and so on. In short, this word contains many ideas that we express with words such as the magician's power, the magical quality of a thing, a magical thing, a magical being, to have magical power, to bewitch, and to influence by magic. The word in question presents us with a series of concepts gathered under a single word, which we feel the closeness between them, but which are given separately elsewhere. The agent, fundamental in magic, creates and reflects the combination of ritual and things [16].

Orhan Hançerlioğlu, quoting Félicien Challeye, lists the development of Mana as follows:

1. At first, man sees a pervasive force outside his personality, manifesting in all directions. This power appears in both matter and spirit. Primitive people called this power Mana. The idea of Mana is found in various

symbols in all religions. Even in the most advanced philosophies, the starting point is always this primitive idea of Mana.

2. The belief in totems originated from this idea of Mana. Totem is the materialisation of Mana. The clan's people regarded a particular animal or plant species as the most Mana collector and considered it sacred.
3. When man thought of his own life, he personified Mana. This led to the idea of life after death, and the idea of life after death led to the worship of the dead.
4. The personification of Mana led to Animism. Animism is the belief that there are spirits similar to the human soul in nature. It is easily understandable that Animism, which was previously called Fetishism, led to witchcraft.
5. When human finds a principle of order in Mana, it means that ritual concerns have entered religion. Virtue is necessary to maintain this order.
6. When man personifies Mana, he begins to see it everywhere he looks. This will, of course, be polytheism [11].

Faith in Mana and this unity in being is one of the main points that prevent the hunter-gatherer from exploiting the animal and nature. In these times, man is not a parasite of nature but a being who establishes commensal or mutual relations with it. What he believes to be the essence of his soul is also present in other living beings, preventing a hierarchical view. Nevertheless, the "gift economy" discovered by Mauss and his successor anthropologists is another set of practices that affect the perspective on animals and nature. The principle expressed by Engels and Marx [7] that "it is not consciousness that determines life, but the life that determines consciousness" points out that these practices also position perception at a different point from today's people. The gift economy is not based on a "principle of reciprocity" as in the environment in which today's people live. There is no reciprocity in the exchange of goods. Graeber describes this situation with the following statements:

"Among existing societies, it is rather the gift economies that do not use money; in these economies, the distinctions we now make between self-interest and consideration for others, between person and property, between freedom and obligation, simply did not exist [19]."

In gift economies, there is a reversed competition. Generally, there are specific spaces for entrepreneurial individuals. However, everything is organised in such a way that they can never be used as a platform for creating permanent inequalities of wealth because all the types trying to increase their power ultimately compete to see who can give the most gifts [19]. In the gift economy, the gift is given to the one who carries "mana" from his/her soul, and since a cycle is believed, what is given will be returned. Traces of this economy can be seen in many social maxims that have survived to the present day with the principle of "what comes from Hayy goes to Huy".

In pre-civilised societies, there are human and animal sacri-

fices. However, the line between life and death is not as sharp as today's beliefs. The people of wild communities live with their dead and talk to their dead with beliefs similar to the occult. Sacrifice is not torture or massacre. In many communities, sacrifice is voluntary for the people to be sacrificed. The people of wild communities do not read death as another life; they read it as an alternative to this life. The line separating life and death is not yet clear and sharp. Moreover, the object of sacrifice is not only an animal; a human being can also be sacrificed or an object of value to the community.

The blurred understandings of mana, the gift economy, and the blurred understanding between life and death, the phenomena that determine consciousness such as the exchange of goods, which is the essence of belief and life practices, and the absence of today's family morality do not seem to be conducive to objectifying the animal and turning it into a commodity.

3. Otherisation in the Culture of Property in the Animal-human Relationship

The concept of "human nature" does not exist outside the field of physiology. Culture began in the early stages of man's physical evolution, and his physiology exists within this culture. The essence of man is not somewhere outside culture. Nature has developed entirely within the material cultural framework. There is no human nature independent of culture. There is a shaping that goes far beyond the statements that it shapes people's bodily needs and how they satisfy them [21].

Since it is the culture that forms human nature, today, all human beings are the state. Since the state is the centre of all forms of domination of power, and since this centre reproduces culture for the benefit of a particular class and injects it into society, it makes each of the subjects in it a "state". State culture, according to Deleuze, is not formed in stages. The essence of this structure, which emerged armed to the teeth, is a despotic machine like the city-state of "Ur" [6]. "As the common horizon of what comes first, it conditions universal history."

Morphoclimatic evidence proves that climate changes have occurred both during geological periods and, to a lesser extent, throughout the history of civilisation. When the plough was found in Mesopotamia in the Chalcolithic Age, 5500-3200 BC, the climate had softened for about two to three thousand years. This harsh climate in the deserts and steppes of Central Asia and Mesopotamia, where the climate is variable, has also affected the character of the Bedouins and Central Asian nomads, the nomadic communities of the region.

Khazanov, a well-known Russian Central Asian anthropologist in his field, expresses the way of life of Central Asian nomads in the following words:

"From the 15th to the 18th century, as in all other nomadic tribes, the literacy rate among the Kyrgyz/Kazakh was very low and every nomadic Kyrgyz/Kazakh was at the

same time a shepherd, soldier, historian, instrumental poet, minstrel and storyteller. All the wisdom of the people, accumulated over generations, is hidden in the memory of oral culture [33]."

The military structure of the nomadic shepherd culture and the more egalitarian gender perception, which did not include concepts such as virginity, changed as it progressed towards settlement, developed the phenomenon of lineage based on blood ties and reinforced blood ties and "descent from one father" in small city-states against nomadic invasions outside the tribe, as in Bedouin cultures. In time, lineage, which constituted a bond of defence against outside Bedouin nomads, became one of the most important determinants of these communities. In these settled societies, the descent is passed through the father.

Parallels can be drawn between the use of grain as the first means of taxation, its easy and long-term preservability, the fact that it is harvested simultaneously, and grain production and the formation of the state. However, recent anthropological studies have doubted the linear reading of the history of statist understandings and the view that states were formed with grain production. There are approximately 3-4 thousand years between the transition to settled life and the emergence of states [22].

However, it can be said that the entry of settled communities into a particular order, the increase in population, the regulation, counting and classification of living resources and water according to certain statuses, the creation of an ecological niche and the exploitation of nature and animals in that region, the enslavement of out-group people and criminals for high productivity principles, and the intervention in nature with engineering led to a new perception and way of life (Scott: 2019). After this, institutionalisation and statehood will surely come for all these. From now on, such a process will give birth to mathematics and science, increase and protect productivity due to technical advances, lead a minority group to maintain the sovereignty of large segments and enable these sovereigns to form authoritarian religions that sanctify their sovereignty. Just like the existence of a mass of authoritarian officials, mythological patterns will form around the king, and again, just like a king, a single male god will be created. From then on, with civilisation, an organised network of violence developed to reveal various strategies of domination, and this network produced its apparatus, the state. Perhaps the most crucial feature of state society that distinguishes it from other societies is that it creates the continuity and continuity of various faces of domination related to violence and that it makes the "reproducibility" that Marx had put forward for class domination, which is one of the faces of power, valid for all faces of power. From exploitation of animals to slavery, from misogyny to xenophobia and entrenchment, all faces can now be sustained by various techniques of an embodied apparatus and have become realisable to this day, sometimes softening and sometimes in its harshest form.

As Scott argues, the modification and control of nature and the entry into the Anthropocene era did not start with the industrial revolution as it is believed. Some ideas say it can be traced back to about 500 thousand years ago when fire was found [22]. These ideas ignore one fact. Although the discovery of fire and subsequent developments have changed nature and instrumentalised it to some extent, the point mentioned in the Anthropocene should be using materials that make recycling impossible. In this sense, if one has to talk about an event that caused the Anthropocene, it is not the discovery of fire but the use and spread of polymer technologies or the emergence of nuclear energy techniques with increased destructive power. The 19th-century geologist Antonio Stoppani recognised this destructive power of man and spoke of the Anthropocene early on. It is this destructive power that determines the Anthropocene.

Since the central issue in the framework of this study is the transformation of instrumentalisation into a widespread consciousness and the exploitation of animals through their instrumental use, this can be initiated with the energy lump and concentration called the state. The state, which means the gathering of the roots of power in a centre, no longer goes beyond exploiting and changing nature, but as it advances in technique and instrumentalises this technique within its intellectual hegemony, it establishes new practices and, thus, new networks of thought and reproduces forms of power by storing energies that protect misogyny, homophobia or classism like a supercapacitor.

Some evidence that the first remains of misogyny were found in the Eastern Mediterranean basin, and the sexist laws of the early Mesopotamian states, as seen in the Assyrians, show that the effects of humanity's relationship with nature were broken and a class society consisting of intricate layers was formed. In this society, which produces objects by breaking away from the fluidity of nature and develops impulses to own and dominate the objects produced, women, just like animals and enslaved people, turn into the means of exploitation of a group of male rulers [31, 32].

From now on, animals, like other objects of nature, begin to be perceived as an entity that must be regulated and serve practical purposes. For these practical purposes, the maximisation of surplus value is justified by wars. Steve Taylor mentions that there was almost no concept of war in the symbols of artworks in the early pre-civilisation period. He emphasises the importance of scarcity in civilisation's tendency towards violence [23]. Tomasello focuses on human nature in infants and shows through experiments that qualities such as cooperation and sharing are innate impulses, while violence is learnt [30]. The question "What makes people adopt violence?" is one of the issues that scientific studies still focus on today. Scarcity is undoubtedly one of the points that cause violence. However, bourgeois family morality and living in a closed house in a unit organised by breaking away from nature also carry some clues.

In the early stages of hunter-gathering, people lived in

isolated groups of 100-150 people [12, 15], and the baby was raised by the whole group [27]. There is no concept of paternal authority and the roles of the bourgeois family. The baby grows up with the morality of a group, not the morality of its parents, and does not master the commodities that are constantly offered to it within the house's walls. In the cycle of nature, it is engaged in phenomena beyond ownership. When the climate is harsh, and there is no sun, one takes refuge in a cave or a tree hollow, but life is not based on ownership, and there is no home in today's sense.

Irigaray [14], in her work "Being Born", explains that the child is a little explorer about the relationship with nature and learns from nature the harmony of both her own body and nature itself:

"In a relationship with nature, different aspects of life will nourish each other and the child's opening to the world will contribute to its own sprouting as a living being. This is not possible when the child is surrounded by manufactured commodities that are human products and therefore do not contain a life existence in its own will. Thus, the only relationship that regulates the world in which the child positions itself is the relationship of ruler and ruled [14]."

According to Irigaray [14], the child, who begins to derive pleasure from managing objects in his/her relationship with them, becomes a slave to the outside world over time. Being together with manufactured objects and living beings affects the formation of personality. Only being in the world of living beings can position a person at a healthy point regarding communicative and sensory aspects. The child moves to open up to the world. If this world comprises manufactured objects, the child cannot come together with beings who open up to him/her and with whom he/she can coexist. In this case, he/she must hold, grasp, and possess them to establish a relationship with them. Thus, the child will turn these objects into tools to fulfil his/her relational need or desire and integrate them into a whole.

The return from group relations to household and domestic relations has intensified kinship relations. The fact that a group of people, with various ties that vary from society to society, develop a bond based on more interest and love than people outside the group has led to the emergence of the family phenomenon. According to Sahlins, the nature-culture opposition became a problem with the birth of the state, encroaching on the sphere of 'natural' kinship ties (Sahlins, 2021: 54). The phenomenon of "self-interest", which is called "human nature", according to Sahlins, primarily consists of the tendencies of adult (bourgeois) men, and this "nature" can be said to begin with the home. By feeling that they are part of each other, relatives live each other's lives and die in each other's deaths. In the kinship relationship, even if experiences are not shared at the perceptual level, they are shared at the level of meaning, resulting in solid interactions [21]. This bond has obscured the real natural bonds and prevented humans from feeling themselves be a part of nature. The hunter-gatherer subject's relations with his/her isolated group

and the feeling that he/she is a part of nature, the kinship relations organised with the house and household, and his/her detachment from nature as these relations gained importance also negatively affected the subjects' relationship with animals.

Because of the four walls that the bourgeois family closes the child within and the relationship with commodities that it offers him instead of a relationship with nature, that man has to establish his ties with other living beings distortedly from the beginning. The unity between man and animal is broken, and their widening gap determines civilisation. As ego psychologists state, living in a city brings with it neuroticism and healthy individuals cannot emerge from an unhealthy society [9, 10]. Conditions become unhealthy and become the norm over time. From now on, man is dragged into a deep well-like cycle, defines it as "life", legitimises it and thinks it is "natural". As he becomes civilised, he becomes neurotic, and as he becomes neurotic, he becomes civilised.

Instead, the human being is the dialectical field of tension, constantly interrupted by pauses, which always - at least de facto - separates the "anthropophorous" (leading to human) animality and the humanity embodied in this animality. Historically, man exists only in this tension: Man can only be human to the extent that he transcends and transforms the anthropophagous animal that supports him because only through the act of negation does man have the capacity to dominate his animality and, if necessary, to destroy it [1].

4. Cultural Revolution 1968: A Rupture

"The Bretons are temporarily enforcing some of the items in their complaint book. They are killing pigeons and game. In this neighbourhood fifty young men are carrying out an unprecedented slaughter of rabbits. On the plain of St Germain they are said to have killed four or five thousand animals in the presence of the rangers."

On 10 June 1789, one month before the Bastille Raid, Camille Desmoulins, a member of the king's council, wrote these lines to her father (Canetti, 2019: 30). These lines, describing a hunting party before the French Revolution, are one of the millions of examples of the post-state pattern of the human-animal relationship and can be reproduced. From the founding stages of civilisation until today, the animal, like everything else, has become a tool for men and male consciousness. Maltreatment and uncontrolled exploitation have been called "behaving like an animal". This type of behaviour towards animals, considered "wild" today, was the common understanding of that period.

One of the biggest "shames" of the previous century was zoos. Human beings started their efforts to dominate nature by instrumentalising animals, and after a while, owning original animals became a status. The exhibition of creatures not found in the geography in which they live to show them to each other by the sovereigns, and the competition in this regard dates back to ancient times.

The oldest known animal collection was found in Egypt with the Hierakonpolis excavations, dating back to 3500 BC [8]. However, this zoo is not open to all classes of society. The ruling classes can watch it. The emancipation of all classes in the public sphere will take place later in history, and the necessity to transform the city into a market due to the struggles of the working class and the evolution of capitalism will complete this process. Only then did it spread to the public sphere.

Historian Eric Baratay, in his work "Zoo: A History of Zoological Gardens in The West", states that having zoos and fascinating animals was a sign of power for the ruling classes [13]. In the same study, Baratay states that a king's possession of animals such as cheetahs, elephants and lions symbolises his splendour. Again, the abundance of animal species in many palaces is meaningful in showing which geographies can be reached beyond beautifying the palace. In a sense, the zoo in the palace is a symbolic symbol of colonialism. "A visitor to the Palace of Versailles in 1665 will encounter more than 40 species of birds that he had never heard of or seen before [8].

The zoo, in today's sense, developed during the 18th and 19th centuries, and it was realised then that animal collection was profitable. Many merchants took up this business and started to sell the exciting animals they brought from various geographies as a commodity and to earn money from their viewership. Carl Hagenbeck (1844-1913) was a German merchant who supplied wild animals to many European zoos. He was the inventor of a new zoo model with the Tierpark Hagenbeck Zoo he established in Hamburg [26].

The first modern zoo was built in Paris in 1793. This place belonged to the French aristocracy, king and queen, and was transferred to the directorate of parks (Ménagerie du Jardin des Plantes) with the French Revolution. Such provincial museums are far from animals' natural habitat and are more like prisons; in their book "Zoo Culture", Bob Mullan and Garry Marvin state that in the 20th century, zoos were known by human names. Brookfield Zoo in Chicago is called Olga, Dusit Zoo in Bangkok is called Jim, and Barcelona Zoo is called Copito de Nieve [8]. It is possible that they were called human names to show ownership and to bring people together with the places and to bring people closer to zoos [18].

The first opposition to zoos came from minority religious communities. The dominant religious discourse initially had no problem with this. However, some Christian circles and the liberal minority outside the church, criticising the system, voiced their opposition to slavery and animal cruelty, albeit in a weak voice [26]. Throughout the history of civilisation, prophets, dervishes, and external sects were excluded in heterodoxy, and some ideas and particular examples that remained in the form of sediment in some revolutionary groups afterwards started to become mass due to the crisis in the system and the enlightenment of the post-war generations [13]. Different identity movements, different ideological interpretations, and cultural organisations, from women's

movements to the beginning of the homosexual movement and their issues, which had not been widespread until then, were felt and cared about by many young people. Some people who went through the exploitative developmental stages of capitalism, which Hegel described as "having a history, having passed through the struggle for freedom before they realised themselves", experienced a degree of awakening. The history of the European Labour Movement of 1830-1848-1871, the anti-slavery struggle, women's struggles, first for the right to vote and later covering many fields, anti-colonialist struggles; these libertarian movements, sometimes with the grammar of nationalism and sometimes with an internationalist language, found their embodiment at various points in history [25].

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5. Examples of News About Animals: Discourses Constructed

Discourse is a political phenomenon whether the source is aware of it or not. Repeated discourses construct collective consciousness and influence the dominant ideas in the established structure. Judgements and ideas about the social world are structured and strengthened by repeated discourses. Discourse reflects its age. Discourses on "animalism" are now established and have become a common representation. This common representation is unquestioned and legitimate, similar to other discourses such as homeland, nation, patriotism, democracy, freedom, etc. The naturalisation of such large

blocks of meaning makes the constructions built on these blocks of meaning stronger. In the analysed news items, it will be tried to show how newspapers position different ideologies on an event that caused outrage. For this purpose, it will be analysed how newspapers based on different ideologies cover an incident of violence in Konya Animal Shelter. In this way, it will be analysed whether the consciousness of what an event is used for and the period of the historical use of animals for a purpose during this use continues in these newspapers. In other words, it will be analysed whether the aim of the newspapers is "to show the horrible killing of an animal and support contemporary discourse on this issue" or "to legitimise their own political partisanship through the outrage caused by this incident".

Repetitions on various topics in the following newspaper news contribute to the construction of ideas and opinions on the subject in the consciousness of the followers. There cannot be a discourse independent of the context, and newspaper contexts are formed in the consciousness by unquestioned grand representations established by the state's ideological apparatus [4]. These grand representations are the generally accepted assumptions of the time. Repeated discourses can mislead the researcher when they are analysed quantitatively independent of the context, for example, by simply counting them. For this reason, instead of counting the discourse for the construction process, points such as the context, which the actor is, what kind of social perception it serves, which common representations strengthen the discourse, and the interpretations of linguistics on this issue are essential in both categorisation and interpretation of the discourse. Discourse analysis cannot be conducted impartially. Because discourse is political and other discourses analysing discourse are also political. One cannot go beyond this. Since the discourse is political, the side of the researcher can become apparent, and if this site is not based on universal human rights, if it is on the side of a group of rulers in power relations if it legitimises the practices of nature and the oppressed; the research will be on the side of the exploitation of life throughout the history of civilisation.

In this study, taking into account the most watched channels in Reuters' research in 2021, 5 news articles published on 25 November 2022, the closest to the time of the incident, were examined to see how the typical representation of animalism was constructed with a bias. These channels are Sondakika. com, CNN Türk Online, Sözcü Online, NTV Online and Mynet. The headlines and spots of the five news items analysed were subjected to discourse analysis.

25 November 2022

Hurriyet News

Breaking news... 2 arrests in Konya in connection with outraged images in the animal care centre! Manager suspended

The footage of a staff member at Konya Metropolitan Municipality's Animal Rehabilitation Centre allegedly hitting a dog with a shovel and causing its death was caused by our

age. An investigation was launched into the footage, which attracted react on. There was a breaking development this morning, and two people detained within the scope of the investigation were arrested. The court arrested the suspects for "torturing a pet or domestic animal" and sent them to prison. The Animal Health Branch Manager Nevzat D. and the veterinarian were suspended, the workers' employment contracts during the incident were terminated, and all those responsible were dismissed. President Erdoğan's wife, Emine Erdoğan, also reacted to the footage in Konya and said, "I strongly condemn the incident that deeply upset us all, and I believe that it will not go unpunished."

When we look at the macro construction of the news item, the news item is not about the incident itself but about the reaction to the images. As it is known, the title and spotlight of the news are the most striking points. The use of the expression "image" in the title of the news item and the highlighting of the suspension of the institution's director has reduced the incident to "images" and the responsibility of the perpetrators instead of emphasising the seriousness of the problem about reality. Emphasising the people working in the institution covers a systemic problem. Expressions such as "about the footage that caused outrage", "footage allegedly showing an official hitting a dog with a shovel and causing its death", and "reacting to the footage in Konya" draw attention to the reaction to the footage rather than the reality of the incident itself.

Focusing on the punishments of the animal health branch manager and workers, the news article compresses the incident to an institution by saying, "all those responsible were dismissed". It portrays those responsible outside the institution as innocent. Moreover, as if to reinforce this innocence, by reporting the reaction of Emine Erdoğan, the wife of the President of the Republic, the news report constructs the news in a way that tries to exonerate the government by ignoring that the crime in this issue is a system problem.

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With expressions such as "detained within the scope of the investigation", "two people have been arrested", and "arrested by the court and sent to prison", the court endeavours to demonstrate the functioning of the law in Turkey. However, as it is known, many perpetrators of crimes receive less punishment than the penalties required by the offence, or their crimes go unpunished. While countless examples can be given in this regard, this news article emphasises that the law works and that law enforcement officers do their job promptly.

When the micro-construction of the title and spot of the news item is analysed, the words used, the names highlighted and who is speaking in the news item should be scrutinised. The word "outrage" comes from the root "f, l" and means "being affected by the event" or "being affected by the event". In this news article, this word emphasises not being affected by the event but being affected by the image of the event. Considering the difference between being affected by the event itself and being affected by its image, it is observed in the word choice that the ideology of construction described in the macro continues in the micro. Because it is the images of the event that cause outrage rather than the event itself. The "image" discourse repeated in the title and spot is a construction that mitigates reality.

The person spoken in the news report is Emine Erdoğan, the wife of the person who currently represents the state at the highest level. Erdoğan's statement "I strongly condemn the incident that deeply upset us all and believe that it will not go unpunished" directly emphasises the impact of the incident and this emphasis is real, unlike the "image". However, while it is the representation of the system and the state that emphasises the reality, the responsibility for the incident is limited to the manager, the workers and the veterinarian. Moreover, Emine Erdoğan's sentence is a grammatically active sentence. In the punishment practices and other narratives, passive sentences are formed. As Van Dijk explains, this

syntactic emphasis in sentences legitimises the event. There is a text structured in a way that prevents the questioning of a huge structure behind the perpetrators. Moreover, Emine Erdoğan is not a state official and therefore she can "condemn" the incident as she stated in the sentence carried in the news report. However, in this case, there is no strong explanation that should go beyond condemnation by making state officials speak. The public condemns, but the state punishes and, if necessary, changes the structure and practices of the institutions subject to the incident, seeing that it is not solved by punishment. According to Van Dijk [25], news rhetoric can be associated with how and in what structure the news is presented and this rhetoric is linked to the ideology of the news. The news style is designed with the ideology that is intended to be given and the ideology it has, and it distributes power with various passive structures and reduces the most powerful person to the level of ordinary people with the word "condemnation". A statement was made through the presidency and the wife of the person sitting in this presidency. As a matter of fact, the persuasion process of the news item started by minimising the importance of the incident with passive sentences and explaining that the perpetrators had been subjected to legal procedures, and the discourse of the news item was used as a tool of persuasion.

The word "manager", which immediately precedes the predicate "suspended" in the title of the news article, is the centre of emphasis in the sentence. As it is known, in Turkish grammar, the emphasis is placed on the element before the predicate. The discourse of the news item emphasises the employees of the institution at this and many other points and pushes the government's responsibility in this matter to the background.

Sözcü News

Brutality in Konya: Killed with a shovel.

The footage of a shelter worker killing a dog in front of everyone's eyes by hitting it on the head with a shovel has brought animal lovers to their feet. Konya Metropolitan Municipality announced an investigation. 2 municipality workers were arrested. Last week, President Erdoğan said of the Konya Metropolitan Municipality's shelter, "It is really an exemplary project".

When we look at the macrostructure, anti-government ideology draws attention, and the president is emphasised instead of emphasising animal rights or deficiencies in this field. However, as in the previous example, much more precise and robust active sentence structures were used instead of passive syntactic structures that serve to legitimise the event. By emphasising the symbols "Konya Metropolitan Municipality" and "President", attention is drawn to the systemic problems behind the incident.

The word "atrocious" in the news article's title refers to the reality of the incident, and there is no legitimisation. "Vurmak" is the verb for the event. Twinning, one of the reinforcement techniques in Turkish to intensify the meaning, is used here. It expresses the intensity of brutality. This is

called hendiadyoin in Turkish and discourse analysis [5]. Üstünoğlu states that repetition serves to provide harmony, reinforce meaning, strengthen meaning and enrich concepts [24]. In the early texts of the Turkish written language, there were no linking markers to connect synonyms, near-synonyms and antonyms [2]. Again, Kashgarlı Mahmut also states that "The Turkic tribes other than the Oghuzs do not say this as a single word. For example, when the Turks add something, they say *kattı kardı*" and shows the historical origin of these expressions by mentioning doubling, doubling and tripling. Therefore, since early times, hendiadyoins have been used to multiply or loosen the scales of power of language, such as reinforcements, trivialisations, etc. The "lexical repetition of the verb" in the phrase "to smite" increases the horror and intensity of the action by repeating two verbs. The use of this word twice in the title parallels the reality of the event and conveys this reality to the language.

There is also no subject in the title. In Turkish sentences, the absence of an element is established because that element is weakened and therefore made ambiguous. Just as the repetition of an element strengthens the meaning, the absence of an element causes ambiguity and blurring. This is a feature of Turkish syntax. The perpetrator is not apparent. By blurring the perpetrator, reference is made to a structure and a system. The fact that the perpetrator is unclear reveals that the offence belongs to a whole structural system. The predicate of the title is the expression "murdered", which fulfils the reality of murder with direct meaning. The event is intensely emphasised with the complement that precedes the predicate element and carries the emphasis according to the language rules, the verb "hit him with a shovel" and the "hendiadyoin" used. With a word like "standing up", the power of the event's impact in Turkey is legitimised. The fact that the municipality "initiated an investigation" is again explained with an active sentence structure, revealing the fault of the president, who is the most significant representative of the structures behind the problem, rather than the individuals. The news report, which reveals the perpetrators only with the sentence "2 municipality workers were arrested", carries the sentences of the person responsible for the structural problems and irregularity behind the incident. Emphasising Erdoğan's statement, "It is really an exemplary project" about the shelter, the news report reveals the weakness of the government's supervision power on this issue. The "savagery" experienced in an "exemplary project" reveals the lack of supervision.

NTV News

Outrageous incident at animal care centre: Two people arrested

In Konya, an employee at the Animal Rehabilitation Centre caused the death of a dog by hitting it with a shovel. Two people detained and referred to the courthouse within the scope of the investigation launched about the footage that attracted reaction were arrested. It is learned that the Animal Health Branch Manager and a veterinarian were suspended, and the employment contracts of the workers present during

the incident were terminated.

The title of the news item is composed of two phrases. "Reacting incident in animal care centre" is the first phrase, which the second one explains. The colon between them signifies this explanation in the language. However, neither of the two phrases deals with the centre of the event and thus, the event needs to be carried to the headline. The event is the brutal killing of a dog, and the first reporting occurs on the spot. Generally, two reasons for this usage in news texts are to arouse curiosity and de-emphasise the event. However, considering the severity and rarity of the incident, beyond the effort to arouse curiosity, the sentence's syntactic structure helps reduce the emphasis. The event itself is absent from the title.

Moreover, if we continue to look closely at the title, there is no predicate in the first phrase of the title. In Turkish, the predicate is the element that usually carries the judgement. With the second phrase, the explanation phrase, the judgement is drawn not to the event but to the "arrest". The verb "to be arrested" contains the impulse to tell the reader that the judiciary fulfils its duty urgently and that the law and justice have been fulfilled. The adjective "the event that attracted reaction" in the first phrase indicates people's reaction to the "event" -what the event is is unknown. In short, there is no "death of a dog by being hit with a shovel" event given in the headline and the spot. Grammatically, the emphasis in Turkish is on the element before the predicate. In the expression "Two people were arrested", the subject "two people" is emphasised before the verb "to be arrested".

In the news item's spot, contrary to Hürriyet's news report, the incident itself is clearly described rather than the image of the incident. The action "causing the death of a dog" is signalled with the phrase "hitting it with a shovel". However, while emphasising the perpetrators and those responsible for the incident with the emphasis on "the branch manager", "the veterinarian", and "the workers", it is observed that a language structure that refers to the system and structural problems is not chosen as seen in the first news item. The passive sentence construction is generally intensive in the headline and the spot. This construction relatively obscures and passivises the guilty party in the crime-punishment dichotomy carried by the news item. The news item announcing the "termination of the labour contracts of the workers" makes an effort to reinforce the belief that the related offence has been punished.

Birgün News

Torture of dog in the animal care centre in Konya: 2 people arrested

Konya Metropolitan Municipality started an investigation on the footage of an employee at the Animal Rehabilitation Centre hitting a dog with a shovel and dragging it on the ground. In the statement made by Konya Chief Public Prosecutor's Office, it was stated that two people were detained within the scope of the investigation. The suspects were arrested for "torturing a domestic animal or pet".

The news article emphasised the animal phenomenon in its

background. Rather than the government and anti-government ideology as in other newspapers, it is emphasised much more clearly that the problem is about a dog. The expression "to the dog" used as a definite object is much more emphasised than in other news items, both grammatically and in the title. The object that was killed and "tortured" is emphasised. As in other newspapers, although the "pro-government-anti-government" dichotomy continues to exist in this news item, it is much more in the background. The contrast between "animal hospice" and "torturing the dog" refers to the structural problem. Although the announcement of the arrest of two people in the headline legitimises the functioning of the law, this legitimisation is weakened by the criminal statement emphasising that the suspects tortured the dog, as in the Hürriyet article. The phrase immediately preceding the verb "arrested" carries the main emphasis of the sentence, and this emphasis is especially emphasised in the last sentence of the spot: "The offence of torturing a domestic animal or pet". When the word choice is considered, "offence" should be emphasised. Crime contains a dichotomy that requires a certain punishment: "crime and punishment". The news report is biased towards producing criminal laws on animal rights and eliminating the possibility of this crime going unpunished. The perpetrators of the crime are "suspects" as they have not yet appeared in court, and the newspaper is sensitive to this universal legal phenomenon. In addition, there is a reference to the relationship established between the expression "torture" and the state due to the 1980 coup d'état. In the spot of the news article, beyond the direct representation of the government, the "chief public prosecutor's office", the judicial institution of the state, is implied. Contemporary common representation based on the necessity of the evolution of the legal structure based on animals is seen in the news article.

Akit News

'FETO' provocation in the incident at the shelter! The button for the 2nd Gezi Uprising has been pressed!

After the incident at the shelter in Konya, so-called animal associations ignited a provocation. While it was aimed to start an event similar to the Gezi Uprising, it was revealed that FETÖ was also behind it.

The news item is read with a dichotomy different from all other news items. Instead of the crime-punishment dichotomy in other news reports, Akit endeavours to carry the incident to the dichotomy of "patriotism and treason". This dichotomy blurs the whole incident by highlighting the phenomenon of "homeland", a typical representation engraved in the minds through strong and continuous repetition to cover up the crime. While other newspapers have a language that distributes responsibility to the different ends of the dichotomy to a certain extent and a "perspective of bringing the perpetrator to the fore", Akit's news report seems to want to move the incident to another channel altogether. While other discourses, except Birgün newspaper, constructed the ideology of the political sides of the incident within their dichotomies, Akit carried the

incident to represent "homeland", which can be considered a fundamental fortress in subject production with all ideological devices. The representation of the homeland is a discourse, a common representation that provides a solid consensus and whose different forms or even absence is unthinkable. This discourse, which the nation-state constructs through the law, education and religious institutions by constantly repeating it, seems to justify and legitimise the system as a whole.

The emphasis of the word "terror" in the collective consciousness is because the coup attempt, which is the last point of the process reached by the Fethullah Gülen sect and the state relations of an event that remains closed like almost every political event in Turkey and what happened is still debated, is terrorised more than it is and that various struggles in the history of Turkey have carried out actions by resorting to terror, has enabled the word "Fetö" to merge with feelings and meanings such as "fear", "violence", "traitor". The word "Fetö" was used to break the seriousness of a structure that identifies itself with Islam by coding it with a non-serious name, to reduce its power in positioning in dichotomies such as "Islamic culture-humour", "seriousness-humour", this "funny" name was associated with terrorism and constructed twice with a new discourse. During the construction, the phoneme was left soft. For example, there is no such phonetic practice as hardening the letter "k" in the abbreviation TeDeKa, which is read in Turkish as TeDeKe. This softening may be intended to break the seriousness of the perception of the sect. In the early 2010s, a cult organisation, which was well entrenched in the Turkish state and government and had open relations with the government, was humorously reduced to an abbreviated name and merged with terrorism through constant repetitions and allegations. The "Fethullahist Terrorist Organisation", also known as "Fetö", was moved to the title in capital letters and put in quotation marks, and was excluded from the area closed by the everyday discourse by associating it with "treason".

Moreover, this excluded position is combined with the incident of killing an animal. The incident at the shelter was associated with Fetö and pushed out of the Turkish order. The incident, which is reduced to a conspiracy threatening the order and constructed in this way, is as if it is wanted to be freed from all those responsible.

When the microstructure of the news item is analysed from the title, it can be seen that the title consists of two phrases. In both phrases, "exclamation" increases the sentence's emphasis. This sign of joy, fear, surprise and attention raising is conveyed with an exclamation as if to show the actual dimension of the event. As in all natural languages, language elements in Turkish are divided into meaningful and functional elements. Meaning relations are created by using these two classes of elements together, and one of the signs that produce meaning blocks is punctuation marks (Gemalmaz: 1982). Punctuation marks contribute to strengthening the elements of meaning as well as making the text easy to read.

Putting the abbreviation Fetö in quotation marks in the first phrase of the title carries the meanings of exclusion from the structure, drawing attention, specialisation or separation. This word is used in a phrase; the other word carries negative connotations: "provocation". Provocation is a word meaning to provoke a group or a person into action, and just like "terror", "martyr", "threat", and "survival", it can be counted among the words that form the semantic blocks of the "patriotism - traitor" dichotomy. In Turkish, the use of a phrase without a predicate aims to distribute the judgement carried by the predicate to all words and to increase the sentence's emphasis by becoming an "announcement". The second phrase of the title is a passive sentence with an uncertain subject: 2. The button was pressed for the Gezi Uprising! The phrases "Gezi uprising" and "pressing the button" aims to turn the news item into a general dichotomy by detaching a certain mass identified with terrorism from the incident. Within the general dichotomy of "patriot - traitor" meaning blocks, the phrase "traitor" is an expression that refers to an extensive and diverse group of people, especially today. Fluctuations in Turkey's politics may bring new groups into this mould and exclude some. The Gezi movement is a movement that has been "terrorised" in today's politics, and the incident was reported in a way to evoke this movement. While the emphasis on "2nd" wants to gather the readers around the representation of "homeland" by feeding the paranoia of a new terrorist movement, it closes the issue into a different discourse far from such meaning and reality. The expression "the button has been pressed" is one of the cliché phrases of this paranoia. Phrases such as "external forces", "foreign powers", "internal enemies", etc., are among the phrases that the Turkish media frequently repeats and, due to this repetition, constructs in the consciousness. These "forces" are shown as ready to act, thus reinforcing fear propaganda.

When the spot of the news item is analysed, the expressions "igniting the fuse of provocation" and "'so-called' animal associations" in the first sentence draw attention. This phrase, which goes beyond choosing the word "provocation" and identifies the incident with dynamite, seems to prevent its readers from making mental analyses by increasing fear. It opens the door to the idea that non-governmental organisations are institutions oriented towards "dangerous" goals in the exact proper conservative paranoia patterns. The word "so-called" means that the phenomenon has goals other than the explicit meanings and purposes of the word. In the following sentences, the phrases "an event similar to the Gezi uprising" and "it turned out that Fetö was behind it" reproduce two events associated with terrorism with a discourse that closes over this event.

Turkish has developed a separate task element for almost every task assigned to meaning elements (Gemalmaz: 1982). Monemes and morphemes, as these task elements and patterns that directly bind sentences, also affect the emphasis. As it is known, the conjunction "de" draws the emphasis on itself and makes the element before the conjunction "de" the most em-

phasised point of the whole sentence, not the element before the predicate. Before the conjunction "de", "Fetö" which is claimed to be "in the background", is emphasised once again.

Akit's coverage of the incident is analysed as going beyond the dichotomy of other news reports and closing the discourse in a different dichotomy. Within the new dichotomy of discourse, the news has been transformed into propaganda by going beyond the construction of the reality of the event itself.

6. Conclusion

The evolution of the ideological structure that has infiltrated human-animal relations can be seen clearly in anthropological studies. It is seen that the unity established with nature has been shaped towards a different point in time with the evolution of self-perception. Over time, man, who looks down on nature and sees himself as a being detached from it, has instrumentalised the animal like any other "thing" and made it open to exploitation. This shapes the speciesist perspective, and this face of power cannot be separated from its other faces.

The faces of power feed each other. For this reason, human rights are also inadequate in countries where animal rights do not conform to the spirit of the time. The root cause of this is also linked to economic aspects such as insufficient capital, technical inadequacy of production-consumption relations, etc. However, going into these issues here would be beyond the limits of this study. This study it is aimed to show that the instrumentalisation of the view of animals also continues in news production. The speciesism of those who produce the news in Turkey is obvious, and most are probably unaware of it.

Discourse cannot be entirely controlled by consciousness. Even when awareness is at its highest, it transcends consciousness to some extent and is always politicised. Discourse carries the layers of consciousness of its producer and the ways of perceiving its age. Subjects develop their own spoken and written language based on their communities' cultural accumulation and ideologies, and they often need to be made aware of this. Various phenomena such as power relations, partiality, social definitions and self-perceptions are reflected in discourse and become epidemic through discourse.

In the news analyses of this article, it is seen that all newspapers construct the news on the subject as belonging to Turkey's political environment and one of the parties in this environment. As it is known, the interpretation of discourse analysis data cannot be generalised. Therefore, the results of this article comment on the related news items.

In the sample news items of Hürriyet and NTV newspapers, it is seen that Hürriyet and NTV newspapers, of course, do not break the discourse of animalism, which is one of the standard representations of the age, and that they look at the incident from the point of view against the atrocity in the shelter. However, they do not focus on the inadequacies of the government and the system in this view. While covering the in-

cident by emphasising the perpetrators, it constructs the news with a discourse that relegates the incident involving the animal to the background. It produces a perception that the law is functioning in Turkey and that the government is doing what is necessary.

Sözcü newspaper, on the other hand, like the other two newspapers, relies on the "animal lover discourse" and builds its opposition to the government on this discourse. It constructs a perception that the incident in a shelter, which the President introduced as an "exemplary project", shows the government's inadequacies in supervision. Like the other two newspapers, it builds its political side on the incident.

Birgün newspaper emphasised animals much more than these three newspapers. It is the newspaper that carries the news that constructs the discourse closest to the incident by showing the incident with all its brutality in a manner compatible with reality and emphasising "dog". Birgün newspaper, which stands out as a newspaper that carries out rights journalism against factual diseases against human rights such as homophobia etc. [28], reveals the contemporary everyday discourse in this news item much more clearly than the news items of other newspapers. Although it displays its partiality by including an everyday discourse of the Turkish left, such as "torture", in the news article, the choice of words is also appropriate since the reality of the event cannot be conveyed more mildly.

Akit newspaper's construction of the news is not remotely related to animalism. While other newspapers meet with this common representation somehow, there is no such commonality in this news article. The news is constructed on a dichotomy very different from the subject. The coverage of the killing of a dog in an animal shelter in Akit newspaper can be read as the reflection of an ideology that opposes civil society organisations, multiplicities, diversity, and the ability of peoples and people to discuss issues, and that may lead to fascism on the construction of the news. An authoritarian and closed language that desires the rule of a group or an individual and structures the phenomenon of "homeland" with blocks of meaning that reduce it to a focus of paranoia production stands out at every point of the news construction.

As a result, it has been observed that all newspapers, to a certain extent, constructed their political partisanship on the everyday discourse of animalism.

Abbreviations

NTV	A Television and Internet Channel in Turkey
FETÖ	The State's Definition of the Fethullah Gülen Organization

Conflicts of Interest

The author declares no conflicts of interest.

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