

# **Social Movements And Press: Presentation Of Social Movements For 2020 Parliamentary Elections In Kyrgyzstan**

**Niyazi Ayhan<sup>1</sup>, Dr.Naureen Aleem<sup>2</sup>, Dr. Sharjeel Naveed<sup>3</sup>, Inam Nawaz Wassan<sup>4</sup>, Abdul Saboor<sup>5</sup>**

<sup>1</sup>Associate Professor., Kyrgyz-Turkish Manas University, Kyrgyzstan.

<sup>2</sup>Assistant Professor, Media & Communication Studies, Sindh Maderssatul Islam University, Karachi. Pakistam.

<sup>3</sup>Private Secretary to Vice Chancellor Federal Urdu University of Arts Science and Technology Karachi, Pakistan.

<sup>4</sup>M.Phil Asian Studies, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilization, Quaid e Azam University, Islamabad.

<sup>5</sup>Lecturer Government Degree College, K.N Shah, College, Education Department, Govt. of Sindh.

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## **Abstract**

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan, an independent state, went to the elections. Askar Akayev, the only candidate in the 1991 elections, became the first President of the Kyrgyz Republic. During the independence period of Kyrgyzstan, we saw a series of social movements. Discontent with the government played an active role in the initiation of social movements The last of these movements is the anti-election movement for the Parliamentary elections held on October 4, 2020.

In this context, the reflections of this social movement in Kyrgyzstan on the press are discussed. In this context, the newspapers Kyrgyz Tuusu, Super Info, and Vecherniy Bishkek, which are among the newspapers with the highest circulation in Kyrgyzstan, were analyzed through the content analysis method.

Most of the news about politics in the Kyrgyz press was made before the social movements. In the process after social movements, news about politics is less. However, while some newspapers reported more about this social movement, some newspapers

were content with less. This difference is closely related to the ownership of newspapers. In addition to this difference, similar cases were also reached. For example, while all the newspapers did not make much news on October 5, the date when the social movements started, the news made on the date of the resignation of the current administration remained in the majority. This phenomenon leads us to the conclusion that newspapers are more concerned with the results of social movements than with social movements.

**Keywords:** Social movements, Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyzstan and social movements, press, Kyrgyz press

## INTRODUCTION

Social movements have gone into two separate classifications as old and new social movements. Social movements started with workers' movements in the historical process for the first time. In time, social movements were drawn to different subjects, and this situation brought a new dimension to social movements. Social movements are about a group of people's discontent over facts and events. Today, many social movements are witnessed. Especially with the development of new communication technologies, there are very fast organizations. Therefore, social movements are becoming global.

A series of social movements took place in Kyrgyzstan during the Post-Soviet Period. The most effective of these social movements are those that result in a change of government. The first of these social movements took place in 2005, and the movements that started with the allegation that the parliamentary elections were fraudulent ended with the change of government. In January 2010, water and electricity were increased by 100%. Social movements were experienced due to the bad course of the economy, and the government changed as a result of these social movements.

The study deals with the social movements that started as a result of discontent against the parliamentary elections. The presentation of this social movement in the press has been examined. We tried to put forward literature around the press and social movements in this context. This study was carried out to present a cross-section of the social movement in Kyrgyzstan; Social movements have been based on concepts such as social movements in the history of Kyrgyzstan. We applied content analysis to the newspapers Kyrgyz Tuusu, Super Info, and Vecherniy Bishkek, which are among the newspapers with the highest circulation in Kyrgyzstan.

In general, social movements are concerned with a state of uncertainty. The attitude of the press is similarly uncertain. It has been observed that this situation is also reflected in the number of news and the contents of the newspapers. Based on this ambiguous situation, journalists chose to inform the public. News sources are frequently included in the news. In addition, the journalist's comments were also minimal in the

news, and the results of the social movement were handled impartially. The news affirming or negating social movements remained at a minimum level.

### **Social Movements: Approaches to Concept and Definition in Historical Perspective**

A social movement is a term that can be explained as an organized effort of a group of people to change some aspects of society or to prevent them from being changed (Marshall 1999,746). Social movements aim directly at carrying out practical reforms. The groups that make up the social movements are the social groups that try to realize these reforms (Giddens 2012,62). Social movements developed by certain groups may contain violence or extremism. According to Tarrow (19980, 3), ordinary people can turn to violence and extremism in the face of equipped and ruling powers. Violence and extremism are only a few of the ways of rebellion in this process. Social movements can be short-lived, or they can bring a permanent social order. In political terms, along with institutionalization, the government can also end in a destructive or overthrowing way. The goals of social movements can also be narrow-scoped. It can also be carried out to solve a global problem more broadly. Social movements may be revolutionary or reformist, but there is an active organization of a group of citizens who want to somehow change the status quo (Marshall 1999,748). The most basic source of social movements is the internal crises of the social system (Touraine 1985,772). In Durkheim's words, these moments of crisis are moments of collective euphoria. The phenomenon of gathering stimulates and mobilizes the masses. Individuals who gather and take action to organize quickly and unusually and try to reach the goal (Gerbaudo 2014,65). In this respect, the October revolution is an example of a revolutionary social movement. After the October revolution, the status quo changed and a new political system was introduced. Thus, the economic, political, and social crises, which can be seen as the internal crises of the Tsarist period, came to an end.

In short, social movements is the expression of resistance, rebellion, and dissatisfaction of the masses against the events in social life in an organized manner. There are two separate classifications in the literature old and new social movements. In the text below, the definitions of social movements from a historical perspective and the meanings attributed to the concept are written. The social movement has been tried to be explained to an attempt has been made to explain the social movement.

In addition, an attempt has been made to explain the social movement through historical, political, and social facts. The term social movement was first used by Saint-Simon in France in the early 18th century. Although Saint-Simon used the term to describe social movements in France, the term soon took its place in the academic literature. The focal point he uses is a group opposing the status quo and the existence of new political forces (Marshall 1999,746). The concept of social movement first appeared in industrial society. Especially in this period, workers' movements came to the fore, and

there was a class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class. For this reason, in the first years of the concept, the meanings related to the working class and the capitalist class were loaded.

The concept has also taken its place in Marxist literature. Based on the industrial society and its relationship with capital, Marx interpreted social movements through the working class and the bourgeoisie. According to Marx, the main purpose of social movements is the domination of the working class over the bourgeoisie. The foundation of social movements is the establishment of a stateless system as an alternative to dominant values. The Marxist approach calls it anti-systematic (Çoban 2009,64). The emergence of social movements was with the industrial society' to social movements emerged the industrial society. These changes, seen in the form of social movements, brought the distinction between old and new social movements.

The distinction between the old and the new social movement is related to the values and norms of politics. The old social movements are seen as the main mechanism of politics in representative democracies. For this reason, workers' movements are at the center of social movements.

“The term ‘new social movements’ was first used in the 1960s.” In these years, there was an organization outside of institutional politics. At the center of such social movements is the young people who can manage to organize outside of politics and the tendencies of the young people (Offe 1985,5). Melucci, on the other hand, stated that the old and new social movement concepts are related to the levels of societies. The old social movements are a case of industrial society. Such social movements, which point to the problems of the industrial society, can only be explained with the concept of old social movements. In post-industrial societies, information, access to information, and the dissemination of information have come to an important point. Knowledge is the source of power and the focus of its legitimacy. For this reason, the capacity to produce knowledge rather than material reasons is at the center of conflict and disagreements in post-industrial societies (Melucci 1995, 116).

Although new social movements started in the 1960s, they entered the literature in the late 1960s. The concept was withdrawn from the field of class struggle to various fields of resistance and struggle. These areas of struggle have generally been around themes such as environment, ecology, human rights, feminism, and peace. When the studies on social movements are examined, it is seen that there is no consensus on the definitions of old and new social movements (Özen 2015,14). However, most thinkers have based their social movement definitions on industry and industrial society. Touraine's definition of social movements is in this direction. According to Touraine, the distinction between old and new social movements is related to the transition process to post-industrial society. In this period, cultures and identities came to the fore, which triggered social movements.

However, at the beginning of the reasons that led to the formation of social movements, the understanding of the social state was replaced by the neo-liberal economic order (Çoban 2009, 65).

Touraine's interpretations of the new social movements have had a great impact on the explanation and interpretation of the term (Bottomore 1987,45). In his 1988 work *The Return of the Actor*, he emphasized that the concept of social movement should be at the center of sociology. However, Touraine did not ignore the political functionality and political dimension of social movements. In this perspective, social movements are viewed as central groups in the new social policy, such as the women's movement and the ecological movement, and new sources of political identity (Marshall 1999,748). New social movements are integrated with political action. Their actions are related to their rebellion against the existing system. The most important difference from the old social movements is that this revolt takes place in the economic, cultural, and political fields (Bottomore 1987,45). Instead of taking over the management of new social movements, the masses are a movement toward realizing solutions to the issues they are uncomfortable with (Adam 1993,316).

Buechler (2000) explained the new social movements under two main headings as cultural and political movements in his work *Social Movements in Advanced Capitalism*. Cultural new social movements are social movements about restrictions and prohibitions in daily life. Although these movements do not have a class characteristic, they begin and end with norms and ideologies. Political new social movements are similar to old social movements. It is a class-based social movement and deals with society with its class differences, starting from capitalism (Buechler 2000,48-51).

According to Giddens (2012,1079), people have faced different risks from the 1960s until this time of new social movements. Unlike the risks of the old social movements, in this period, feminism, environmentalism, anti-nuclear movement, and social movements related to genetically modified food developed in response to the risks. New social movements aim to achieve immaterial goals. It differs from the old social movements in that they find support from different classes with their campaigns about a single problem. In the last decades of the 21st century, new social movements are seen among the important elements of political change. Today, the most emphasized issues in the academic field are the origins of these movements, their organizational dynamics, and their effects on society (Marshall, 1999:746). In particular, Weber's writings on bureaucratic organization were used on organizational dynamics. Examining the internal structures of social movements, the dynamics of organizational diffusion and the importance of organization and strategic movements have been the main focus of the studies. (Johnston and Larana and Gusfield 1999,133).

With the merging of technology and communication, social movements have led to surprising results. Thanks to new communication technologies, social movements have brought together non-governmental organizations, religious and humanist communities, human rights associations, consumer protection advocates, environmental activists, and others campaigning for the public interest in the form of regional and international networks (Giddens 2012,119). Thus, the concept was determined as a research area in the field of communication sciences.

### **The Road to Revolution: New Social Movements in Kyrgyzstan**

With the development of technology and communication tools, there have been some changes in the organizational forms of social movements. The Internet has played a leading role in spreading social movements, resistance, and dissatisfaction to the masses. As a result of the information reaching more people, many people have participated in social movements on a global basis.

The Iraq war in February 2003 is an example of social movement-based organizations through the internet network. Major protests against the war in Iraq started in all cities of the world and these protests had a global impact and remained on the world agenda for a long time. Although mobile phones and satellite broadcasts have accelerated their evolution, the internet has been at the center of this change (Giddens 2012,119). New communication technologies are at the center of social movements developing in Kyrgyzstan. Especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union, a series of social movements took place in Kyrgyzstan, and after these social movements, the government changed. This part of the study, it is aimed to give information about the new social movements in Kyrgyzstan. Thus, subjects such as which subjects are at the center of social movements in Kyrgyzstan and what are the factors that trigger social movements will be explained in chronological order.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan, an independent state, went to elections. In the 1991 elections, the only candidate Askar Akayev became the first President of the Kyrgyz Republic. Kyrgyzstan was governed by the former Soviet Constitution until 1993. On May 5, 1993, the first constitution of the Kyrgyz Republic was made. The most important feature of this constitution is that the President is the only authorized person in the administration of the country. However, the right to dissolve the parliament belongs to the President

The year 2005 was the scene of social movements in the former Soviet countries. As a result of these social movements, the governments of the countries have changed. After a short while, a series of revolutions took place in Ukraine under the name of the Orange Revolution, in Georgia the Velvet Revolution, and the Tulip Revolution in Kyrgyzstan. Social media played the leading role in these revolutions. People have joined social movements through notifications from social media.

In the post-Soviet period, the first social movement of Kyrgyzstan, which resulted in a revolution, was experienced in 2005. Parliamentary elections were held on March 13, 2005, and as a result of the parliamentary elections, Akayev's family and supporters were

accused of corruption and authoritarianism. After this accusation, the social movements that first started in the south of Kyrgyzstan spread to the whole country in a short time. As a result, President Akayev resigned on April 5, 2005, and left the country.

According to Knyazev (2007,132), all of the jobs that could make big gains in the country were given to Akayev's family. The provocations of the opposition in terms of unofficial illegal payments and the reduction of the Akayev family's illegal business activities and corruption activities have been important factors in the transformation of social movements into revolution. Similar to the revolutions in Ukraine and Georgia, internet-based organizations were effective in the realization of this revolution.

Kurmanbek Bakiyev, who held high-level positions after the revolution, assumed the presidency by proxy. Then Kyrgyzstan will go to the Presidential elections again. Kurmanbek Bakiyev took over the government of the country with 89% of the votes. However, Bakiyev was unsuccessful in economic recovery. When the dates showed January of 2010, a 100% increase was made in water and electricity. This has been at the center of opposition groups. With the support of the opposition, social movements took place against the Bakiyev administration in Talas, Kyrgyzstan, on April 7, 2010. These social movements soon surrounded the capital Bishkek and all the cities. Again, the most important factor in the spread of the social movement to the whole country is social networks. People participating in social movements have declared their rightfulness on social media and asked for support. These calls from social media enabled a large audience to join the social movement in a short time.

The protests that took place on April 7-8 during the Bakiyev period in Kyrgyzstan developed rapidly in a few days, and the government's attempt to suppress the outbursts by shedding blood caused more than a thousand people to be injured and killed. As a result of the events, state buildings were occupied and Bakiyev had to leave the country. The uprising that took place between these dates, went down in history as a popular uprising in which important parts of the country were occupied by the people, 87 people were killed and hundreds of people were injured (Saliev 2013, 70-71). The opposition established an interim administration and appointed Roza Otunbayeva, one of the leaders of the Tulip Revolution in 2005.

Presidential elections were held in Kyrgyzstan in October 2011. Almazbek Atambayev, who received 63.24% of the votes after the elections, was successful in the elections and took over the Presidency. The seventh presidential election of Kyrgyzstan was held on October 15, 2017. President Almazbek Atambaev could not be a candidate in these elections, as the president could not receive a candidate twice in a row. In the elections in which 11 candidates competed, Social Democratic Party candidate Sooronbay Ceenbekov became President by receiving 54.22% of the votes in the first round (Ayhan and Akman 2018,948). The most recent social movement that resulted in a revolution in Kyrgyzstan started on October 5, 2020. The event that started the social movement in question was the parliamentary elections held on 4 October. As a result of the parliamentary elections, the opposition parties could not enter the parliament. Thereupon, 13 political parties objected to the elections. Thousands of communities

organized on social media in a short period of 24 hours started street protests on October 5, 2020. Thereupon, the current government resigned on 9 October 2020. Despite this, the demonstrations continued until October 12. After these events, the social movements ended with Sadyr Caparov's coming to power.

When the recent history of Kyrgyzstan is considered, three social movements that resulted in revolution and power change stand out. These social movements took place in 2005, 2010, and 2020. At the core of these social movements is the discontent with power. The people took to the streets with the allegation that the rulers could not manage the country well, that there was corruption, and that the elections were rigged, and as a result, they changed the government.

The study focuses on the events of October 5, 2020, the last of these social movements. In this context, it has been tried to put forward literature around the press and social movements.

### **Research Methodology**

On October 5, 2020, in Kyrgyzstan, there was a social movement against the election results based on the elections. As a result of these mass movements, the government changed and a new government was established.

In this study, which was conducted to present a cross-section of the social movement experienced in 2020; Based on concepts such as social movements, social movements in the history of Kyrgyzstan, content analysis was applied to the newspapers of Kyrgyz Tuusu, Super Info, and Vecherniy Bishkek, which are among the newspapers with the highest circulation in Kyrgyzstan.

The data were obtained from the publications of the aforementioned newspapers 1 month before the social movements (5 September 2020 - 5 October 2020), during the social movement period (5-12 October), and 1 month after the mass movements (12 October - 12 November). Kars, categorical and relational techniques were used.

Within the scope of the research, answers to the following questions were sought to describe the reflection forms of mass movements in the press of Kyrgyzstan.

RQ 1. What level are social movements important for national newspapers? What is the number of news, the number of news lines?

RQ 2. What are the approaches of national newspapers to social movements?

RQ 3. What are the news attitudes of national newspapers about social movements?

RQ 4. How much is the news in national newspapers that affirms and criticizes social movements?

RQ 5. What are the news sources of news about social movements in newspapers?



## Coding

In the study, by the content analysis, we created a coding within the scope of the research questions and the newspapers, which are the data source of the research. The expansions of the coding are as follows:

- i. How much political news is in newspapers, before and after social movements? (cf. figure 1)
- ii. Amount of news: news about social movements in newspapers (cf. Table 1 cf. figure 2).
- iii. The area covered by the news: the number of lines of newspaper news about social movements (cf. Table 2).
- iv. Presentation formats of news about social movements: use of text, photos, videos, etc. (cf. Table 3).
- v. Source of the news: from whom, where and on what basis the information about social news is obtained, is the source of the news specified or not? (cf. Table 4).
- vi. Type of news: The type of news about the social movement was concentrated on. Within this general category, it was divided into 3 special categories as the claim, information, and explanation (cf. Table 5).
- vii. Attitudes towards events: Since the objectivity of the news is related to bias, from what point of view was the news published to the readers? The news for which an answer was sought, its opposition to social movements, and the absence of opposition were examined (cf. Table 6)
- viii. Comment in the news: It is a category related to the personal situation of the journalist who wrote the news. In this category, the analysis was carried out over two special categories: there are comments and there are no comments. (cf. Table 7)
- ix. Outcome of social movements: Relates to a situation that measures the direction of knowledge to the reader as a result of social movements. This category is divided into special categories positive, negative, and neutral. (cf. Table 8)

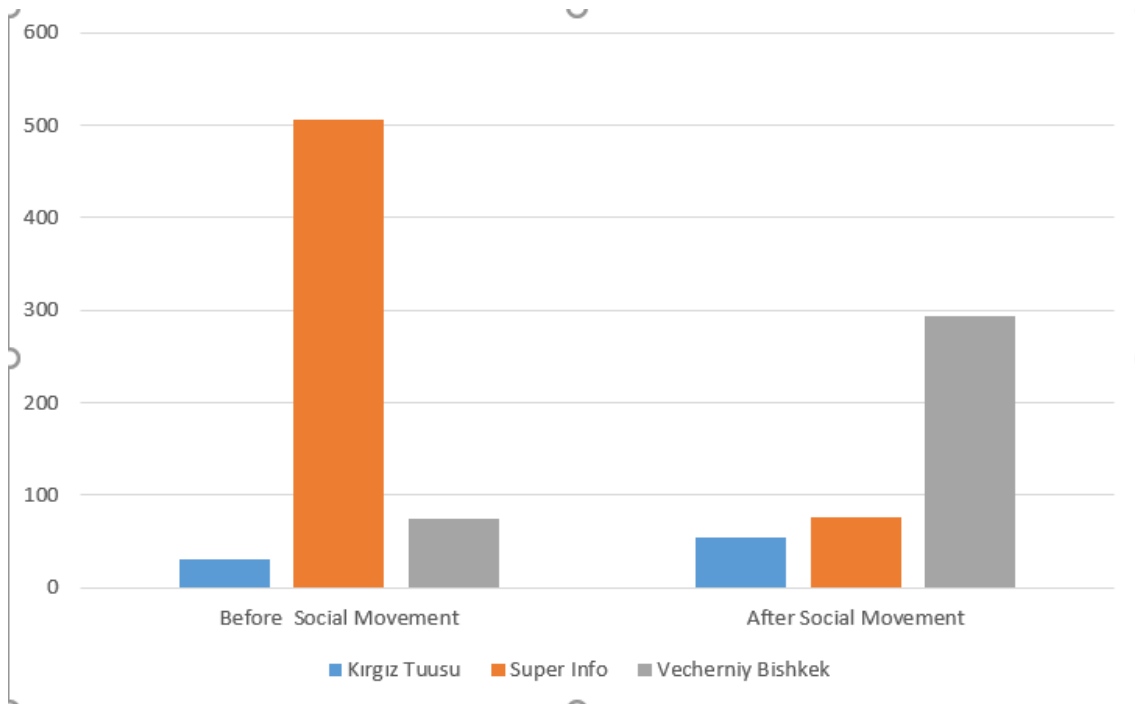
## Findings and Discussion

In 2020, a social movement took place in Kyrgyzstan. In this study, we aimed to present a cross-section of the reflection of these social movements in the press. The newspapers Kyrgyz Tuusu, Super Info, and Vecherniy Bishkek, which are among the newspapers with the highest circulation in Kyrgyzstan, were analyzed by the content analysis method. As a result of this analysis, a classification was made with statistical data such as social movements in the press, presentation styles of news about social movement news, findings on news quality, and findings on the results of social movements.

## Social Movements in the Press with Statistical Data

In this section, elements such as the amount of news, the amount of news about social movements in the newspapers, and the area covered by the news one month before and one month after the date of the start of the social movements on October 5, 2020, are examined and it is aimed to reach a statistical data.

Figure 1: Amount of News on Politics in Newspapers



As it can be understood from the literature review, the social movements in Kyrgyzstan started politically, developed, and ended based on the political context. Based on these considerations; The amount of political news in newspapers is important. The graphic above contains data in the form of before and after social movements. It is aimed to reach data about the political news published by the newspapers before and after the social movements. As can be seen from the graph, the number of news on politics in the one month (5 September - 4 October) before the social movements in Kyrgyzstan is 3064 news. The majority of this news was written by the Super Info newspaper (67.29%). Vecherniy Bishkek newspaper reported 28.65%, while Kirgız Tuusu reported on politics at the rate of 4.04%. To reveal the point of view of the newspapers on the subject of politics and social movements, it was examined a month after the social movements. In this context, the number of news about politics, one month after the social movements (13 October-12 November), is 425. During these dates, the most news was published in the newspaper Vecherniy Bishkek with 69.17%. 17.88% of news was published in Super Info and 12.94% in Kirgız Tuusu.

When a general evaluation is made, most of the news about politics in the Kyrgyz press was made before the social movements. After the social movements, there was a decrease in the news about politics. There is also a difference in terms of newspapers and news about politics. Before the social movements, Super Info newspaper made more news about politics, while after the social movements, the most news was in the Vecherniy Bishkek newspaper.

The second part of the section on social movements in the press with statistical data consists of data on the amount of news of social movements in newspapers. These data are presented in the table below.

<b>Table :1 News on Social Movement</b>									
<b>Kirgiz Tuusu</b>			<b>Super Info</b>				<b>Vecherniy Bishkek</b>		
<b>Date</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Amount</b>	<b>Percent</b>	
5 October	3	%24,99	1	%2,85	15	%11,90	19	%10,98	
6 October	-	-	12	%34,28	21	%16,66	33	%19,07	
7 October	-	-	5	%14,28	6	%4,76	11	%6,35	
8	-	-	8	%22,85	18	%14,28	26	%15,02	

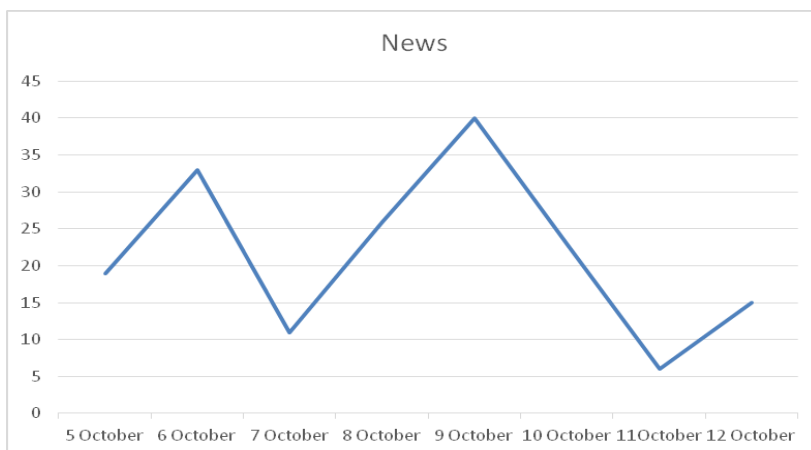
October									
9 October	2	%16,66	2	%5,71	36	%28,57	40	%23,12	
10 October	-	-	7	%19,99	16	%12,69	23	%13,29	
11 October	-	-	-	-	6	%4,76	6	%3,46	
12 October	7	%58,33	-	-	8	%6,34	15	%8,67	
Total	12	%100	35	%100	126	%100	173	%100	

The news about social movements between October 5, 2020, and October 12, 2020, the date of social movements, are presented in the table above. Accordingly, 183 news about social movements were found. While 126 of this news was written by Vecherniy Bishkek newspaper, 35 of them were published by Super Info 12 and Kyrgyz Tuusu. Accordingly, it is seen that the newspaper Vecherniy Bishkek has more space for social movements. In the table above, the news between the dates of the beginning and the end of the social movements are also given.

When the newspapers were examined one by one, more news was found in the Kyrgyz Tuusu newspaper on October 5 (24.99%), the date when the social movements started, and on October 12 (58.33%), which was the end date. On the other hand, Super Info newspaper made more news (34.28%) on October 6, and there was no news in the last two days of the social movements. On the other hand, it was concluded that more

news was made in the Vecherniy Bishkek newspaper on 9 October. There is a feature that distinguishes Vecherniy Bishkek newspaper from other newspapers. Vecherniy Bishkek is the only newspaper that covers everyday social movements. The state-controlled Kyrgyz Tuusu newspaper limited the social movements to the beginning and conclusion of the movements. Super Info did not include news on the day the social movements were concluded.

**Figure 2: News Made by Newspapers in the Social Movement Period**



In the figure above, the news they presented in the days of social movements is given. On the first day of the events on October 5, 19 news items were shared by the newspapers. The second day of the events is October 6, with 33 news items and the most news in a week. On October 7, 11 news were shared and the events came to a standstill. We're seeing some more news on October 8. On October 8, it was stated that President Sooronbay Jeenbekov would make a statement about the events and the political situation. October 9 is the day when the most news is served to the public. In his statement on October 9, Jeenbekov said that he would resign after the commission was established and stated that he did not want to be called a leader who shed the blood of his people. Following these developments, the total number of news stories decreased to 23 on 10 October. On October 11, 6, and on October 12, which is considered the last day of the events, 15 news were shared and the news agenda gradually regained its normal routine.

The third part of the social movements section in the press with statistical data is about the area covered by the news about social movements.

<b>Table: 2 Line Amount of News on Social Movement</b>		
Kyrgyz Tuusu	Super Info	Vecherniy Bishkek

Date	line amount	percent	line amount	percent	line amount	percent	line amount	percent
5 October	73	%19,51	7	%1,97	265	%9,23	345	%9,58
6 October	-	-	103	%29,01	444	%15,46	547	%15,19
7 October	-	-	63	%17,74	198	%6,89	261	%7,24
8 October	-	-	97	%27,32	427	%14,87	524	%14,55
9 October	99	%26,47	18	%5,07	731	%25,46	848	%23,55
10 October	-	-	67	%18,87	338	%11,77	405	%11,24
11 October	-	-	-	-	124	%4,31	124	%3,44

12 October	202	%54,01	-	-	344	%11,98	546	%15,16
Total	374	%100	355	%100	2871	%100	3600	%100

In the table above, the days of the social movements and the number of rows of the news given at that time are given. A large number of lines indicates the width of the news area. The importance that a newspaper gives to the news is related to the number of lines. The amount of lines indicates the importance and detail of the news. The maximum number of lines in the Kyrgyz Tuusu newspaper was on October 12, which coincided with the last day of the events. Therefore, Kyrgyz Tuusu gave more importance to the news they made on the last day of the social movement and went into more detail. The Super Info newspaper had the highest number of lines on October 6, the day of social movements. This is a sign that the newspaper has been detail-oriented news since the beginning of the social movements. The Vecherniy Bishkek newspaper had the highest number of lines on 9 October. In the total statistics, it is seen that the highest number of news corresponds to 9 October. This date is not accidental. Then-President Sooronbay Jeenbekov made a statement on 9 October and announced that he would resign. For this reason, the newspapers gave more importance to the events on the day of the announcement. The minimum number of lines in the Kyrgyz Tuusu and Super Info newspapers was given on the first day of the events, 5 October.

### Presentation Formats of News on Social Movement

This section, it is aimed to reach data about the forms of news presentation by focusing on social movements. In this context, a classification has been made as to the presentation styles of news about mass movements and the source of the news

<b>Table 3: Presentation Formats of News on Social Movement</b>									
	Kırgız Tuusu		Super Info		Vecherniy Bishkek		Toplam		
	Amou nt	perce nt	Amou nt	perce nt	Amou nt	perce nt	Amou nt	perce nt	

Presentati on of the News								
text	1	%8,33	6	%18,7 5	2	%1,58	9	%5,20
text+ photo	11	%91,6 6	27	%84,3 7	89	%70,6 3	127	%73,4 1
text +video	-	-	1	%3,12	2	%1,58	3	%1,73
text + photo +video	-	-	1	%3,12	33	%26,1 9	34	%19,6 5
Total	12	%100	35	%100	126	%100	173	%100

The table above, it is aimed to present data about the presentation styles of the news made throughout the social movements. As can be seen from the table, there is news (5.20%) that is presented only with literary data. Mostly, the news was presented to the public with the support of text and photographs. This emphasizes the multimedia feature of new communication technologies. The public followed the developments related to social movements both in writing and in photographs. Another important factor is that the majority of the news (19.65%) is published in the form of text, photos, and videos. Another remarkable point was the scarcity of news with text and video (1.73%). The news that can be described as classical journalism, which is produced only in literary form, is around 5.20%.

<b>Table 4: Data on News Source</b>					
News Source of Newspapers	Kırgız Tuusu	Super İno	Vecherniy Bishkek	Total	Total Percent
Yes	12	32	120	164	%94,79



No	-	3	6	9	%5,20
Total	12	35	126	173	%100

The source of the news is a matter of whether or not the information is presented about the news about social movements, from whom, where, and on what basis the information is obtained. In the table above, it has been tried to determine whether the newspapers include news sources in their news production processes.

As it can be seen from the table, most of the news made is based on news sources. (94,79%). 5.20% of the sources were not mentioned in the news. When we look at the contents of the news about social movements, we see that they are usually from the statements of government officials. Therefore, news sources have often been the subject of the news.

### The Nature of the News on Social Movement

This section, it is aimed to reveal the nature of the news. In this context, three different classifications regarding the type and objectivity of the news and the level of interpretation in the news have been obtained, and the findings regarding the quality of the news have been reached. The first part of the presentation formats of news related to social news is about the type of news. In this section, the type of news in the press about the social movement is concentrated, and within this general category, it is divided into 3 special categories as claims, information, and explanations.

Nature of the News	Kırgız Tuusu		Super Info		Vecherniy Bishkek		Total	
	Amou nt	perce nt	Amou nt	perce nt	Amou nt	perce nt	Amou nt	perce nt
allegation	-	-	10	%28,57	30	%23,80	40	%23,12
informati on	9	%74,99	18	%51,42	79	%62,69	106	%61,27

explanation	3	%24,99	7	%19,99	17	%13,49	27	%15,60
total	12	%100	35	%100	126	%100	173	%100

When the news about the social movement is examined, it is seen that the newspapers mostly make informational news (61.27%). (Kyrgyz Tuusu 74.99%, Super Info 51.42%, Vecherniy Bishkek 62.69%). In general, the news in the national press is the second type (23.80%). It is the least type of news with the descriptive type of news (13.49%). Another noteworthy piece of data here is that the Kyrgyz Tuusu newspaper did not include news in the form of claims. Since the newspaper is under the control of the government, it is possible not to make such news.

Another data aimed to be reached regarding the quality of the news is the findings regarding the attitude of the newspapers towards the events.

	Kyrgyz Tuusu		Super Info		Vecherniy Bishkek		Total	
	Amount	percentage	Amount	percentage	Amount	percentage	Amount	percentage
Opposite of Events	2	%16,66	20	%57,14	95	%75,39	117	%67,63
Not Against Events	10	%83,33	15	%42,85	31	%24,60	56	%32,36
Total	12	%100	35	%100	126	%100	173	%100

It should be noted that the table has been evaluated in general. It should be noted that different results will be obtained daily. In general, newspapers reported against social movements (67,63), and 32.36% of the news was in support of the events.

Another part of the findings regarding the quality of the news is the level of interpretation. The level of comment in the news is a category related to the personal situation of the journalist who wrote the news.

	Kırgız Tuusu		Super Info		Vecherniy Bishkek		Total	
	Amou nt	percen t	Amou nt	percen t	Amou nt	percen t	Amou nt	percen t
comme nt availabl e	8	%66,6 6	11	%31,4 2	54	%42,8 5	73	%42,1 9
No comme nt	4	%33,3 3	24	%68,5 7	72	%57,1 4	100	%57,8 0
Total	12	%100	35	%100	126	%100	173	%100

In some cases, journalists can add their comments and thoughts to their news. Although this affects the objectivity of the news, sometimes journalists can influence the masses with their comments.

Most of the news published by the Kyrgyz Tuusu newspaper during the social movements have comments (66.66%). In general, Super Info newspaper gave the news to the public without comment (68.57%). When the news of the Vecherniy Bishkek newspaper was examined, it generally made the news that was far from interpretation. In general, when all the newspapers are examined, it is seen that the news without comments is more intense (57.80%).

The last part of the findings on the quality of the news is the findings on how the results of social movements are presented to the public

	Kırgız Tuusu		Super Info		Vecherniy Bishkek		Total	
	Amou nt	percen t	Amou nt	percen t	Amou nt	percen t	Amou nt	percen t

positive	2	%16,66	10	%28,57	15	%11,90	27	%15,60
negative	3	%24,99	12	%34,28	36	%28,57	51	%29,47
neutral	7	%58,33	13	%37,14	75	%59,52	95	%54,91
Total	12	%100	35	%100	126	%100	173	%100

As can be seen from the table, the perspectives of newspapers on the results of social movements are generally neutral (54.91%). This situation can be explained by uncertainty. This is a statistical explanation of the unpredictability of the results of the social movements experienced. Apart from this, newspapers reported 29.47% that social movements would result in negative outcomes for the country and society. 15.60% shared the opinion that social movements would be positive for the country and society. However, it should be noted that this is a normal situation. Because as a result of the social movement, there was a change of management, and uncertainties continued.

## CONCLUSION

Parliamentary elections were held in Kyrgyzstan on October 4, 2020, and the masses took to the streets with the allegation that the elections were rigged, and as a result, social movements began to take place. As a result of the social movements that lasted until 12 October 2020, the current government was overthrown and replaced by a new government. The study is based on the relationality of social movements and the press. To reveal this relationality, we tried to present a cross-section of the reflection of these social movements in the press. The newspapers Kyrgyz Tuusu, Super Info, and Vecherniy Bishkek, which are among the newspapers with the highest circulation in Kyrgyzstan, were analyzed by the content analysis method.

It is striking that most of the news about politics in the Kyrgyz press was made before the social movements. In the process after social movements, a decrease is observed in the news about politics. Between the dates of 5 October 2020 –and 12 October 2020, 183 news about social movements were found. Among these newspapers, it is seen that the newspaper Vecherniy Bishkek has more space for social movements. Vecherniy Bishkek is the only newspaper that covers everyday social movements. While the Kyrgyz Tuusu newspaper limited the social movements to the beginning and conclusion of the movements, Super Info did not include news on the day when the social movements were concluded. While the newspapers did not report much on October 5, the date when the social movements started, the news made on the date of the resignation of the current administration remained in the majority. Therefore, we see that newspapers are more

concerned with the results of social movements than with social movements. The news about social movements was examined in the areas they allocated to their newspapers. In the study, in which data were presented with the number of rows, the highest number of news areas showed a direct proportion with the amount of news. On October 9, the date when the current government announced its resignation, it took a wider place in the newspaper reports. The second pillar of the research is the presentation of the news about social movements. In this context, the multimedia feature of new communication technologies has been highlighted. There was only a very limited number of literary news, but the majority of the news was supported by photographs. One thing worth noting is the use of video. The use of video in the news remained at a minimum level. The majority of the news about social movements is based on news sources. These news sources are largely in the form of statements by government officials and the opposition. The other part of the research is information about the nature of news about social movements. In this section, data on the type of news, its objectivity, and the level of commentary on the news were obtained.

The news was generally informative, and the news describing social movements and containing claims was limited. Most of these news stories consist of news against social movements. It is the journalist's comment on the news about his situation. It has been determined that journalists generally do not include personal comments in their news. Another data feature is the information that newspapers provide to the public about the results of social movements. They generally presented their results to the public in a neutral way. This is the scientific expression of a situation related to the unpredictability of social movements.

In general, there is uncertainty regarding the results of social movements, which both affected the news and played an important role in the materials used in news production. In addition, despite the change in the administration as a result of social movements, political uncertainty continued, and this situation was reflected in the news content.

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