



**T.C
YEDİTEPE UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**MEDIA COVERAGE BY ANALYSIS OF THE ELECTION
CAMPAIGN MARCH 28, 2004 LOCAL ELECTIONS IN
TURKEY**

By

Melek Başak Taner

**Submitted to the Graduate Institute of Social Sciences
In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of
Radio Television and Cinema**

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ABU** Asia-Pacific Broadcasting Union
- AFP** Agency France Press
- AKP** Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi - Justice and Development Party
- ANAP** Anavatan Partisi - Motherland Party
- AP** Adalet Partisi - Justice Party
- AP** Associated Press
- BBC** British Broadcasting Corporation
- BBC** British Broadcasting Corporation
- CHP** Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi - Republican People's Party
- CKMP** Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi - Republican Peasant and Nation Party
- CNN** Cable News Network
- DP** Demokrat Parti - Democrat Party
- DSP** Demokratik Sol Parti - Democratic Left Party
- DYP** Doğru Yol Partisi - True Path Party
- EBU** European Broadcasting Union
- HP** Halk Partisi - Public Party
- GP** Genç Parti - Young Party
- MHP** Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi - Nationalist Action Party
- MP** Millet Partisi - Nations Party
- MSP** Milli Selamet Partisi - Nationalist Salvation Party
- RP** Refah Partisi - Welfare Party
- RTUK** Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu - Radio and Television Supreme Council
- TGNA** Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi - Turkish Grand National Assembly
- TRT** Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu - Turkey Radio and Television Corporation
- SHP** Sosyal Demokrat Halkçı Parti - Social Democrat Peoples Party
- SP** Saadet Partisi - Felicity Party
- UPI** United Press International
- USA** United States of America
- YTP** Yeni Türkiye Partisi - New Turkey Party

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ABSTRACT

Communication can be defined as the process by which individuals share information, ideas and attitudes. In mass communication, professional communicators use technological devices known as mass media to communicate over great distances to influence large audiences. Several basic components make up the communication processes which are presented as the source, the message, the channel and the receiver.

In mass media the source is often a professional communicator who shapes the message to be shared. The message is whatever the source attempts to share with someone else. The channel is the way in which we send our message and the receiver is the person with whom the message is intended to be shared.

The mass media are essential to the conduct of elections. An election is not only about casting a vote, but also having adequate information about parties, policies, candidates and the election process itself so that the voters can make an informed choice.

Today most people get information from television more than the other communication channels including the information about politics. This gives television an influential power on the audience. This power is valid for election campaigns too. That's why political parties and the leaders appear on TV by advertisements, meetings, debates or interviews in order to reach the voters.

This article is a report on finding out the relationship between media, politics and the individuals by the analysis of "28th March Local Elections 2004". While doing this research our aim is to prove the manipulating power of media on political attitudes of voters. Our coverage is television channels from different media groups which were observed daily for one month till the Election Day. By indirect data collecting we reach to results that are going to be examined afterwards.

More briefly we find out that the ruling party is supported mostly by media groups than the others which also support our hypotheses too for all cases. The mean for cases is; all prime time news (as the covering for the number of news and the durations) and content of the messages given by the leaders, and the parties.

ÖZET

İletişim bireylerin bilgiyi, fikirleri ve de yaklaşımları paylaşması olarak tanımlanır. Kitle iletişiminde ise profesyonel iletişimciler teknolojik kaynakları kullanarak –ki bunlara kitlesel medya araçları da diyebiliriz- farklı mecralardaki geniş kitleleri etkilerler. İletişim sürecindeki temel unsurları ise kaynak, mesaj, iletişim kanalı ve alıcı olarak tanımlayabiliriz.

Kitle iletişiminde kaynak çoğunlukla profesyonel olarak donanmış ve paylaşılacak mesajı şekillendiren bir uzmandır. Mesaj, kaynak tarafından şekillendirilen ve başkaları tarafından paylaşılacak içeriktir. Kanal ise kaynağın belirlediği mesajın gönderilme şeklidir. Alıcı da mesajı alacak kişi olarak ifade edilebilir. Kitle iletişiminin bir işlevi de seçimlerdir. Seçimler birey için sadece oy vermekle sınırlı bir işlev değildir. Bu işlevinin yanısıra partiler hakkında bilgi edinilme süreci, adayları tanıma, parti politikalarının özümsemesi ve de aslında seçim sürecinin iletimidir. Böylelikle seçmenler seçimleri edinilmiş bilgileri sayesinde yaparlar.

Bugün çoğu birey diğer iletişim araçlarının yanısıra bilgiyi televizyon sayesinde elde etmektedir. Bu bilgi edinme kapsamına politika da dahildir. Böylelikle televizyon izleyici ve de seçmen üzerinde daha da etkileyici bir güce sahip olmaktadır. Bu varsayım seçim kampanyaları için de geçerlidir. Bu nedenle partiler politik reklamlar, mitingler, siyasi tartışmalar ve de röportajlar sayesinde televizyonu kullanarak seçmene ulaşmaya çalışır.

Bu araştırmadaki amaç 28 Mart 2004 yerel seçimleri baz alınarak medya, politika ve seçmen arasındaki ilişkiyi ele almak ve medyanın seçmen üzerinde yönlendirici bir gücü olduğunu kanıtlamaktır. Araştırmamızın kapsamı Türkiye’deki farklı medya gruplarına ait ulusal televizyon kanalları olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu kanallar bir aylık seçim süresince düzenli olarak her akşam takip edilmiş ve seçim gününe kadar ana haber bültenleri detaylı olarak incelenmiştir. İlerleyen sayfalarda çalışmanın özünü oluşturan bulgular detaylı olarak sunulacaktır. Ancak kısa bir özet yapmamız gerekirse bu çalışma sonucunda incelenen kanalların, iktidar partisini diğerlerine nazaran belirgin bir biçimde desteklediği görülmüştür. Bu sonuca ana haber bültenlerinde yer alan seçim haberlerinin sayı ve süreleri incelenerek ve ayrıca bu incelenen haberlerin içerikleri de göz önüne alınarak (haberde mesajı verenin kimliği, mesajın içeriği gibi) ulaşılmıştır.

1. INTRODUCTION

As the power of media on politics is observed; many researches have been made to find out the reason of this close relationship; However in Turkey the researches are inadequate to understand this as for the reason that the late coming of television concept to Turkey. The researches about political communication which had been started in 1960's, were entirely about propaganda. After the 80's the phenomena about political communication was increased with respect to the development of media sectors and spreading of televisual culture. On the other hand the researches are still deficient when we compare the others in western society.

This research and its results will be an example for the ones which will be done in the future. As it covers contemporary period and hasn't got any other example; it will be a resource for the following researchers.

As for the methods; we are going to analyze media that whether it gives specific messages to the public or not; and examine to find out the impact. During the campaigns political parties have several methods such as using advertisement agencies, image makers, web-site designers or do it by their own resources to distribute their propaganda and the party attitude. On the other hand during the election campaign there is another power called the "media". Our analysis will be on this circumstance.

For the research we assumed that "before the elections and during the campaigns parties which are supported by media are more successful than the others that do not benefit from it." Under this hypothesis there are other specific assumptions which are:

1. Ruling parties are more supported by media than the others and this causes ethical problems about the neutrality of media.
2. Candidates and leaders who appear most on TV get more success than the others.

Methods:

As for the coverage, our aim is the analysis of the election campaign of March 28th 2004 local Elections. To analyze this;

First; previous campaigns and campaigns around the world will be examined. Also references about local governing laws will be used.

Second; public TV channels will be observed like **KANAL D, ATV, TGRT, TRT, KANAL 7** and **SHOW TV**. These TV channels are selected according to main media groups in Turkey such as Doğan Media Group having Kanal D, Çukurova Media Group having SHOW TV, İhlas Media Group having TGRT, Ciner Media Group having ATV and TRT which is the unique national TV of Turkey. Kanal 7 is separated from the others because of its close relation to the ruling party and the place of share amount among the other TV channels. All those channels are the leading ones among the Turkish media according to their share amount except TRT. The national channel TRT is part of our analysis because of its importance and the uniqueness in Turkish media that is going to be told later.

The ways of examining the channels in our research is, recording the prime time news of those and observe in detail. In one month period till the Election Day, which means 28 days as total, number of news and contents of them examined. Then news about elections is selected and their messages observed in detail. While doing this; type of the message, source of the message and content of the message are considered.

As for the limitation, information is gathered from the TV channels which have the most ratings among all others. That is why local media channels are not our concern. For this reason our analysis will be reliable.

2. TURKISH POLITICAL SYSTEM AND POLITICAL PARTIES

The Ottoman Empire was among the first nonwestern nations to establish a constitutional government. Constitutional movements in the Ottoman Empire can be characterized as the product of the following developments: the decline of the Ottoman societal system, influence of the Western European socioeconomic and political developments and emergence of an enlightenment age in the Ottoman Empire. They were top down constitutional movements in contrast with those of the Western countries¹.

During the War of Independence (1919-1923) the Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) convened for the first time on 23 April 1920 in Ankara. After independence was gained, the Republic of Turkey was declared on 29 October 1923. The 1924 Constitution laid the fundamental principles of the new state replacing the Empire and provided for the continuation of parliamentary governments. The first multi-party elections took place in 1946 and a democratic and smooth change of government occurred with the 1950 elections. With the formation of a new constitution in 1960, Turkish democracy gained ground. By the late 1970's and led to a second interruption in the democratic process in 1980. Following a referendum the new Constitution went into effect in 1982 and multiparty democracy was restored in 1983.

There are 47 political parties existing in Turkey's political platform; however 18 of them enters the elections and after November 3rd elections only three of them is represented in TGNA which are AKP (Justice and Development Party), CHP (Republican's People Party) and DYP (True Path Party). All of the political parties are listed in **Appendix 1**.

¹ Zürcher, E.J (2004). *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi*, İstanbul, İletişim Yayınları, p.78, chapter 5

3. LOCAL ELECTIONS IN TURKEY

Local administration is the system of administration established to meet the common needs of the people living in a specific region and managed by bodies elected by these people. Local administrative agencies are authorized by the central government agencies to introduce rules and meet financial obligations on matters related to the region². Municipalities, provincial local governments and villages are the three types of local administration operating in Turkey

Most of the municipal services available today were carried out by individuals and during the Ottoman period. However, the gradual increase of daily needs in foundations the cities created the need to set up a more orderly organization. The first municipal organization was established in Istanbul in 1854. Municipalities in other cities followed with the municipal laws of 1868 and 1876.

During the Republican period, a special system was adopted for Ankara in 1924. Later on, the law of April 3, 1930, based on the French system, prescribed in detail the organization and functions of the municipalities³.

3.1. MUNICIPALITIES

All municipalities are public corporate entities. Municipal organizations must be set up in all provincial and district centers. Municipalities are required to meet the common regional and civic needs of the region and the regional populace.

²Keleş, Ruşen (1992). Yerinden Yönetim ve Siyaset, İstanbul, Cem Yayınevi, Chapter 1, p.19

Municipalities and villages near big cities, the populations of which were over 300,000 during the last census, may be attached to the metropolitan municipality so that basic municipal services may be carried out in an adequate and efficient manner and under complimentary plans.

Besides carrying out duties related to health and social assistance, public works, education, agriculture, the economy and the well-being of the citizens, municipalities are required to take the necessary measures to meet all civic needs through municipal services.

Municipal administration comprises an assembly, a council and a mayor. The Municipal Assembly, elected by popular vote, varies in size with the population and approves the annual budget of the municipality, plans, projects related to public works and city planning and determines taxes, rates of duties, fees and tariffs of various sorts.

The Municipal Council consists of the mayor, the heads of the municipal departments and members elected by the municipal assembly from among its own members. The Mayor is the chief executive and representative of the municipality. He is elected for a term of five years. In big cities, where there is more than one district within municipal borders, the electoral zone for the election of the mayor of the metropolitan municipality is restricted by the municipal borders of the metropolis. Each district elects its own mayor and municipal assembly members.

Every Turkish citizen eligible to become a deputy in the National Assembly and who has lived in a specific electoral zone for at least six months may be elected mayor or municipal assembly member for the area.

3.2. PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS

The foundation of provincial local governments, with their present structure, dates back to the post-Second Constitutional Period. With the enactment of the law of March 26, 1913, they became corporate entities and their authority was extended.

The governor, the representative of the central administration, is also the head of the provincial local government and its chief executive. The provincial general assembly, the most authoritative body of the organization, consists of members elected for a term of four years. The standing provincial council, composed of four members elected for a term of one year by the provincial general assembly from among its own members, reviews and approves fiscal matters, informs the provincial general assembly of the state of affairs of the organization and submits to the mayor, upon his request, its views related to local government operations.

Members of the provincial general assembly are elected by the proportional representation system, provided that their parties receive at least 10 percent of the votes⁴. Each district forms an electoral zone for elections to the provincial general assembly.

3.3. VILLAGES

People with common property such as a mosque, school and pasture and who live in scattered or closely packed houses make up, together with their yards, gardens and land, a village. A village administration is formed in villages where at least 150 people live. The basic body in the village administration is the Village Assembly. This assembly, composed of villagers over the age of 21, elects the village headman (Muhtar) and members of the Council of Elders. It decides on whether some optional duties should be made obligatory and determines the salary of the headman.

The village headman is elected to the village assembly for a term of five years. He represents the central administration and supervises the planning and operation of village projects and services⁵.

⁴ Güler, B.A (1998). Yerel Yönetimler, Ankara, Türkiye ve Ortadoğu Amme İdaresi Enstitüsü, p.137

4. ELECTIONS IN TURKISH POLICY

In conformity with conditions set forth in the law, every Turkish citizen upon the age of 18 has the right to vote and to engage in political activities independently or in a political party, and to take part in referendums⁶.

4.1. HISTORY OF ELECTIONS

During the post-war period a multi-party era started in Turkey. Transition to a multi-party parliamentary system in Turkey was first initiated by Atatürk and Turkey experienced short-terms of multi-party systems in 1924 and in 1930. Unfortunately, the political developments were detrimental to the newly established Turkish Republic and the two political parties were abolished by themselves. The multi-party system which Atatürk desired to initiate as his "second greatest reform after the Proclamation of the Republic" was started after the Second World War by his comrade-at-arms, President İsmet İnönü. The first election was held in 1946. The representatives of the opposition party won seats in the Assembly. In the second election, held in 1950, the ruling party whose Chairman was İsmet İnönü became the opposition party in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Celal Bayar's party assumed office (TURKEY Yearbook 1983/Prime Ministry Directorate General of Press and Information). After Turkey started its multiparty period in 1950 till today, 13 parliamentary elections, 8 parliamentary sub-elections, 11 municipal elections and 8 senate elections were held which makes 41 elections as total.

⁵ Keleş, Ruşen, ibid.175

⁶ Privates and corporals serving in the armed services, students in military schools, and convicts in penal institutions cannot vote. Elections in Turkey are single stage. According to a proportional representation system, general, equal and secret ballot elections are held throughout the country on the same day under judicial administration and supervision. The related law outlines the requirements for Turkish citizens living abroad to vote. The voter casts his vote in full freedom. The counting, recording and detailed presentation of votes is done publicly. Every province is an election area and every alderman's office is an election precinct. A political party consists of its central organs, provincial and country organizations and the party group in Parliament. All political parties must establish headquarters in Ankara. In order to establish a political party, the signatures of at least 30 Turkish citizens, eligible for election to Parliament, are required. The highest authority within the political party is its general council. The central organization consists of the general council, the leader of the party, the central decision-making and executive boards, the disciplinary board and its caucus.

According to the election law in Turkey, parties obtaining 10 percent of the votes throughout the country in general elections enter parliament.

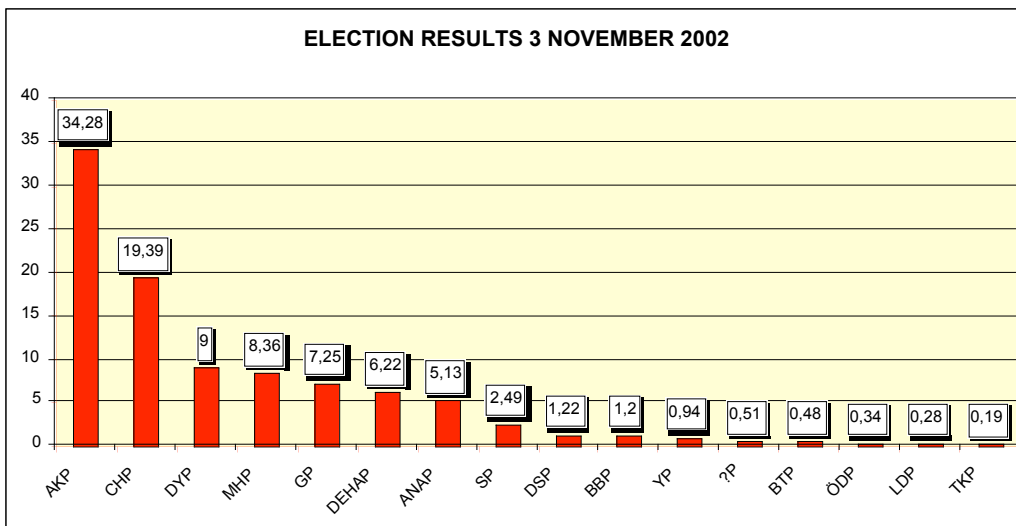
4.2. GENERAL ELECTIONS OF PARLIAMENT NOV 3, 2002

November 3, 2002 elections was a research case on many sides because of its unexpected results. On the election night when the first results were announced on TV the leading parties such as DSP and MHP had lost the game and thrown out of the parliament and a new established political party won an overwhelming victory. 41.407.015 electors vote for the deputies and the result was surprising. AKP had 34.43% votes and CHP had 19.41%. The most surprising point was; other parties totally got 46.16% votes which were more than the votes of AKP. Moreover; the previous governing party DSP, had 1.22% votes.

Following the November 3 elections, AKP received 363 seats in the 550-seat assembly and claimed victory in the November 3 elections, paving the way for Turkey's first single-party government to assume power in over a decade. According to the official results, AKP and CHP were the parties out of 18, attaining the 10 % threshold required to enter parliament. In addition, nine independent candidates won seats in parliament. Some 10 million of Turkey's total 41.5 million voters did not cast their ballots in the elections.

After the elections independent Elazığ Deputy Mehmet Ağar joined to DYP. With this action, DYP has become the third party represented in parliament, along with the ruling AKP and the opposing CHP.

Table 4.2.1



5. POWER OF MEDIA

Phenomena of media is very crucial in politics, social life and every aspects of life in all countries. Whether it is a democracy or not; media informs and influences the public. Especially after twentieth century with the help of technology relation between time and place distance decreased in which that makes news gathering easy⁷.

Despite new digital services and growth of the internet concentrated ownership off main instruments of mass communication is undenaibly a dangerous and undesirable state of affairs. Current media consumption patterns confirm that most people still derive the majority of their news and views from just a few predominant channells. The principal risk associated with allowing these predominant avenues of mass communication to fall into the hands of only few players is that some poltical views or forms of cultural expression will be over represented while others are sidelined or left out the mainstream media.

The obvious example of where failure to curb excesses of media power can lead to is provided by Italian media emperor Silvio Berlusconi who, in May 2001 managed to get elected as prime minister of Italy for the second time. In the period of the election, Mr. Berlusconi used his extensive media interests to promote his own political campaign, and especially in his channells' evening news is turned just like a Berlusconi propoganda rally⁸.

Also in Turkey during November 3rd election period besides AKP; Cem Uzan, a 42 year old businessman, who is influential in the media business and the mobile phone industry, decided recently to launch himself into politics. He declared himself as the founder of GP. Many people think that a businessman, who is not only being prosecuted under American law for fraud against Nokia and Motorola but also the Turkish courts, is just trying to take advantage of parliamentary immunity. Cem Uzan's movement lies in third position in the opinion polls, coming near to the 10% mark in intention to vote that is required to be represented in Parliament⁹. The reason of it is, he is the founder of Turkey's first private channel Star and did many invest on TV during 10 years and all of his media stuff to be elected in November 3rd.

⁷ Lyon, David (2006), *Gözetlenen Toplum*, İstanbul, Kalkedon Yayınları, p.39

⁸ Doyle, Gillian (2001), *Media Ownership*, Sage Publications, London, p.137

⁹ <http://www.robert-schuman.org/anglais/oeo/turquie/default2.htm>

5.1. MEDIA'S FUNCTION ON AUDIENCE

What we call news is constantly changing. Mainstream news today is heavily commercialized, meaning that it must attract audiences for advertisers. The profit formulas that drive the news business today to present packaged information provided by government and business as news, mixed with the journalistic sensationalism that attracts larger audience. Beyond natural disasters and breaking events, the news tends to portray events as they are defined by officials and authorities, based on information that is produced and spun by public-relations professionals. At times, journalists appear to be political insiders, leaving government to police itself. At other times, news organizations engage in feeding frenzies, spurring each other with scandal coverage that often lacks perspective.

The advent of the 24-hour news cycle has produced an odd mix of repetition and competition for new angles on stories, leading news organizations to advance stories through sensation, speculation, and spin.

The importance of media increases as we develop from children to adults. We take information from second hand resources such as the media and the mass media play a major role in determining the content of our culture¹⁰.

Especially the news media has a great importance on audience. As it is stated that 30 second news duration is 180 times important than a TV commercial¹¹. The reason is news media is more reliable than the commercials.

As contemporary, gathering news from the media is one of the main rights that we especially in the countries in which a democratical order exists. These rights are under protection according to regular and definite laws in such countries. To contrast in developing countries the rights about gathering news information is limited in accordance to their law system and educational level. Media informs people for many cases such as for transmitting news, giving education and for entertainment¹². The main thing for media is its neutrality while informing the audience. There must be a power to behave in a free way to inform and to of course this makes media reliable; however there are some cases that media is under control of some corporate groups in all around

¹⁰ Wilson, J.R, Wilson S.L.R,(1998). Mass Media Mass Culture, McGraw-Hill, Inc, p.14

¹¹ Uztuğ, Ferruh (2007), Siyasal İletişim Yönetimi, İstanbul, Mediacat, p.373

¹² Aziz, Aysel (2006), Televizyon ve Radyo Yayıncılığı, Ankara, Turhan Kitabevi, p.70

the world even in developed countries such as the States that we're going to discuss in the coming chapters.

In Turkey, especially after 90's with increasing number of private channels, media became more dominant. It can be easily said that former prime minister Tansu Çiller was elected as party leader with the help of media power in 1993¹³.

To control the media in many developed countries there are some supreme councils for to prevent the rights of the audience and the state itself. With respect to this Turkey has RTUK above all the media¹⁴.

5.2. COMPARISON OF TURKISH MEDIA

As the term "globalization" enters to our lives we started behaving like global citizens. This is just because of the media and of course its supporter technology. Via technology we gather news and the way of entertainment from Western cultures and know what is going on in the entire world. Because of this reason we can not separate Turkey from the entire culture in order not to be affected. Media in Turkey, starting from the entrance of private channels, make deals with the biggest media groups of the world such as CNN and NBC and also the news agencies like Reuters, AP etc. 24 hour news channels are formed under the names of CNN Turk and CNBC-e that are giving news to audience. Also big deals are made with big distributors for entertainment channels. This makes a big connection to the global world. Before discussing Turkey, first we are going to examine the big powers such as the USA.

The USA is the biggest manipulator of television broadcasting. The supporting items for this claim is that, it is the first country that allowed broadcasting Cable TV and the private investment on media. Today there are 9000 radio stations, 1400 TV stations and 92 million of Americans has

¹³ Özcan, Hüseyin (2007), *Siyasi Partiler Hukuku*, İstanbul, Der Yayınları, p.229

¹⁴ In early 1990, the first privately owned television station started broadcasting to Turkey via satellite from Germany. This signalled the beginning of a new era for Turkish broadcasting, as, one by one, a whole host of new private radio and television channels originating from Europe.

Private entrepreneurs started investing in the electronic media sector, and began turning into media groups. In the absence of a regulation on commercial broadcasting, the growth of the broadcasting market expanded out of control. The number of commercial television stations reached 100, and that of radio stations reached 500, all operating without any licences. The vicious competition in the Turkish broadcasting sector created a new word called as the ratings. In the midst of the ratings war, the media paid little attention to ethics and quality.

On 20 April 1994, the long-awaited Law on the Establishment and Broadcasts of Radio and Television came into effect according to Law of 3984. The law established the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK), comprising nine members appointed by Parliament, as the regulator for commercial broadcasters. The RTÜK was made responsible for distributing frequencies and awarding licences to broadcasters, and also for monitoring the broadcasters' compliance with the law. However, it soon became evident that the enactment of the law did not solve as many problems as had been expected. The RTÜK was ineffective in facilitating the healthy growth of the industry. Currently, all terrestrial radio and television broadcasting is still carried out without any licence revenue sources. This increases the challenges to media independence

at least one TV set in their homes¹⁵. Also two of the main news distributing agencies AP and UPI . Time Warner's part CNN is also a phenomena about news and it gets its popularity during the War in the Gulf in 1991.

When we look at Turkey we see a dominancy of foreign powers. Because of technical deficiencies, 83,5% of world news gathered from AP, AFP, Reuters and UPI. Also 17,2% of world news is covering news from the USA. The internal sources of Turkey on world news is only 16,5% of all¹⁶.

Another big power , the United Kingdom has a mixed system combining national and private channels together just like Turkey. The main power on British media is BBC. The unique national channel BBC combines both news and entertainment and also established a special channel called BBC World which is broadcasting all over the world especially news.

In Turkey, TRT has four national,one regional and two international television channels. It also operates four national and nine regional radio channels. All national television channels are also on cable and satellite. There are also a number of channels available exclusively to the cable and satellite audiences.The number of colour television sets has increased over the last ten years. In 2002, Turkey had 14.5 million households, of which 98 per cent had at least one television set. Cable television system is available in 20 cities, with a capacity of 45 to 60 television channels and 100 radio channels. Although the infrastructure exceeds 2.5 million households, the number of cable television subscribers was just over one million by the end of 2003. This relatively low figure reflects the poor marketing of services and consumer reluctance to subscribe to cable. In the digital satellite market, Digiturk is currently the only digital bouquet operator, with over 850,000 subscribers. Satellite viewing and cable subscription are low, since all major channels on cable or satellite are also available terrestrially.

As for the news gathering during the elections, Americans favor television for their political information. Roughly 75 percent of all Americans regularly watch some form of TV news, compared to 63 percent citing regular newspaper use and 46 percent listening to news on the radio. During elections, for example, campaigns get more air time than actual news reports on campaigns, which may explain why many people say they are more informed by political news than by the news. There are signs that young people may be breaking with these patterns, but they

¹⁵ İnceoğlu, Yasemin (2004), Uluslararası Medya "Medya Eleştirileri", İstanbul, Der Yayınları, p.87

¹⁶ Ibid p.350

need greater guidance in their alternative media choices. For example, between 2000 and 2004, young citizens ages 18–29 reduced their reliance on TV news for their election information¹⁷.

Since the BBC had a monopoly on national TV news coverage for some two decades and still retains a substantial subsidy, the expectation is that it would produce higher quality news than American network news. However, Semetko (1991) do make a systematic comparison of NBC coverage of the 1984 election with BBC coverage of the 1987 parliamentary election. Most of their evidence (much of it quantitative),clears that the BBC provided more news with more information about the candidates' positions on issues than their American counterpart, which makes the BBC news “higher Thin as this evidence is, there can be little doubt that the BBC provides higher-quality news than its American counterparts¹⁸.

5.3. INCREASE OF POWER OF TELEVISION

Everywhere television has become pre-eminent, if not overwhelmingly dominant, source of national and international political news for the majority of the population. Everywhere, even in authoritarian political systems where television is by far the most heavily censored and manipulated of the communications media, most people trust television more than any other medium as an objective and impartial source of political information. The notion of a media logic according to which television is seen as privileging candidates over party, program, or policy relevant issues also receives considerable support, although this logic is not felt equally strong in all countries. In both democratic and non democratic systems, politicians have become increasingly aware of the growing importance of the media especially the television and adapt to use for their political purposes¹⁹.

The vast majority of Americans continue to rely on broadcast and cable television as their primary source of information (Source:“[News Audiences Increasingly Politicized.](#)” [Pew Research Centre for People and the Press, June 8, 2004](#)). No other source of information, including newspapers, radio and the internet, comes close to the power of television. For many of us, if an event is not reported on television, it does not happen. Television combines the compelling images, music and dramatic narrative of the movies, with the personal immediacy of talk radio.

¹⁷ <http://depts.washington.edu/ccce/civiceducation/bennetthreshold.pdf> (2004)

¹⁸ <http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/zaller/media%20politics%20book%20.pdf>, 24.10.1999

¹⁹ Gunther, Richard, Mughan, Anthony (2000), *Democracy and the Media*, Cambridge University Press, p.402-403

When the World Trade Center and the Pentagon were under attack, Americans rushed to their television sets. When political candidates run for election, when celebrities want us to see their movies, they all go to television to get our attention. And so we undertake this campaign to remind major American television networks of their responsibility to report on our world, even when the story is as horrible as the genocide in Sudan. Television has told us stories of important human brutality before, and Americans have responded by demanding action from our elected representatives²⁰.

5.4. MEDIA IN POLITICAL ELECTIONS

It is well established that the relations between General Elections and mass media coverage of them and between that coverage and the receiving audience should be the subject of both journalistic comment and scholarly study. It is intended to raise questions of a very general nature about politics and the mass media (and specifically television).

The first television party political broadcasts took place in 1951. In that year there were three broadcasts, each fifteen minutes in length. But until the 1959 General Election (studied in relation to television by Trenaman and McQuail 1961) "elections were completely ignored in news bulletins, and programmes that might have the faintest bearing on the party balance were cancelled." (Seymour-Ure 1974, p 209).

As it has done so, the use of such phrases as "Television coverage of the Election" has become more and more misleading. Television can only cover an election when the campaign has an existence independent of the presence of television. Today, it does not possess such independence.

First, the General Election campaign as the creation of organized political parties is made to exist by them in ways dictated by the presence of the mass media in general and television in particular.

Second, the Election campaign which most voters experience is increasingly and overwhelmingly that of television with one third more air time devoted to it on BBC in 1974 than 1970 (Harrison 1974). This is plainly more important, at least quantitatively, than face to face contact with professional politicians or party canvassers. And whereas newspapers are perceived mainly as

²⁰ <http://www.beawitness.org/tv,2005>

reporting the campaign, television is perceived as being mainly a vehicle for the campaign, whether in the form of the party political broadcast or studio interviews with politicians²¹.

When we look at Italy and the election campaigns, television played a much more prominent role in the 1983 election campaign. By this time, private television had become far more developed, and Silvio Berlusconi's Fininvest had established itself as an important force in broadcasting. Color television had arrived and audiences continued to expand, as did television coverage of politics. For the first time an election was a "media event". During the period candidates and the parties spent a total of 25 billion lire (about 5,7 million U.S Dollars) for broadcast spots on national networks for 30 days²².

In addition to play key role in bringing about massive political change, television in Italy has become a subject of controversy, since its political role poses new problems for democratic theory and ethics. Following his election as Prime Minister Berlusconi was in a position to control the public broadcasting system as well²³.

5.5. MEDIA AND POLITICS

Media have had a marked impact on politics but also that politics affects the media as well. The changing role of the media and the control exerted by the private groups over television networks and the press have assumed great importance as a crucial challenge to democracy.

Changes in communication and in politics during the past few decades have placed an extraordinary burden on the press. It is increasingly expected by the critics and apologists alike to organize public opinion and debate. Reporters often claim that they can fill this role. Even if the media did not want the job the responsibility is in part theirs by virtue of their daily contact with audiences and a political system built increasingly on entrepreneurial leaders, floating voters, interest groups and political parties.

Nevertheless, press is much less adequate as linking mechanism than is commonly assumed. The problem is that press is not a political institution and has no stake in organizing public opinion. The media are in the news business, and their inadequacy as a linking mechanism becomes obvious

²¹ <http://www.selectedworks.co.uk/television1974.html> (nd)

²² Gunther, Richard, Mughan, Anthony, Democracy and the Media, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p.218

²³ Ibid, p.197

once the nature of news is understood. The news simply is not an adequate guide to political choice. Its major themes are dictated by journalistic values, not political ones²⁴.

6. LOCAL ELECTIONS

Elections for local administrations are held every five years. By-elections are held in the following cases: If elections in an electoral region are cancelled due to procedural irregularity; if a provincial assembly or a city council is dissolved by the competent authority; if the majority of seats in a provincial assembly or a city council is vacated for any reason; and if, for whatever reason, the mayoralties are vacated. All Turkish citizens 25 and older can be elected mayor or become a member of provincial assemblies and city councils providing the following conditions are fulfilled: all candidates must have completed primary school education, have full legal rights, have completed military service and have no prison record of one year or more. Furthermore, a candidate must have resided in the electoral area for at least six months.

In local elections, a proportional representation system, based on a ten percent barrier, is implemented for membership to provincial assemblies and town councils. For mayoral posts the simple majority system is used. In electing members of the provincial assemblies, each administrative district is an electoral region. In elections for mayoral posts and city council members, each city is an electoral region. Voters elect a metropolitan mayor in cities comprising an electoral region of more than one administrative district. Votes are cast in metropolitan areas also for mayoral and city council posts in each administrative district.

6.1. LOCAL ELECTIONS OF MARCH 28, 2004

A total of 43.5 million voters went to 174,355 polling booths on March 28 to cast their votes in the local elections to elect 93,353 local administrators.

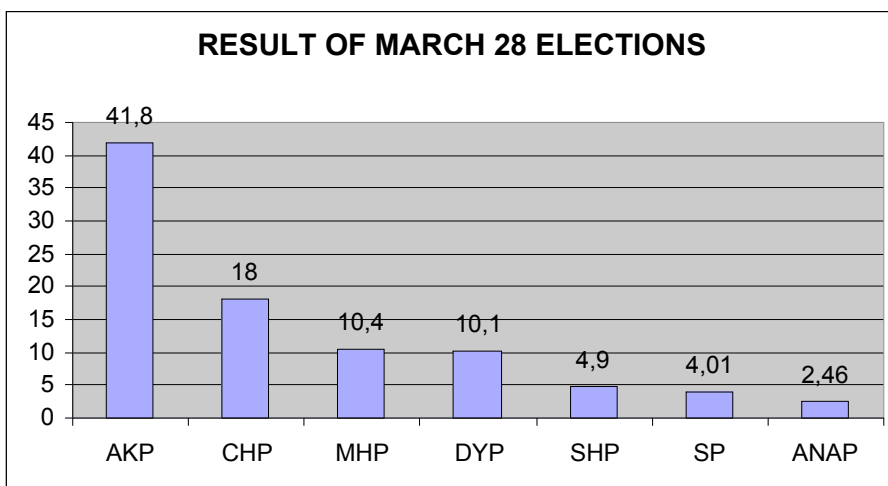
According to a report prepared by the Anatolia News Agency, Istanbul has 7,361,261 registered voters, Ankara 2,735,292 and Izmir 2,460,060 voters. The city with the lowest number of voters is Bayburt with 59,784 registered voters. According to a decision of the Supreme Board of Elections, there were twenty political parties which took part in the elections.

²⁴ Ibid, p.264

The local administrators that are elected will be in office for five years. The voters elected mayors for 16 metropolitan municipalities, 58 city municipalities, 65 cities, 792 municipalities and 2,253 districts. Some 52,929 muhtars (local administrators), 3,122 city general assembly members and 34,075 municipality assembly members were elected on March 28. There are 12 new municipalities in these elections.

According to the election results, out of 81 cities, the ruling AKP won 57 mayoral races, including those in Turkey’s largest city, Istanbul and the capital Ankara. The main opposition CHP won nine mayoral races, while MHP got four, and DYP one. SHP won five mayoral races and DSP won three. The national breakdown of votes is as follows: AKP, 41.8%; CHP, 18.1%; MHP, 10.4%; DYP, 10.1%; SHP, 4.9%; Felicity Party (SP), 4.01%; and Motherland Party (ANAP), 2.46.

Table 6.1.1



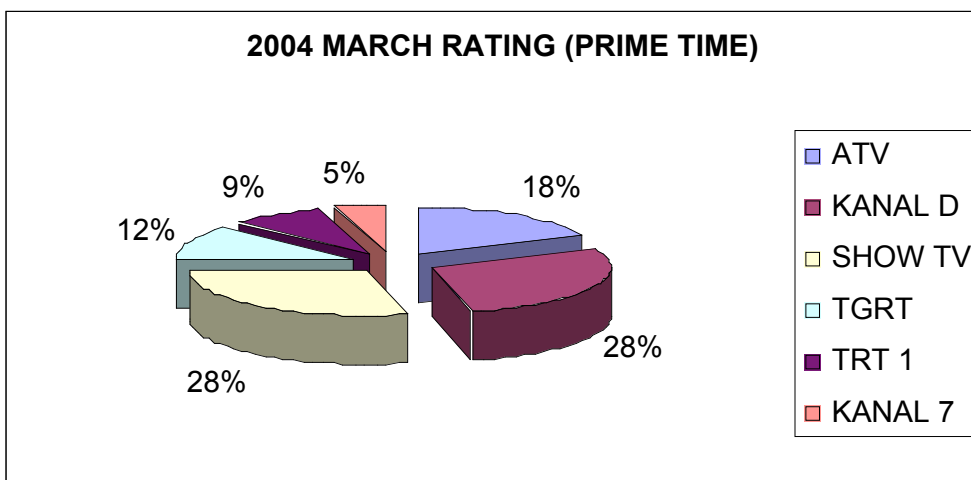
6.2.MEDIA IN ELECTIONS

Main broadcasting tv channells are commonly interested in elections and did several programmes and news about the parties, leaders and the candidates. For 28 day period especially in the prime time news hour, every day news about elections are used. As we are going to see on graphics, news about elections have a great power with respect to total number of news. As for general information, the duration about election news, we can see an increasing tendency till to the date of the election day.

6.2.1.VISUAL MEDIA

For the visual media the results were taken from the main broadcasting tv channells which are commonly watched from all regions of Turkey via satellite, cable or main distributing antennas.In this research news channells are not included becuse of their broadcasting rules. As its known that in Turkey news channells are not measured by main rating agent, AGB, so it is not fair to add news channels in our research.Before examining the results first of all it is important to understand where the the main broadcasting tv channells are standing in the row between the dates from 1st March 2004 to 28th March 2004 covering the prime time period.

Table 6.2.1.1



25

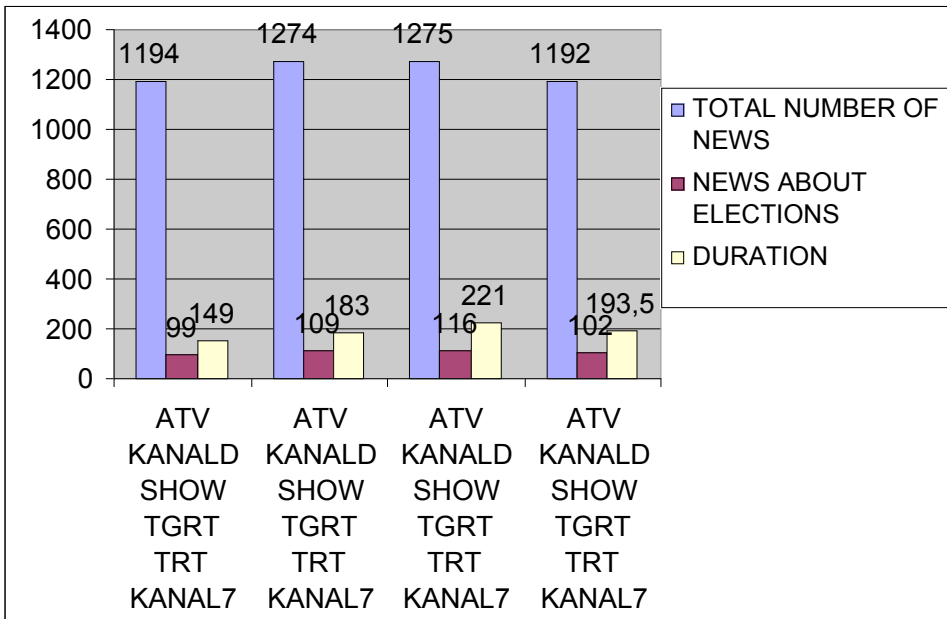
As we examine from the graph, on the pie Kanal D is the most popular main channel among Turkish audience. The second one is Show TV and ATV follows them as the third channell.The less watched channels are TRT and Kanal 7; however TRT is the one and only national channel supported by the state and Kanal 7 is popular for its special broadcasting supported by the conservative and the religious community.

6.3.MEDIA ATTITUDE ON POLITICAL PARTIES

According to the research that had been done on six main tv channels watched by Turkish audience starting from march 1st to march 27th (till to the election date) the total results are stated like the graph below.

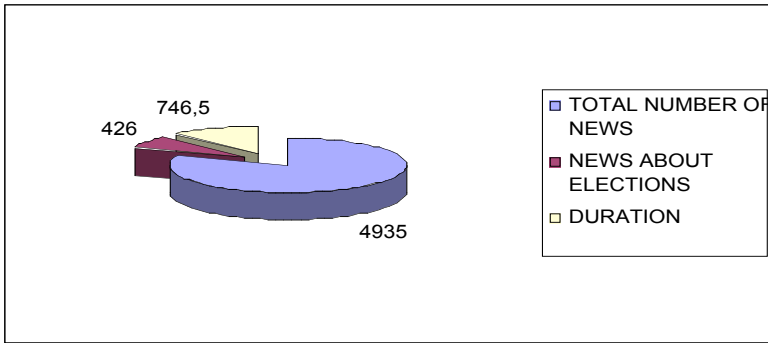
²⁵ Total numbers were taken from www.medyatava.com and www.superpoligon.com.

Table 6.3.1



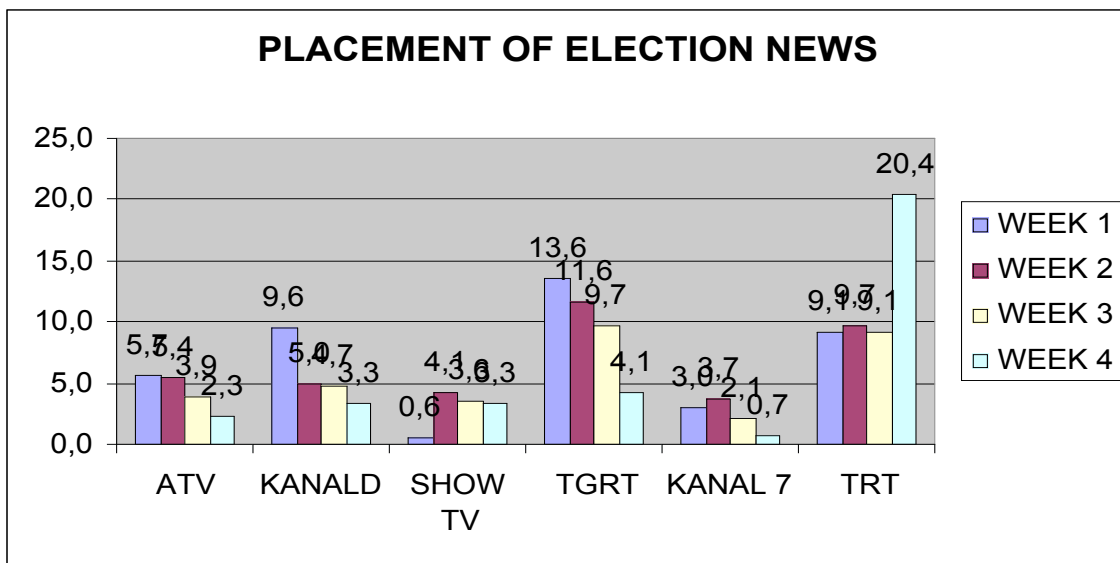
The total duration for prime time news is approximately not more than one hour (60 minutes) per channell which makes seven hour for week (420 minutes) and 28 hours for month (1680 minutes).We had 4935 news for a month and 426 of them is about the news about the elections and the duration for it is 746,5 minutes.When we look at Table1, the first week news about elections are 99 as total having the duration of 149 minutes. Average duration is approximately 1,5 minutes. When we compare this duration results to other news durations, it is fair enough at all. The average duration for a single news is 50 seconds so duration for election news is above the avarage. For the second week among 1274 news we have 109 election news having the duration of 183 minutes which makes 1,6 minutes.The third week has 116 election news with 221 minutes duration and this have 1,9 makes minutes average. The final week before the elections our numbers are 102 news and 193,5 minutes duration. That makes 1,8 minutes average. According to the results there is an increasing tendebcy about the durations of news about elections except the final week . The reason of it is the day before the elections it is forbidden to make news about politics and the elections according to Turkish laws so that there is a loss on durations. Refer to the graphic above the crucial period for media is the third one to make news about the elections. The last week is for the voters to decide the party and the candidate to vote for.

Table 6.3.1.2



If we look at the placement of election news the results are stated below at Table 6.3.1.3 .

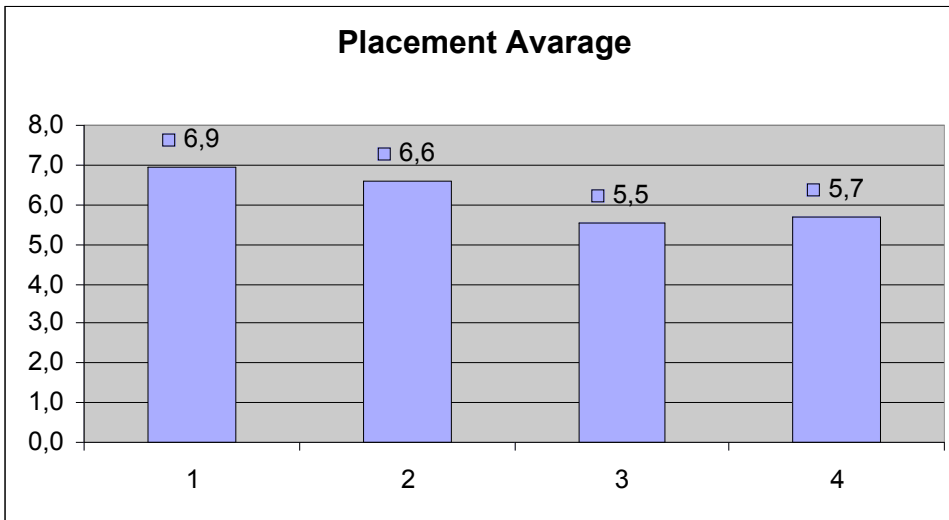
Table 6.3.1.3



As it's seen above, the first week the main channels such as Kanal D uses election news reversed increasing method. That is to say the channel gives the news as an average of 9,6 on first week and 3,3 for the final week. Show TV did just the opposite of Kanal D in which 0,6 for first week, 3,3 for the final week. Kanal 7, TGRT and ATV are similar to Kanal D. The position of TRT is totally different to others when we compare the results. The reason of it will be discussed in TRT analysis.

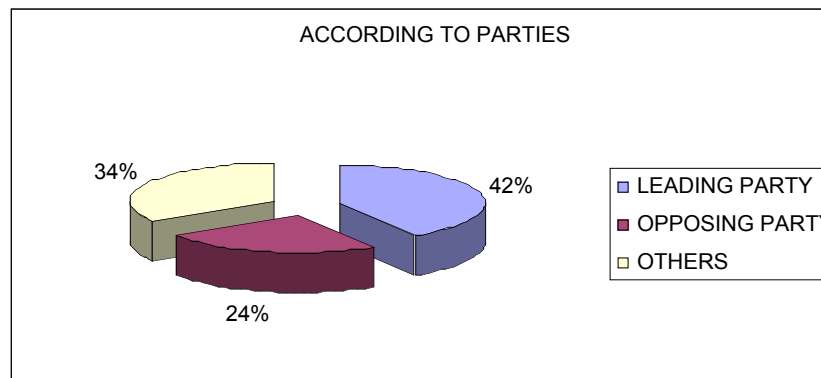
As a general analysis we have to look at Table 6.3.1.4 to find out the placement average among the channels that had been examined in our research. In general channels prefer giving the election news in between 1-10 news order. The best position of election news is on the third week as general view.

Table 6.3.1.4



One of the crucial items about the election news is also about the parties that had taken place in all. As we see on Table 5, according to parties, the leading party, Justice and Development Party (AKP) has taken 42% from the pie, the opposing party, Republican's People Party (CHP) has taken 24% from the pie. The others had 34% as total.

Table 6.3.1.5



6.4. ANALYSIS OF MAIN CHANNELLS

TV broadcasts under the name TRT started broadcasting in 1964. TRT held a monopoly of radio and TV broadcasts in Turkey until 1990 when private radio and TV stations were created. In addition to TRT, 16 national, 14 regional and 294 local TV channels are at present in operation. In this research we observed six biggest tv chnnels of Turkey including TRT to fnd out the impact of media on voters. As its known that the power of media and its huge network on the audience we chose those channels. First of all, we're starting from TRT which is the one and only public channel supported by the state.

6.4.1. TRT

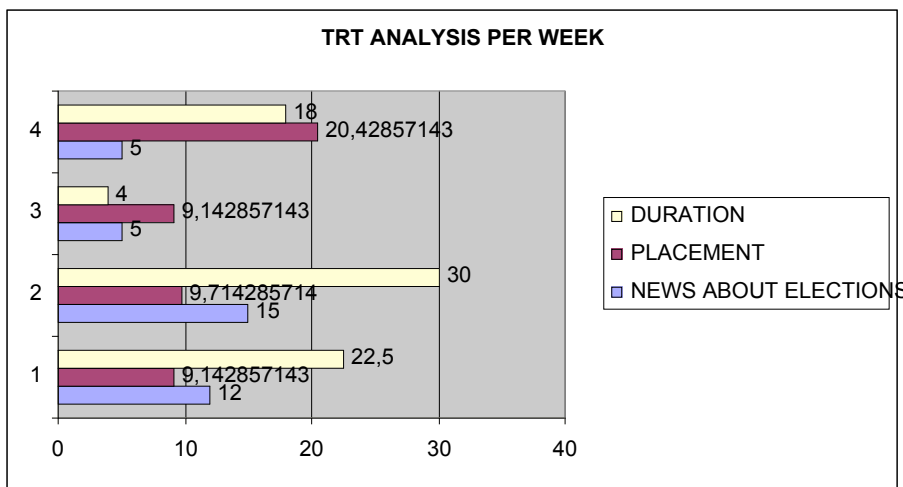
The TRT is the only public broadcasting organisation. It was established by the Turkish Radio and Television Law of 1983²⁶. This Law sets out the mandate, the mission, the basic principles and the administrative organisation of the TRT. Due to Turkey's geographic position between Europe and Asia, TRT is an active and founding member of both ABU and EBU.

Article 5 of the TRT Law concerns the general principles of broadcasting, in concordance with the Constitution and the Law no. 3984. The most significant principles of the TRT broadcasts are: to uphold to the ethics of journalism, to combat violence and pornography on the screen and to balance freedom of information and respect of privacy.

On its seven channels TRT-Television broadcasts 785 hours of programming per week and reaches its viewers through 5031 transmitters (198 main transmitters and 4833 transponders).²⁷.

TRT's strategy for the elections is stated below with the help of the graphics.

Table 6.4.1.1



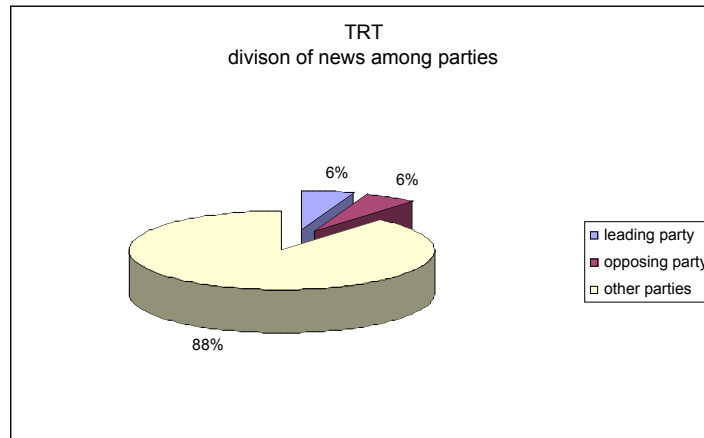
When we analyze the weekly broadcasting of TRT news we find out that TRT prefers to give election news at rank 12 as total in first week, 15 in second week, 5 in third week and 5 in final week. In first week TRT did special package news bout elections and give them on last ranks, starting from the ruling party and the others. In that case the meanng of ruling party is the party who got he most voting percentage from the previous election and go on like the second , third...

²⁶ Serim, Ömer, 2007, Türk Televizyon Tarihi, Epsilon Yayınları, p.43

²⁷ www.trt.net.tr

Starting from the second week TRT did separate news for the parties but always give time for every single political party. We can prove this by looking at Table 6.4.1.2.

Table 6.4.1.2



When we analyze the division of news among parties we find out that TRT did a fair division like 6% for the ruling party (AKP) and 6% for the opposing party (CHP). The other parties had 88% as general.

6.4.2. KANAL D

The monopoly of the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) on broadcasts stipulated in the Constitution ended after 1990 with many radio stations and television channels beginning to broadcast at home and abroad.

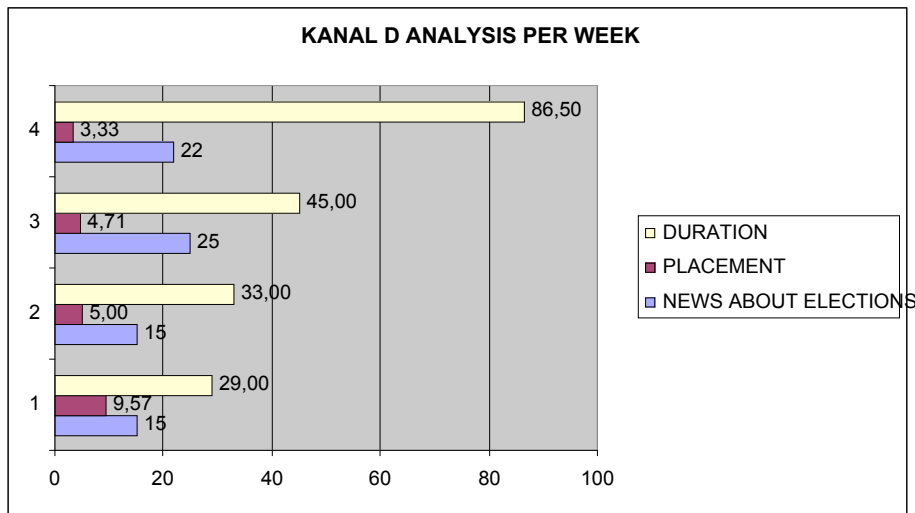
The tv channels are stated as it follows: Turkish TV, FOX, STAR TV, CINE-5, NTV, KANAL 6, SHOW TV, KANAL A, TRT1, TRT 2, TRT 3, TRT 4, TRT INT, KANAL 7, EY TV, SAMANYOLU, CNBC-e, NUMBER ONE, HABER TURK, OLAY TV, SKY TURK, CNN TURK, DISCOVERY CHANNEL, DREAM, TV 8, ATV, NR+, KANALTURK, EXPO CHANNEL, FB TV, TGRT HABER, POWER TURK, KANAL1.

Star1, the first private television channel in Turkey, started broadcasting from abroad in 1990 and later, after a change in management, it continued its broadcasts with the name of Interstar. Show TV started broadcasting in 1992 and initially attracted interest with its short news programs. ATV which is the television channel of the Sabah Newspaper Group, started broadcasting in 1993.

Kanal D of the Doğan Group and TGRT of the İhlas Group also started broadcasting in the same year²⁸.

Now we're going to examine the six biggest channels according to the ratings, starting from Kanal D.

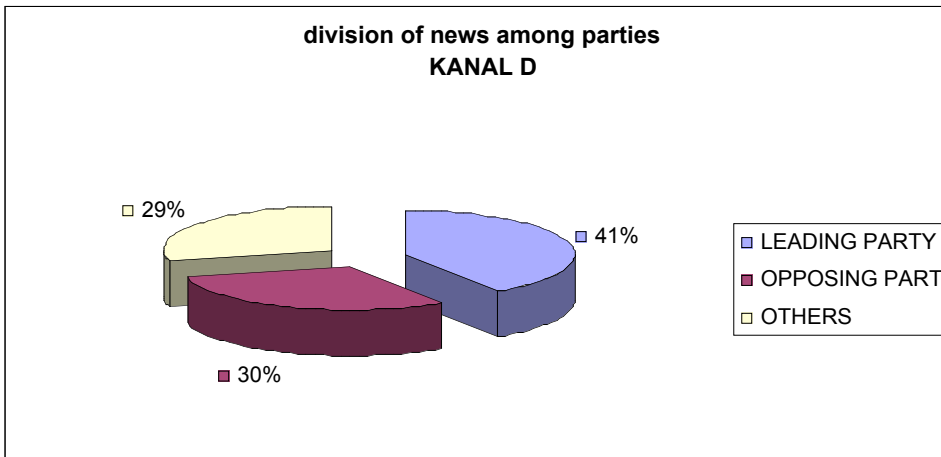
Table 6.4.2.1



According to the analysis we made about Kanal D we find out the results graphed above in the name of **Table 6.4.2.1**. With respect to the graph the weekly results are stated. In the first week news about elections are numbered as 15, the second week 15, third week 25 and the final week is 22. The most effective week is the third week. When we examine the placement of the election news we see an inversely increasing scale according to weeks. The first week is the most effective week for the election news with the rank 9,57. Finally we're observing the durations of Kanal D. The channel gave 29 minutes per week minimum for election news which is also more than time that TRT gave for the parties which is 30 at all. The last week for Kanal D we have interesting results such as the last week's duration which is 86,5 minutes total (the highest among all channels). The reason of it is there are live guests on last week talking about the elections covering the candidates and the specialists.

²⁸ <http://www.enjoyturkey.com/info/culture/Media.htm>

Table 6.4.2

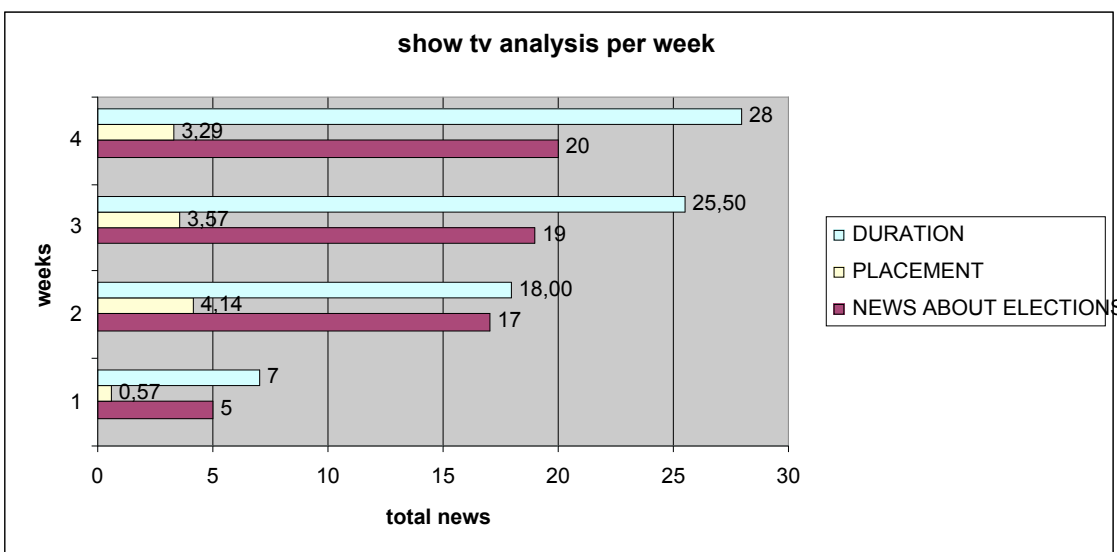


Another point for the observation of Kanal D is the division of election news among the parties. We see on **Table 6.4.2.2** that Kanal D gave the importance to the leading party (AKP) in the percentage of 41 which is a high result than the other parties. The opposing party had 29% of the news and the other parties had only 30% at all.

6.4.3. SHOW TV

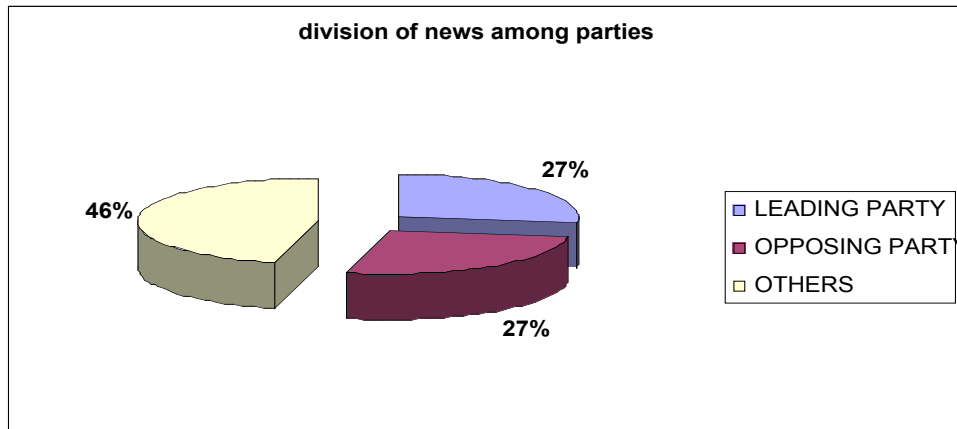
The research for Show TV is graphed below. When we observe the results we find out that the most crucial week for the election news is the last as for durations and the news about elections. The other weeks show a decreasing scale. As for the placements the most important week is the second week having an average of 4,14. The first week is the lowest for all cases.

Table 6.4.3.1



When we look at the division of news among parties Show TV gave 27% of election news to the leading party (AKP) ; 27% for the opposing party (CHP) which are equal to each other. The other political parties including MHP, DYP, ANAP had the 46% at all.

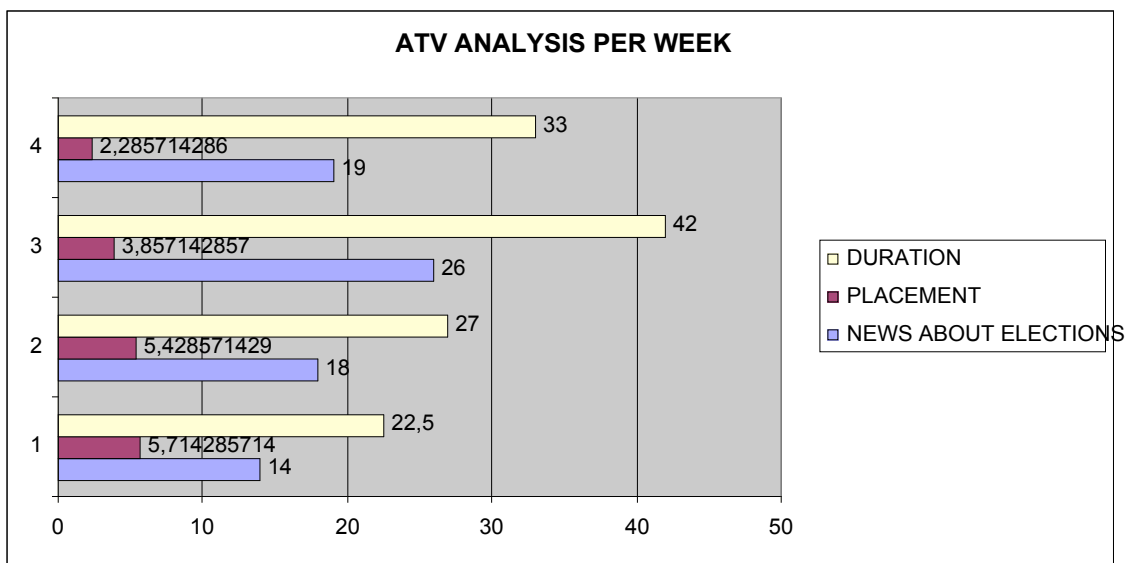
Table 6.4.3.2



6.4.4. ATV

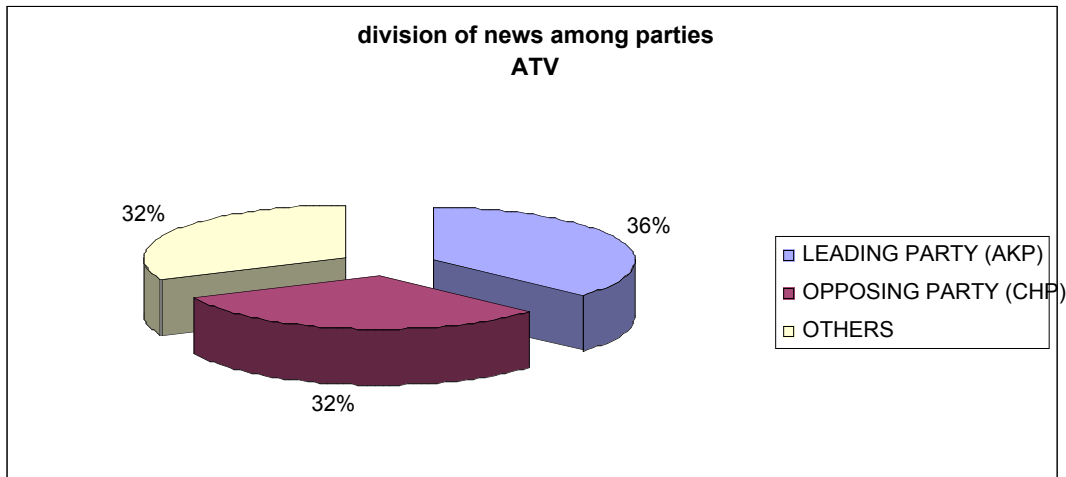
The third channel we're observing is ATV. As for the durations the most crucial week is the third one. ATV has the duration for election news of 42 minutes total. The third week is also important for the news about the elections. There are 26 news total covering the elections. As for the placement the most important week is the final week having the rang 2,2 as avarage as we see on Table 6.4.4.1.

Table 6.4.4.1



According to the graph done for the division for news among parties, ATV gave the importance to the leading party just like Kanal D. The percentage for the leading party (AKP) is 36%. The opposing party (CHP) and the other parties have both 32% which makes 64% total seen on **Table 6.4.4.2.**

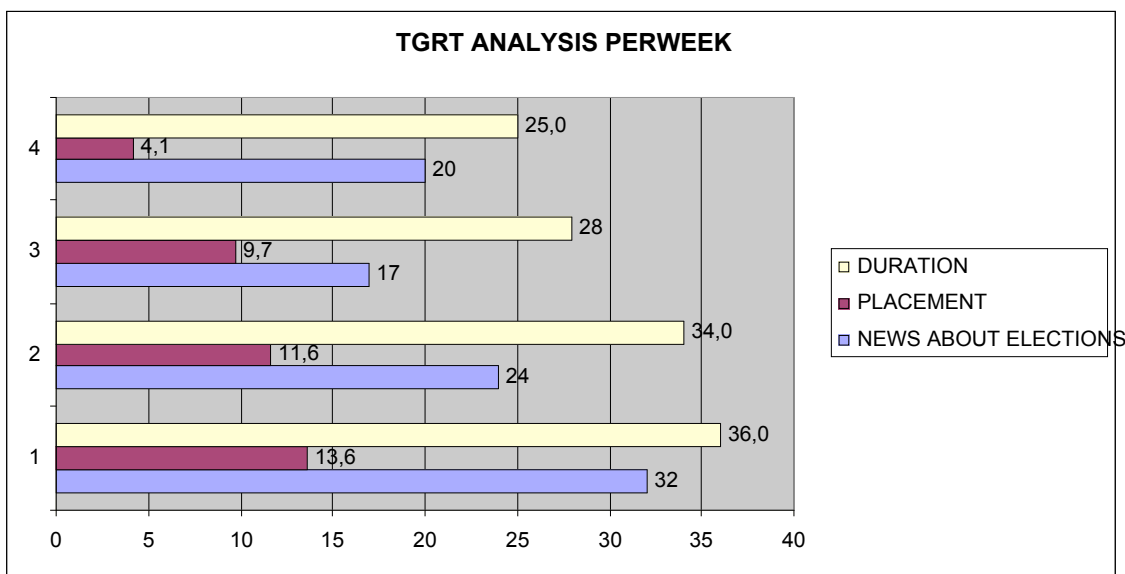
Table 6.4.4.2



6.4.5 TGRT

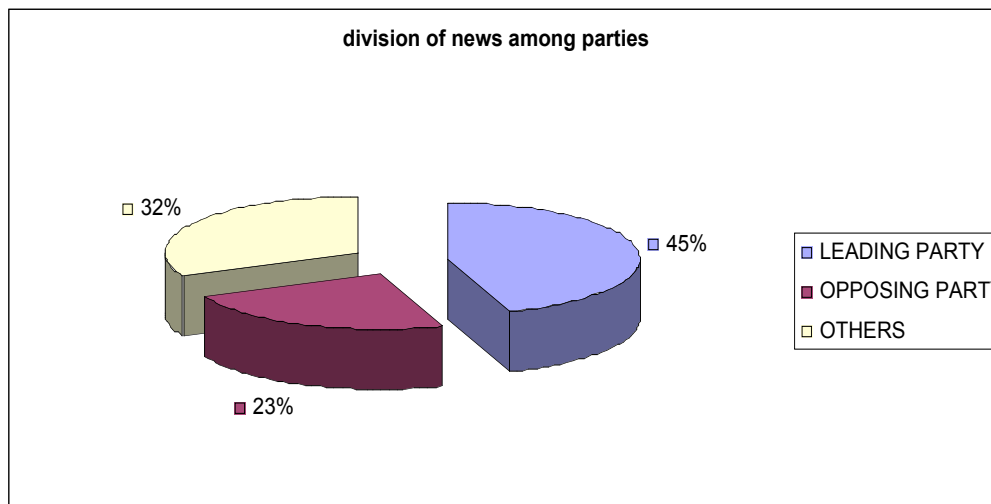
TGRT analysis is also done week by week till to the election day. When we look at the news about elections we find out that the first week had the most news which is 32 total. To contrast the first week second week is the less having the election news. As for thy durations TGRT has an conversly increasing tendancy starting from the first week to the final week. This tendancy is also same for the placement average of TGRT as its seen on **Table 6.4.5.1.**

Table 6.4.5.1



The division among parties is seen on Table 5.4.1.5.2 showing that 45% election news is about the leading party (AKP) . 23% of the news is about the opposing party and the other parties get 32% total. We see there is a dominance of leading party among others in TGRT. The leading party nearly get twice of the opposing party and one and a half times of the other parties. This is a definite hegemony of the leading party among others as it is all seen on **Table 6.4.5.2**.

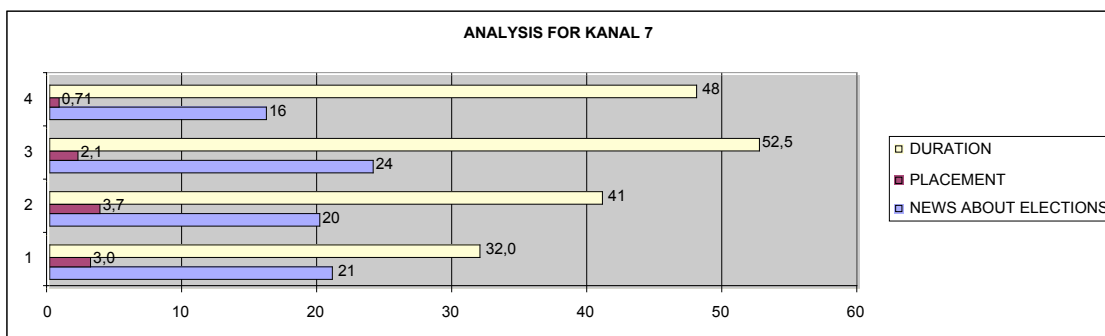
Table 6.4.5.2



6.4.6. KANAL 7

The last private channel that we're going to examine is Kanal 7. When we look at the results, as for the number of news the crucial week is the third week.

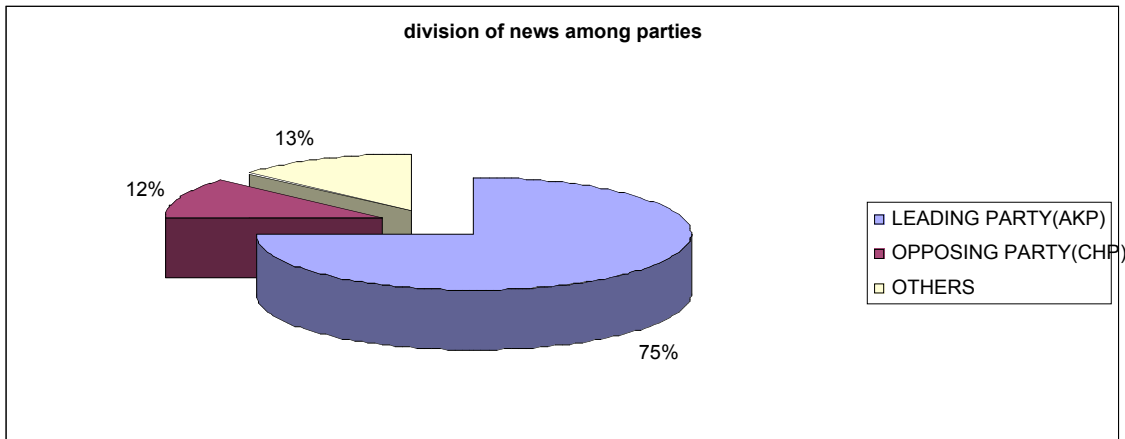
Table 6.4.6.1



As for the placements the final week has interesting results. We see that the average rank for the final week is 0,71. From that result we understand that nearly every day Kanal 7 gave election news from the first rank. The durations are also noticeable. Especially the third week has the most point which is 52,5 minutes totally. As total among the channels that we've observed Kanal 7 is the

first channel that give the most duration for the election news. As an information Kanal D is the second one.

Table 6.4.6.2



To examine our last graph about Kanal 7 we're looking at **Table 6.4.6.2** to find out the division of news among parties in Kanal 7 prime time news. According to the graph there is a huge hegemony of the leading party (AKP) among the others including the opposing party. Even the sum of all is 1/3 of the leading party. According to the results the leading party (AKP) has 75% of the election news. That means AKP news has 130 minutes of the total duration (173,5 minutes)

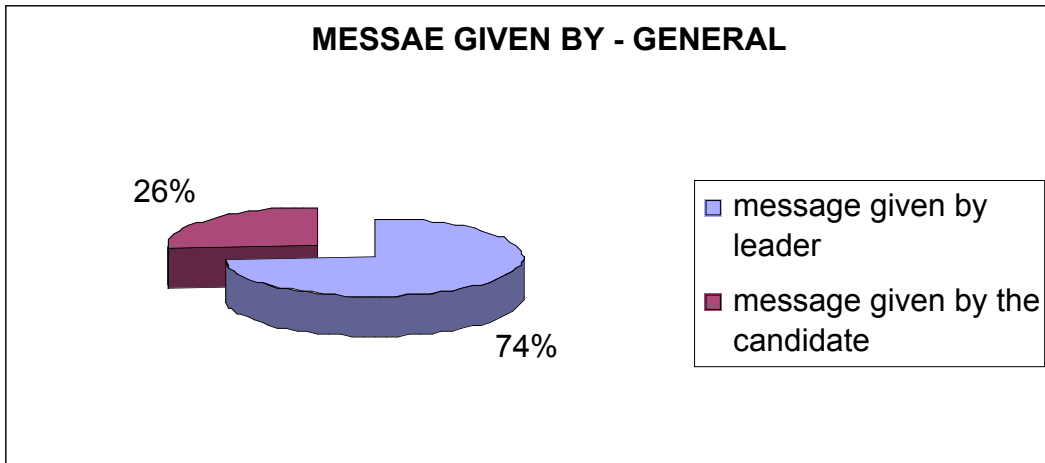
6.5. MEDIA ATTITUDE ON CANDIDATES

As it has been said above media has a crucial role in agenda setting and during the election campaign period, media acts its role set its agenda based on elections. On the campaign period it is also crucial for politicians, party leaders and even for candidates that to appear on screen especially in prime time news and special tv programmes based on politics. The reason of it is as for propaganda weapon tv becomes very important promoter for the parties and for advertising their ideologies or way of their solutions for the problems²⁹. In order to be part of the agenda is to be the part media agenda so that parties also fight to be part of screen instead of supporting themselves in meeting areas. The reason of it is that they reach at maximum 50.000 people face to face in meeting areas, whereas on tv they may reach at around 70 million according the channel they appear. Also as for the audience case tv gives the news live on screen and in fastest way than

²⁹ Bektaş, Arsev, Siyasal Propaganda, 2002, Bağlam Yayınları, İstanbul, p.111

the radio and newspapers. As a formative communication tool television has the role of speed determininig, being magnetising and promoting³⁰. Despite of its all negative effects media can have the reflection role of politics neutrally than any other communication tools. In this case we measure the tv channels, having the highest ratings among others to see how madia support candidates or give space in their news running orders for the political parties.As we see in Table 6.5.1. Turkish media gives lots of space for party leaders during the election campaign of local administration 28th March 2004 than the candidates as general.

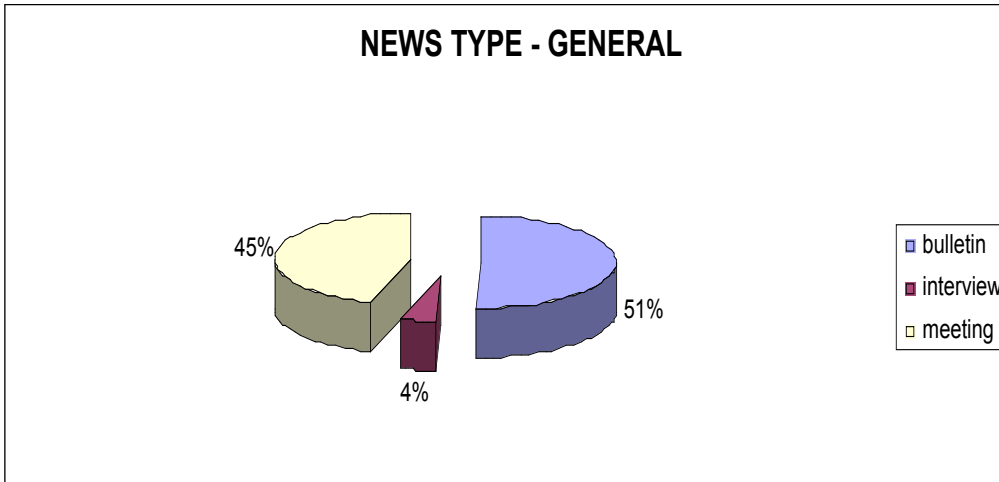
Table 6.5.1.



When we examine the news types of prime time the channels generally prefer giving bulletins covering the election campaigns rather than giving the meetings of the political leaders. Giving interviews is not so much popular in local administration elections according to the figure below (Table 6.5.2). News media prefer giving interviews in special politics programmes such as “Teke Tek” of Kanal D, “İskele Sancak” of Kanal 7 and “Seçime Doğru” of TGRT. Turkey’s only national channel TRT did not Broadcast any interview of the leaders which we will see detailed in next sections.

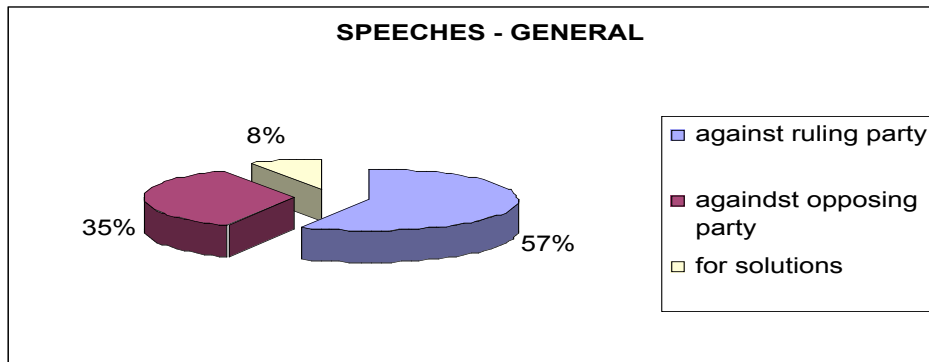
³⁰ Meyer, Thomas, Medya Demokrasisi, 2002, Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul, p.48

Table 6.5.2



According to the speeches given on TV, channels especially use the speeches against the ruling party (AKP) rather than speeches against the opposing party (CHP). Speeches for solutions are very low in number than the other types. The reason of it is mostly the speeches of party leaders appeared on tv and they blame the other leaders. They had mostly the conversations of being democrat and following the rules of the republic rather than local problems of cities.

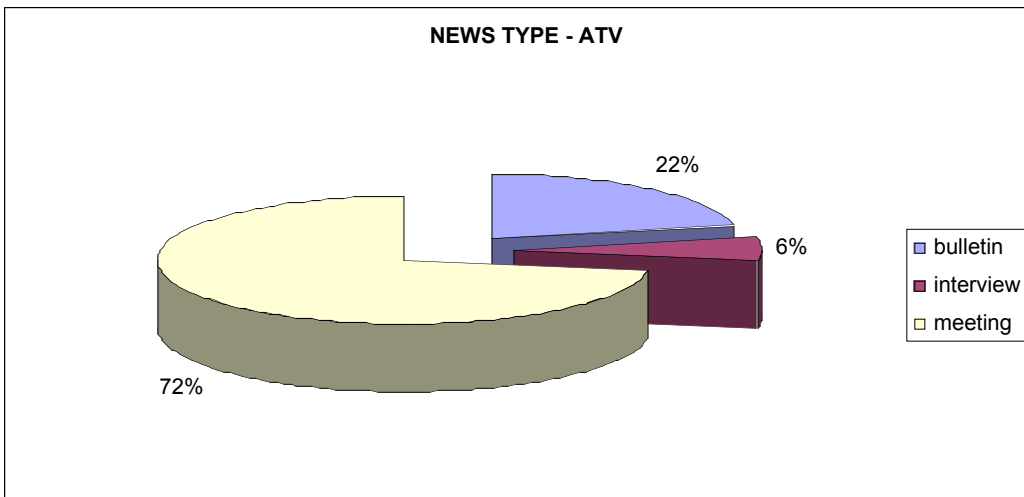
Table 6.5.3.



6.5.1.ATV

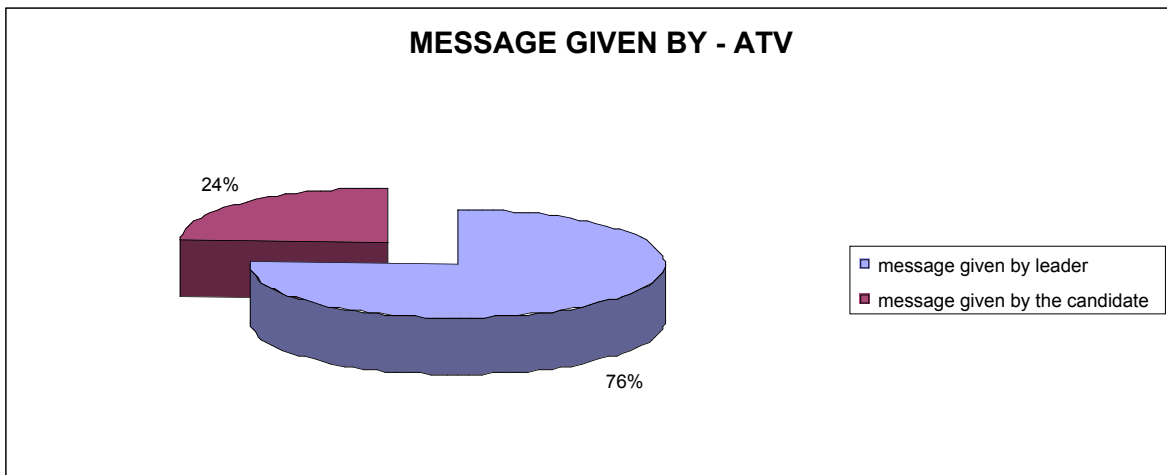
As an analysis ATV gave the the most importance on meetings than bulletins. The channel prefer broadcasting the meetings of AKP and CHP mostly. Also the news department prepared special packages about the election campaigns of the parties. ATV mostly gave the quarrels between the parites. As for interview they only had AKP candidate of İzmir and gave several interviews in news packages as we see in Table 6.5.1.1.

Table 6.5.1.1



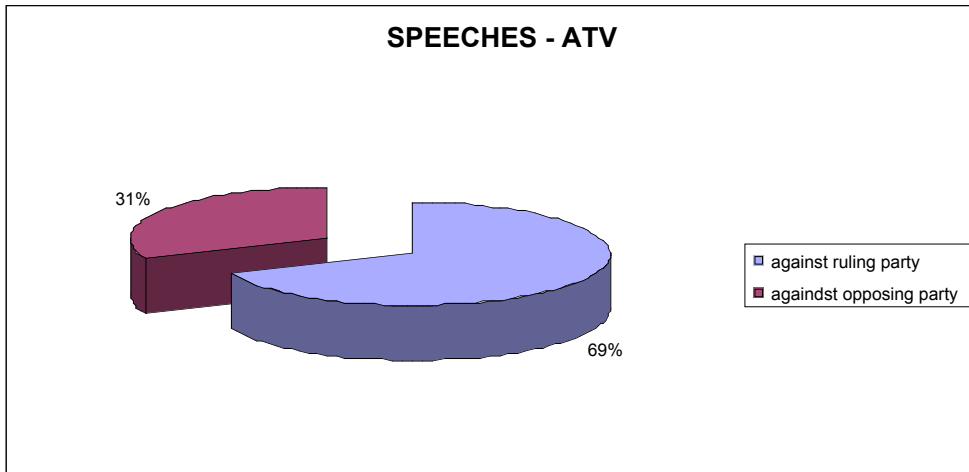
In ATV prime time news messages are mostly given by party leaders rather than the candidates. The reason of it is that the channel mostly used the meeting and the meetings always done by the party leaders as we see in Table 6.51.2.

Table 6.5.1.2



When we examine the speeches, the results are stated like Figure 5.3.1.3. The speeches especially cover the words blaming the ruling party AKP. The blaming words mostly came out from CHP covering the subjects of following the rules of republic and being secular. AKP also blames the others especially CHP about not representing the correct example of the Republic. As Turkey has many opposing parties and one ruling party the results for the speeches is twice of the ruling AKP.

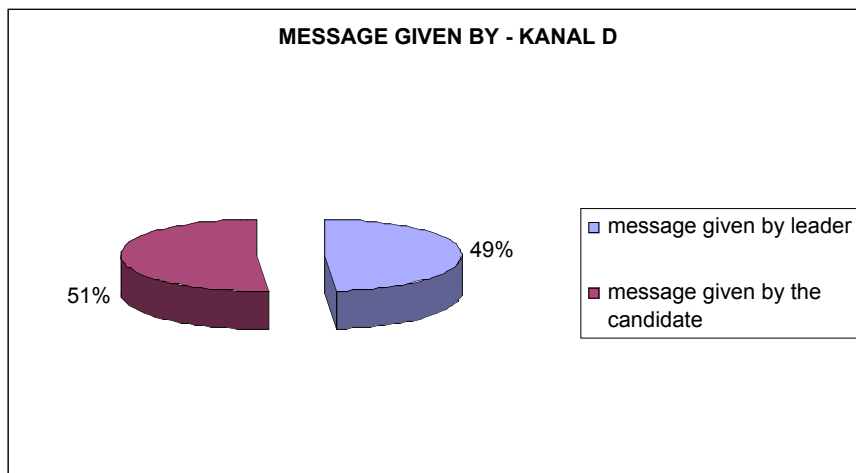
Table 6.5.1.3



6.5.2.KANAL D

The results of Kanal D is a little different from ATV. In Kanal D broadcasting we see that the messages mostly given by the candidates rather than the leaders. There are of course some reasons for these results. In Kanal D news the duration for election news is more than its counterparts except Kanal 7 so they not only gave the leaders and their meeting but also daily activities of the candidates (especially candidates from Istanbul). Especially starting from the second week Kanal D news department gave candidates' actions every day. On the other the channel did not see election news at weekends except the last weekend. We can see the general results in Table 6.5.2.1.

Table 6.5.2.1

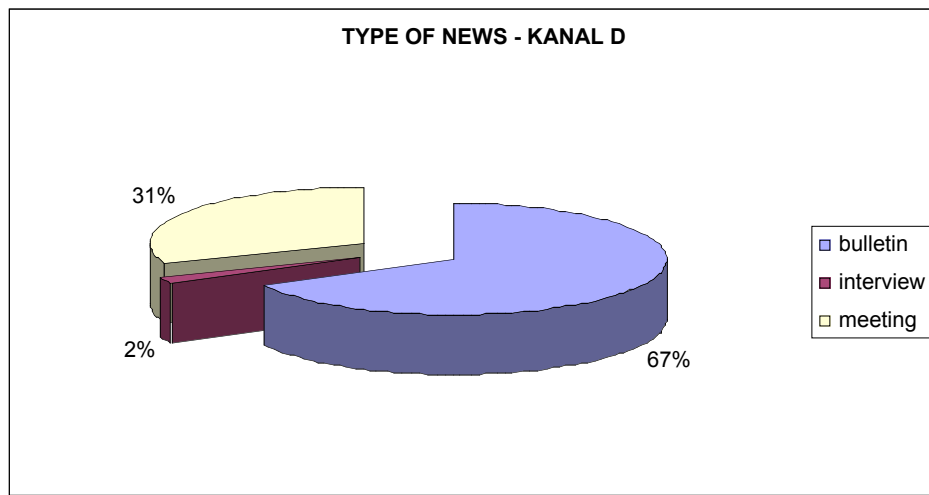


Kanal D is the only channel did interview with the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan is special political programme done by famous anchorman Fatih Altaylı in "Teke Tek". This interview is also given in new in details and with a long duration. Besides the Prime Minister, Kanal D also had a guest in prime time news who is the candidate of CHP for İstanbul – Kadıköy

Selami Öztürk. Öztürk was on screen for 10 minutes which is a succesful for a candidate on a public TV channel.

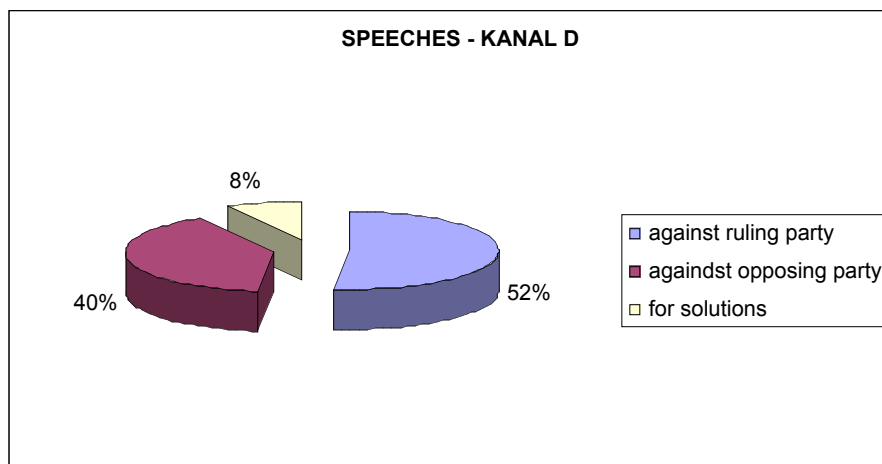
Also in Kanal D news bulletins are used more than the meetings because the channel did some packages covering the candidates and as a detail AKP candidate for Istanbul Kadir Topbas appeared nearly 20 times during the eleciton campaign. CHP candiate of Istanbul Sefa Sirmen also appeared nearly 15 times on Kanal D screen.

Table 6.5.2.2



As for the speeches Kanal D has similar results with ATV because of same reasons. Speeches mostly based on blamings on the ruling party. As contrast to ATV, Kanal D gave the news about the solutions for local administration because of having guests live on screen. Parties recommending solution is from the parties of AKP and CHP in which AKP's most crucial solution maker is the Prime Minister.

Table 6.5.2.3



6.5.3.SHOW TV

In Show TV analyses messages of March 28th Election Campaign mostly given by party leaders. The reason of it is just like similar with ATV. Both of the channels use meetings rather than using bulletins. Show TV news department does not follow the actions of candidates like Kanal D as we see in Table 6.5.3.1 and Table 6.5.3.2

Table 6.5.3.1

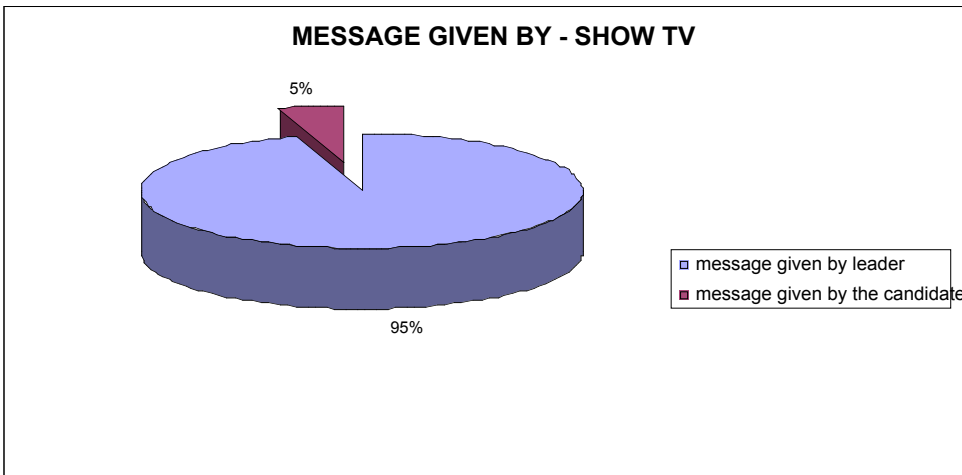
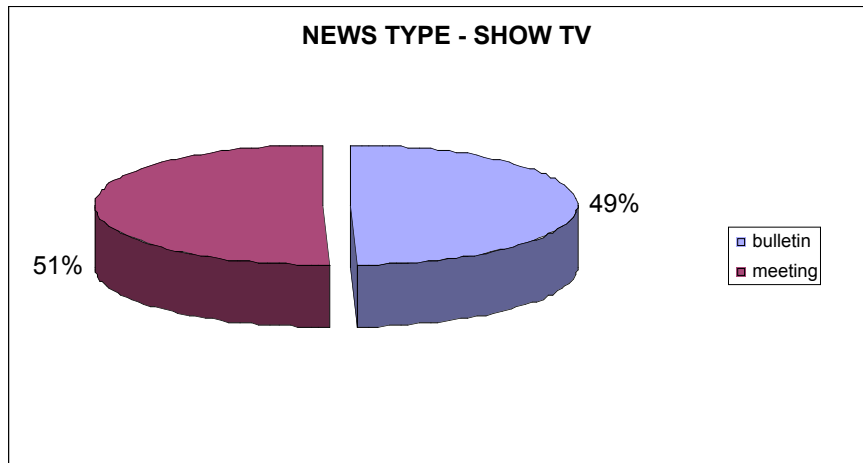
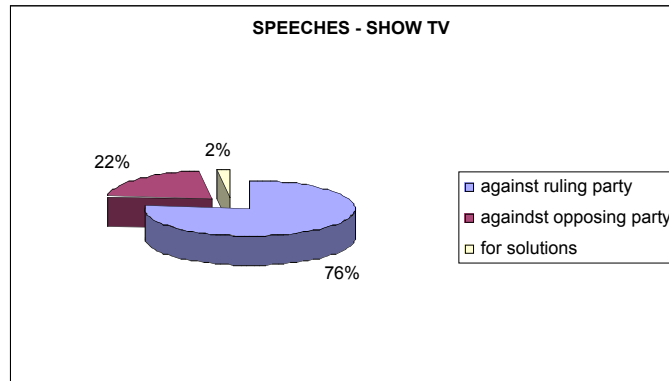


Table 6.5.3.2



According to Show TV results speeches are mostly against the ruling party like in other channels and suggesting solutions by leaders and candidates are very low in numbers which is only 2% of all results as we see in Table 6.5.3.3.

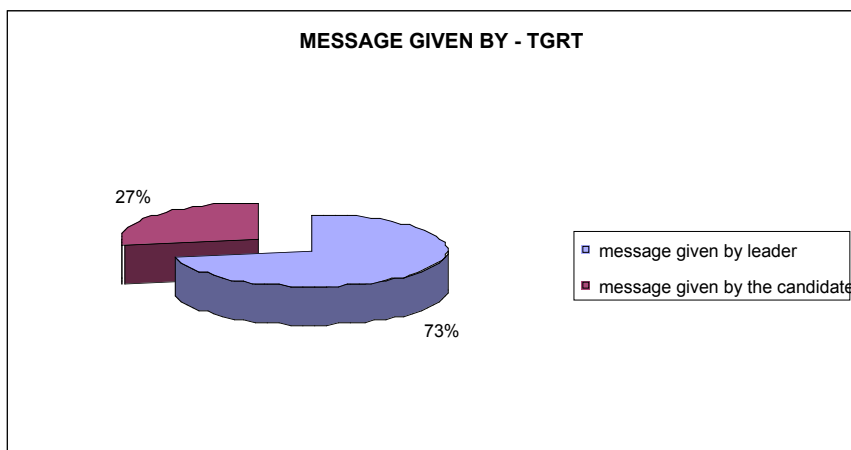
Table 6.5.3.3



6.5.4.TGRT

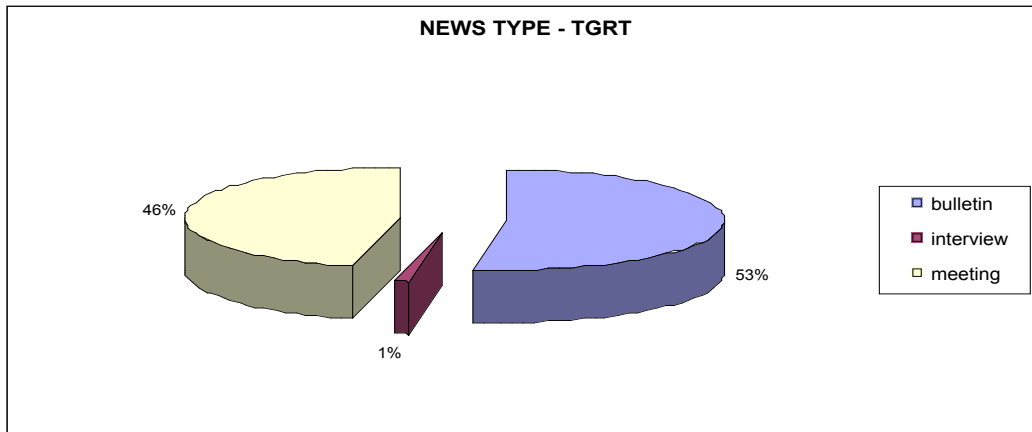
In TGRT news , the channel prefer preparing special news packages covering the parties and especially broadcast them at the end of the news report till the third week of campaigning period.Starting from the third week channel uses eleciton news in regular running order and gives the election news in first ranks of the whole report. As for the messages TGRT mostly used the ones given by the leaders. The leaders are mostly from CHP and AKP. The remainig parites are not used so much except MHP and DYP. In this case we can claim that these four parties did most meetings and appear most on TV. The messages given by the candidates are in 27% ofn all results of TGRT in which the candiates are mostly from AKP.

Table 6.5.4.1



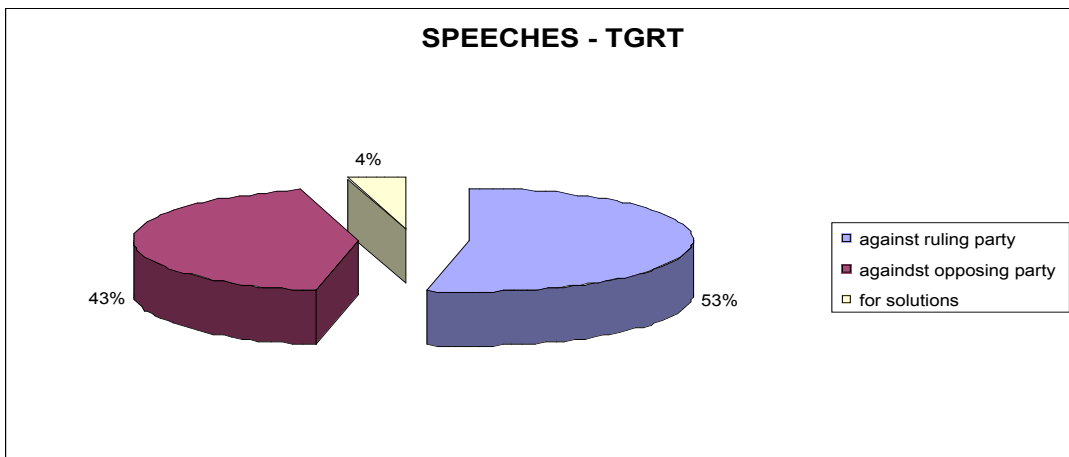
As for the news types we see that the lowest number is belonging to the interview section . There is only one interview belonging to TGRT news is about AKP and the party’s candidate of Ankara – Etimesgut. TGRT mostly gave the eleciton news in bulletins rather than the meetings as an oppose to Show TV as its seen in Table 6.5.4.2.

Table 6.5.4.2



The more candidate appear on TV the more solution can be viewed by the audience. As we had seen in Kanal D section there are more solutions than the other channels. The other channels used candidates less than the leaders so this is reflecting to our result as numbers seen in figures. In TGRT news speeches mostly done against ruling party rather than the opposing party. However, speeches against the opposing party is not low in percentage despite of being one party toward many.

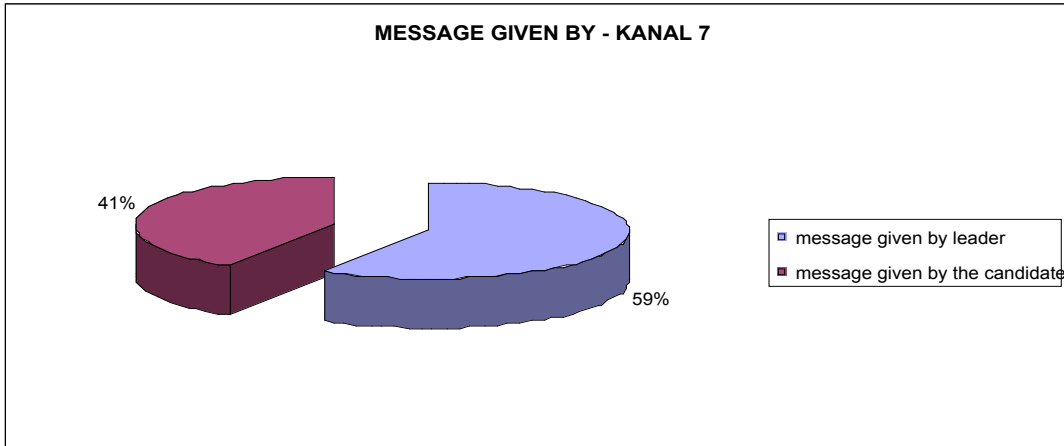
Table 6.5.4.3



6.5.5.KANAL 7

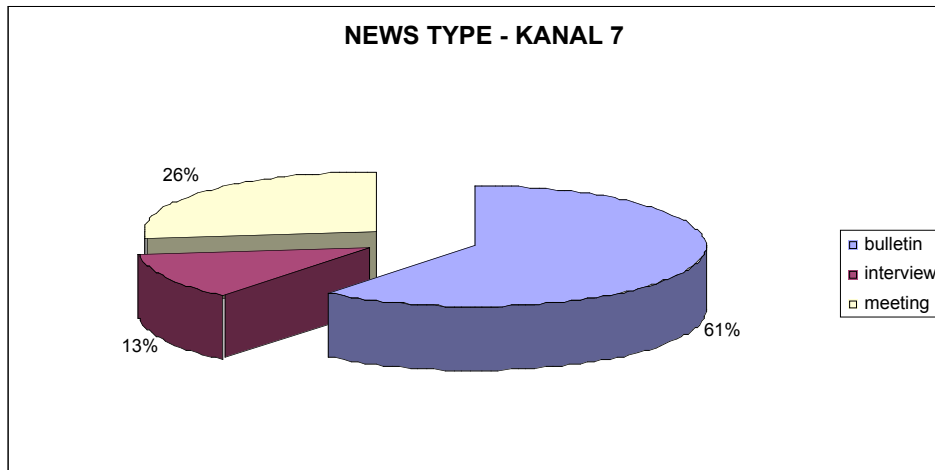
Kanal 7 is the channel that gives most space for the candidates. 41% of the message is given by the candidates. There 13 politicians appear on Kanal 7 screen in which 11 of them belong to ruling AKP. Also in news packages the channel transmit candidate's actions to audience as we see in Table 6.5.5.1.

Table 6.5.5.1



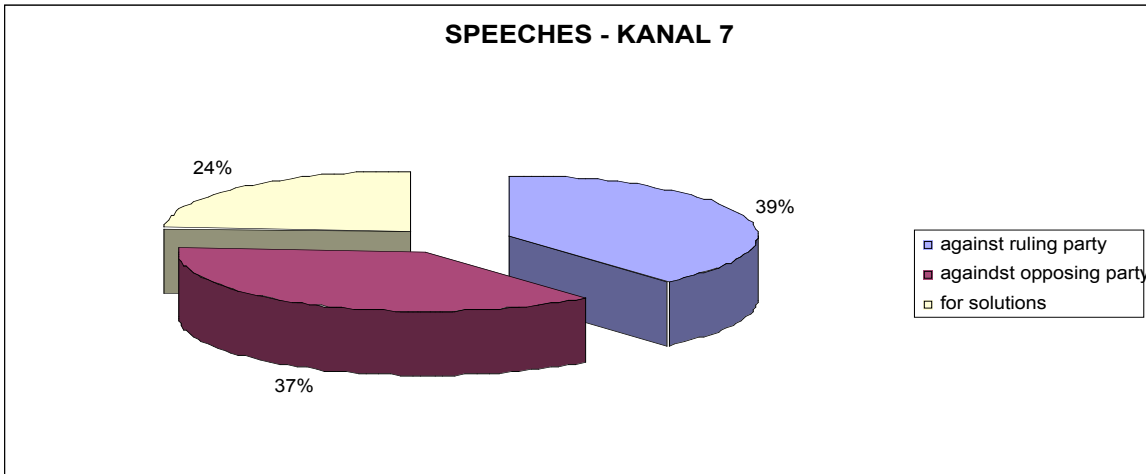
For the news types Kanal 7 uses bulletins more than the meetings just like Kanal D. 26% of the interviews are mostly belong to AKP candidates and the other interviews were done with Murat Karayalçın and Masum Türker. Meetings took part in 26% as we see in Table 6.5.5.2. As a detail Kanal 7 is the first channel having the most duration for election news.

Table 6.5.5.2



Also Kanal 7 is the first channel at rank that gives most space for the speeches covering solutions for local administration concept. When we compare the speeches against ruling and opposing parties we see close numbers despite the other channels. To refer the results we can say that Kanal 7 is close to the ruling party.

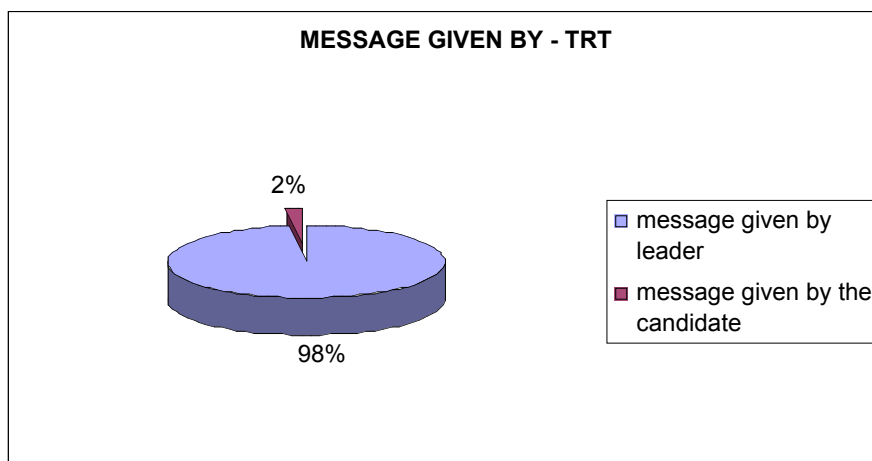
Table 6.5.5.3



6.5.6. TRT

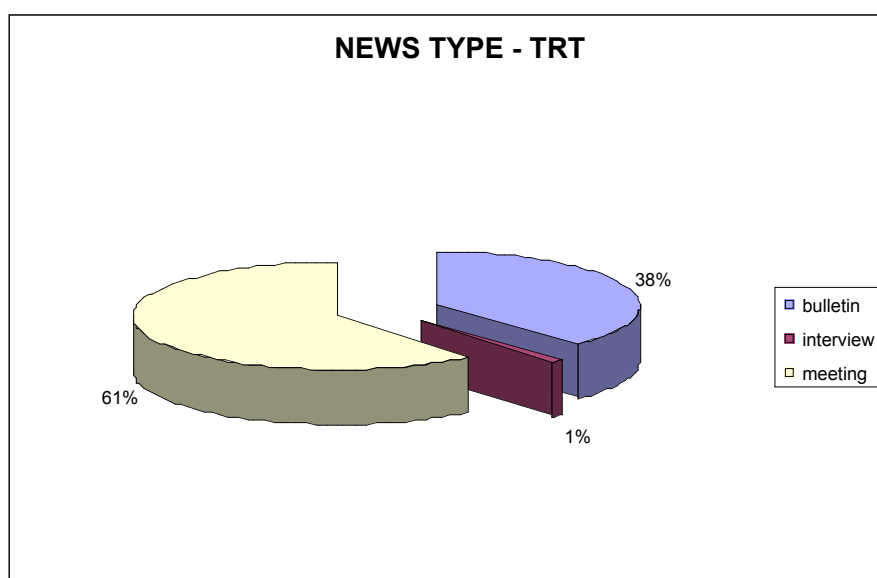
As for being the unique national TV of Turkey TRT gave equal chances for every party as we've seen in previous sections. In this section TRT does change its attitude and gave again equal chances for every single party. During the election campaign period TRT prepared special VTR packages about the parties just like TGRT and broadcasted them at the end of the evening news report. As a contrast to TGRT, TRT gave not only four parties but also 12 of them covering the small ones in voting ranks. Also as being equal to all political parties TRT mostly gave reports about the party leaders rather than the candiadates. Only candiate news is about the ones in Adana and it is mostly covering the voters rather than the candidates. Detailed information can be seen in Table 6.5.6.1.

Table 6.5.6.1



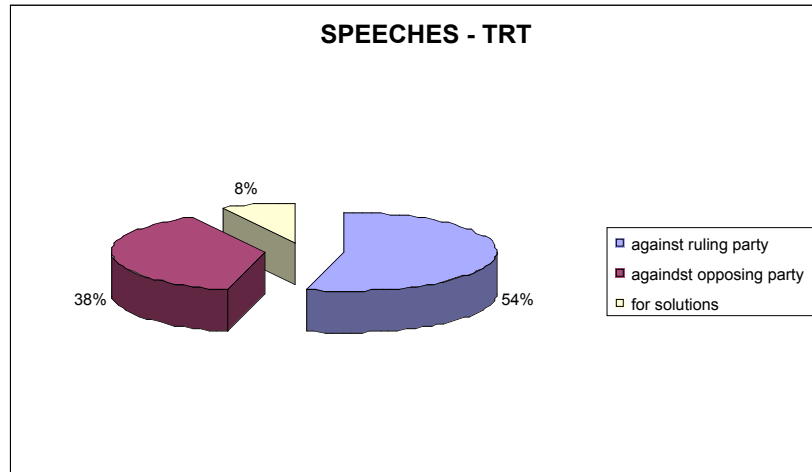
As for the news types TRT used mostly meetings rather than the bulletins just like ATV and Show TV. In meetings leaders are trying to affect voters by attractive sentences on blaming words towards others. However in bulletins also the anchors have chance to say something even for promoting or being neutral. It depends to the policy of the channel. In addition to that when we add the fact of interviews of having the leaders or candidates as guest, making commands on politics is inevitable. By considering all fact broadcasting meeting is the easiest way to be neutral on election campaigns.

Table 6.5.6.2



TRT gave the speeches mostly against the ruling party just like the other channels. However, again just like the other channels speeches against the opposing party is not so much less than the results of speeches against ruling party. Speeches for solution is again in low percentages as we seen in Table 6.5.6.3.

Table 6.5.6.3



6.6.MEDIA’S MANIPULATION ON INDIVIDUALS

In 2000’s election campaigns political parties and the advertisement agencies work in harmoniously and establish a great hegemony on voters during the election period. In that case the main supporter for this power is the media. With respect to the case propaganda become much more crucial and determined according to the needs of the mass media.

Especially the improvement of television political elections makes tv the battle field of the political parties and forms television elections (Kalender 2000:92). According to the changing of political propaganda actions the importance alters its direction to the candidate. Powers using the mass communication try to make their agenda setting and avoid the criticisms of their rivals. In short mass media is used as the biggest power using the election period.

The effect of mass media is changable according to voters with respect to their education, gender, age and whole conciousness.³¹

Political porpaganda via mass communiation has two important results. First, it can’t make deep-rooted changes on voters and fulfilled existing political behaviours that the voters have. Second, affect the unstable voters for the promoted party. To conclude mass media has a great role on political propaganda in many aspects. Even it is the most crucial item for politics. The reason of it is that, all actions done in politics and the information about the politicians is transmitted the public via mass media and this effects the political elections’ results.

³¹ <http://kutuphane.mku.edu.tr/tez/T301.pdf>

Improvement of technology excite the expansive use of media with convincing and transmitting power start affecting broadly the community. The more effect of media is accuraled with respect to need or expectations of the groups that owns or manipulates the media. Because of the reason media sometimes distort the reality or have a power to do it according to its own aspect.

The media which controls our lives in consructing our opinions becomes vastly important. People spend more time for tv and less communicate with people around.The synthetic world that media create for us makes a confusion between the real world and its virtual copy. For instance in between 1950 – 1980 media used especially blond women on TV and people believed that blonde women are more attractive than the others because they see blond women more than the others. This resulted in use of more cosmetics for to be blond. This shows how media is manipulating our lives.³²

When we examine the voter behaviour in general we see a frisky that gives chance to be alternative ruling party. Also the political party's catch-all systems affect voter's behaviour.Voters always vote for the reasonable ones but who or what determine the reasonable is a big question mark.³³

It may not be fair to blame voters but even in Turkey, the community vote for the failed governments or politicians to lead again. Also voters sometimes induced to elect the ones never known before, by the power of media.³⁴

However; parties which act with richness of creating slogans does not work during governing will fail in elections. This cause confuse on voters in the new election period while watching new slogans from the party leaders. Voters like parties and candidates who act loyally before and after the election so that the slogans should be chosen carefully and words must attract the voters. In this position the role of media and the advertising agencies occurs. Advertising agencies create the slogans and media transmit these to audience.The success of slogans measured by the votes gained by the political party after the elections.³⁵

³² <http://sosyalbilimler.cu.edu.tr/tezler/910.pdf>

³³ GENÇKAYA, Ömer Faruk, Devletleşen Partiler- Türkiye'de Siyasi Partilerin Başlıca Gelir Kaynakları 1983-1998, Anadolu Stratejik Araştırmalar Vakfı, Ankara-2002, s.45

³⁴ ibid s.45

³⁵ ÖZKAN, Necati, Seçim Kazandıran Kampanyalar, Media Cat, 2. Baskı, İstanbul –2004, s.13

From this point we reach to a result that the party who invest more on advertising agencies and image makers in correct approaches win the elections. This is how a campaign works. Especially in the countries that have parties with similar ideologies image making is inevitably needed.³⁶

In Turkey political act in a way like blaming the others and support their ideas on that blaming. If the community does not support one party's opinion the other party becomes the enemy of that party. This is an easy way for the parties instead of establishing new projects and a proper party programme³⁷.

Nearly in all countries politicians have important resources in the struggle to control news content. Most importantly, they determine, in both a positive and negative sense, the day-to-day content of campaigns. On one hand, they take actions and stage events that promote their campaign agenda and that, with the advice of their media advisors, are often so compelling that reporters feel obliged to report them as news. On the other hand, they attempt to avoid situations, such as news conferences, that make it difficult for them to control the kind of news that gets made³⁸.

The point in this thesis is that the importance of media and its effects on individuals. Of course politicians use mass media to reach the public but how and in that case media ownership also crucial. All of the American broadcast media, and most of the print media as well, are owned primarily by wealthy individuals. Direct ties to the biggest of big businesses are almost unbelievably extensive and these ties cannot help but seriously bias and compromise news coverage. Moreover, the media empires are, first and foremost, profit-making corporations that conduct themselves like other corporations when it comes to corrupting American politics. That is, the parent corporations of many make so-called "campaign contributions" and also act against the public interest in other ways. As big winners in the corruption game, they show no signs of serious interest in political reform³⁹. Questions surrounding who owns the media, and how much of it they are allowed to own are important. Decisions about whether and how to regulate ownership of the media call for reflection on what the consequences of concentrated media ownership might be, and for whom. Fundamental political questions arise as to whose interests a policy in this area ought to favour, and which regulatory design will best serve those interests⁴⁰. While looking from this point

³⁶ Kempf, Udo, Sağlam, Fazıl, Özbudun, Ergun, Türkiye ve Avrupa'da Siyasi Partiler Kanunu ve Seçim Yasası, Konrad Adenauer Vakfı, Ankara, 2002, s.26

³⁷ ADIVAR, Galip, Politika ve Demokrasi, Yeni Türkiye Dergisi, Sayı:17, Ankara-1997, s.120

³⁸ <http://www.polisci.ucla.edu/faculty/zaller/media%20politics%20book%20.pdf>

³⁹ http://www.progressiveliving.org/mass_media_and_politics.htm

⁴⁰ Doyle, Gillian, Media Ownership, Sage Publications, London, p.171

we have to examine media in a different way because of its supporting groups and manipulation of media on the audience. The question is “Does the media neutral on issues?”

Actually media is interested not only politicians but also the numbers. I mean the media approach to elections as race between teams. For example in 1996 US presidential election campaign the media concentrated not on the issues but on the horse race aspect of the contest: who was leading in the polls and by how much. Within hours after the conclusions of the two presidential debates between Bill Clinton and Bob Dole, the polls were out indicating who had won in the nationally televised sessions. Clinton had led Dole by a margin of 51% to 40% among among likely voters who said they would watch the debate. But did the voters really care about this? The media thought so⁴¹. After the results media gave the results and this is a direct manipulation on voters. There is no need to make any comments because the results are showing all that is happening. Also in Turkey before one week (19th March) from the Election Day, very popular research company KONDA predicted results of elections in which a position of AKP leading, all of the public affected by this news. All media use this news, politicians’ opinions about the results and manipulate the community. If there is not any media none of predictions would be known by the public. By this way the media not only change the agenda but also determine it.

6.7. POWER OF MEDIA IN DETERMINING THE AGENDA

The model which was promoted by Mc Combs in 1970’s formed a new phenomena called agenda. It depends on the decision of mass media transmitting the information to public and by this way form a new agenda. According to this model media make a list of news and numbered them according to their importance and determine the agenda of public and public’s opinions. In this form the main role belong to gate keepers. Role of the gate keeper is transmitting the information that the public does want and the ones that does not want to be taken. Agenda setting is especially important for politics and used by the politicians commonly. The more importance of this model is on people who are in low profile because they do not have enough qualifications to eliminate the important news and soft ones.⁴²

It is important as a detail that the media especially television is viewed as having some type of effect on some people, although no one can be precise as to whom or what is being affected. According to barelson “ Some kind of communication on some kind of issues, brought to attention on some kind of people under some kinds of conditions, have some kind of effects.”⁴³

⁴¹ Wilson, J.R, Wilson S.L.R, Mass Media Mass Culture, McGraw-Hill, Inc1998, p.342

⁴² <http://kutuphane.mku.edu.tr/tez/T301.pdf>

⁴³ Copeland, Gary, Cartee K.S.J, Inside Political Campigns, Praeger Publications, London 1997, p.95

Media always creates myths. Like in magazines the reporters try to create new icons to take the attention of people and define the next big star promote it to consumers⁴⁴. That is in a way creating the agenda. Media create the agenda, set it and it is followed by the audience. This rule is totally the same both in magazine media and even in politics. As an example the first week during the elections media promoted the arguments between the ruling and the opposing party about the lows of republic and being secular. The final week is based on KONDA research and its effects on parties and the audience.

6.8. MEDIA ROLE AND NEUTRALITY FOR THE ELECTIONS

In US televisions the phenomena punditry came of age during the Nixon administration, when instant analysis by talking heads prompted Vice President Agnew to complain about the nattering nabobs of negativism.

Those nabobs are still at it, but they're not all negative. And an analysis of network and cable punditry after two presidential debates shows stark differences between how the Big Three broadcast networks and cable news viewed the performances.

Overall, analysts and partisan pundits in post-debate comments on NBC, ABC and CBS strongly liked John Kerry's performance: 69% of comments about how Kerry did were positive, while 31% were negative. In comparison, comments about Bush's performance were 45% positive and 55% negative.

Analysis by Fox News and CNN was more down the middle, says a study by Media Tenor, a media monitoring group, and the Center for Media and Public Affairs: 57% of comments were positive and 43% negative for Kerry; Bush: 53% positive, 47% negative.

Some observers concluded that Kerry won the first debate but that the contest between him and Bush the second time around was much closer. Taken together, the analysis of 950 comments (476 about Kerry, 474 about Bush) over the course of two debate shows on TV — broadcast and cable — backed that up. But there were strong individual exceptions.

After the first debate, ABC and CBS commentators praised Kerry's positives over his negatives by a 4-1 margin, while NBC's were more evenhanded. In the second debate, NBC and ABC analysts gave high marks to Kerry, while CBS' scored him more evenly.

⁴⁴ Radford, Benjamin, *Medya Nasıl Yanılıyor*, Güncel Yayıncılık, 2004, İstanbul, p.11

After the first debate, ABC commentators gave Bush a 3-1 negative rating, while those on NBC and CBS scored him more evenly. In the second debate, ABC's comments about Bush ran more than 2-1 positive, while NBC's ran more than 2-1 negative. Bush's negatives on CBS outweighed positives by a small margin.

On the cable side, analysts on CNN and Fox News (MSNBC was not studied) gave both Bush and Kerry a slight majority of favorable comments after the first debate. In the second debate, on Fox, both Kerry's and Bush's negatives outweighed their pluses; on CNN, remarks about Kerry ran 2-1 positive and slightly more positive than negative about Bush.

"The Big Three networks have Kerry winning both debates, but the oft-maligned cable news networks have been more balanced," center chief Robert Lichter says. "And the stereotypes against cable news don't necessarily hold. In the debates, Fox has been 'fair and balanced' and CNN has not been 'liberal'⁴⁵.

Another example can be given from the old Soviet Union, when a clique of Communist Party moguls decided who would be allowed to run for office. Those who limit the choices effectively determine the choice. Officials chosen in such elections may claim to represent the people who voted for them, but in fact true power rests with those who control access to the political arena. At first glance, contemporary American elections seem free enough. In most cases, there appear to be uniform requirements for formal ballot access so that anyone with a modicum of information and support can run for office. In reality, however, the mere fact that someone's name appears on the ballot is no guarantee that his or her candidacy will appear as a candidacy to the electorate. On Election Day, some candidates will be generally known to the voters, while others will be candidates in name only, meaningless and insignificant. The difference between the one and the other depends entirely on perceptions created and manipulated by two supposedly distinct but essentially identical factors: *media* and *money*. When it comes to so-called "paid media," their identity is undeniable. Though media pundits pretend to decry the vast importance of money in our political process, the trail of their tears leads directly to the bank⁴⁶.

6.9. EVALUATION OF ELECTION RESULTS

March 2004 local elections in Turkey have generated much uncertainty or excitement. Unlike previous ones, these local elections have not dominated the public agenda until the last few weeks.

⁴⁵ http://www.usatoday.com/life/columnist/mediamix/2004-10-10-media-mix_x.htm

⁴⁶ <http://www.renewamerica.us/columns/keyes/070509>

From the very beginning of the campaign period, it was clear to the enthusiasts of Turkish electoral politics that AKP and CHP would be the two dominant parties in the elections. What remained uncertain was the size of these parties' gains or losses relative to their vote shares in the general election of November 2002.

The much-publicized pre-election polls uniformly predicted unbelievably large gains of support for AKP, while projecting a level of support for CHP similar to its November 2002 vote share. No other party in the polls came even close to these two parties. However, these were local elections after all. Their dynamics are quite different from a general election and their results are even harder to forecast than the often unpredictable general election. Once again, all are to be forgotten for being almost completely wrong in the morning of the 29th of March. With respect to the share of votes received by the parties, the only correct prediction to be appreciated is that AKP has indeed increased, while CHP decreased, their vote shares from November 2002 to March 2004. However, AKP remained well below 50%, which we were led to believe to be handily exceeded prior to elections. On the other hand, CHP's vote share shrunk by a larger margin than expected according to most of the preelection polls.

Contrary to expectations, MHP as well as DYP received respectable shares of the vote with both parties receiving close to 10%. The pro-Islamist competitor of AKP, SP, the Union of Democratic Forces of SHP and the Kurdish ethnicity-based Democratic Peoples Party all received around 4 to 5% of the vote. GP, ANAP and DSP each netted less than 3%. As expected, the March 2003 participation rate was lower than the November 2002 level at 74% down from 79.1%. Plurality rule applied in mayoral elections and the already expected large margin of victory for AKP have both contributed to lower participation rate. However, the total number of votes received by AKP in the provincial general assembly elections increased by about 1.5 million compared to November 2002 general elections. One could speculate endlessly about the preferences of those who chose not to cast their votes. Instead, we should underline the fact that a significant group of voters wait to be mobilized by party organizations, and these voters could play a significant role in changing the electoral balance in future elections.

The geographical spread of the AKP vote shows a striking domination all over the country with 58 municipalities captured. CHP, in contrast, won a total of 8 municipalities.

Considering the fact that prior to elections expectations for AKP's success were widespread, many credible candidates chose to run under AKP rather than any other opposing party banners, thus contributing to the even larger credibility of AKP compared to its opposition. Moreover, AKP successfully used in its pre-election campaign the commonly held view that in the competition to use the central government resources, municipalities under AKP control stood a better chance than others.

7. CONCLUSION

Television enables politicians to communicate with their voters in a variety of ways. It became evident to politicians that opinions about the competence of a government or administration were formed over a long time, and the party that did not make efforts to appeal to voters until an election approached might find itself at a huge disadvantage. Competing against each other to be seen best, parties started efforts to engage the electorate well before an election was likely to be held.⁴⁷

There were two reasons why television made this difference. First, television allowed politicians to make more direct contact with voters than the print media or the radio. Secondly, television put politicians in competition with each other for voter attention. In most countries television stations were neither owned by, nor heavily influenced by particular parties. Even when parties influence TV stations they do not control the behaviour of their voters who might pass to other channels. By contrast most people can not afford newspapers and get the information only from television stations. Therefore party members and leaders must be far more active in appearing on TV than their counterparts.

As we told that the political parties do not have a direct relationship to television stations as for owning but of course there are some owners of the stations as economic administrations and for all media there is a reality of economic power that is manipulating it. Every single newspaper, radio or TV station belongs to an administration and all cover many workers inside of it. The main thing for them is to have benefit from the work done like in all companies⁴⁸. Therefore a relationship occurs with politics and the media.

The centralization and trading on communication tools cause the opposers to be out of the market. Increase of the public televisions also increase the number of communication tools and the crucial meaning for them is the commercials as it is all known by the society. This circle makes

⁴⁷ Ware, Allen, *Political Parties and Party Systems*, Oxford University Press, 1999, New York, p.290

⁴⁸ Yüksel, Erkan, *Medyanın Gündem Belirleme Gücü*, Çizgi Kitabevi, 2001, Konya, p.75

television stations as a tool becoming the supporters of the ruling parties and the governments and reject the reality of the opposers⁴⁹.

In order to analyse the impact of media and the relationship of it with the political parties we did the research on main television channels of Turkey including TRT and we find out some results that is supporting our hypotheses.as it has been stated in our hypotheses that:

1. Ruling parties are more supported by media than the others and this causes ethical problems about the neutrality of media.

2. Candidates and leaders who appear most on TV mostly get more success than the others.

According to the research done in this thesis based on 6 main channels of Turkey including TRT, the ruling party AKP is supported by the visual media. As we know that AKP started ruling Turkey after 2002 parliamentary elections and had a power of 34,28% among others. During the broadcasting of media during the election campaign period covering one month time we see the dominance of AKP than the others. As general results (examined in previous sections) AKP had 42% share in Turkey's six big channels' prime time news. Parties gave different importances, placements and durations for the election news in accordance with their approaches to politics but in total results news about elections were in a high numbers. The only channel behaves neutral to election campaigns is TRT and the one try to make big impact on the audience Kanal 7. The reason of it is TRT is the unique national TV station and Kanal 7 is known by its close relationship to the leading party. As for the candidates and the leaders, our hypothesis is the more appeared on TV get the more success than the others. According to our research the leader appear most on TV is Recep Tayyip Erdoğan from AKP and the İstanbul Metropolitan Mayor candidate Kadir Topbaş. Topbaş especially appeared on Kanal 7 and Kanal D which have highest ratings among the channels. That is to say our research is supporting our hypotheses in a range of 42%. Our hypotheses are also supported by the election results in which AKP got the 41,8% of total votes

⁴⁹ Herman, Edward, Medyada İkiyüzlülük, İnkılap Kitabevi, 2004, İstanbul, p.48

APPENDIXES:

APPENDIX A:Existing Parties in Turkey

	Name of Party	Established	Leader of the Party		Name of Party	Established	Leader of the Party
1	Changing Turkey Party(DEPAR)	24.02.1998	Durmuş Ali Ekber	25	Nation Party(MP)	22.11.1992	Aykut Edibali
2	Communist Party of Turkey (TKP)	11.11.2001	Aydemir Güler	26	National Autonomy Party(UMP)	13.08.2001	Fehmi Öztürk
3	Democracy and Peace Party(DBP)	11.03.1996	Yılmaz Çamlıbel	27	National Unity Party (UBP)	23.01.1998	Fehmi Kural
4	Democrat Party (DP)	29.11.1992	İsmet Hacı Salihoğlu	28	Nationalist Action Party(MHP)	07.07.1983	Devlet Bahçeli
5	Democratic Left Party(DSP)	14.11.1985	Zeki Sezer	29	Our Legacy Party(VP)	11.05.2001	Köksal Satır
6	Democratic People Party(DHP)	15.12.1999	Mahmut İhsan Özgen	30	Radical Change Project Party(RADEP)	16.05.2001	Alişan Ağca
7	Democratic Turkey Party (DTP)	07.01.1997	Hüsamettin Cindoruk	31	Republican Democracy Party(CDP)	19.01.2002	Yekta Güngör Özden
8	Enlightened Turkey Party (ATP)	27.11.1998	Tuğrul Türkeş	32	Republican Democrat Turkey Party	03.09.2003	Serap Gülhan
9	Equality Party (EP)	25.05.2001	Bektaş Çelebi	33	Republican People's Party(CHP)	09.09.1992	Deniz Baykal
10	Eurasia Party	09.05.2002	Hüsnu Doğan	34	Revolutionary Socialist Worker's Party (DSİP)	25.04.1997	Şevket Doğan Tarkan
11	Felicity Party(SP)	27.07.2001	Recai Kutan	35	Rights and Freedoms Party	11.02.2002	Abdülmelik Fırat
12	Freedom and Solidarity Party (ODP)	21.01.1996	Hayri Kozanoğlu	36	Social Democrat Party(SDP)	29.11.2001	Nihat Demir
13	Great Justice Party(BAP)	12.04.1995	Sabit Batumlu	37	Social Democratic Turkey's Party(SHP)	24.05.2002	Murat Karayalçın
14	Great Unity Party(BBP)	29.01.1992	Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu	38	Socialist Democratic Party (TDP)	29.01.2002	Sema Pişkinsüt

15	Homeland Party (YP)	14.03.2002	Sadettin Tantan	39	Socialist Unity Movement Party(SBHP)	05.08.1999	Nihat Çağlı
16	Independent Republic Party(BCP)	24.07.2002	Mümtaz Soysal	40	Socialist Worker's Party of Turkey(TSIP)	03.01.1993	Turgut Koçak
17	Independent Turkey Party(BTP)	25.11.2001	Haydar Baş	41	The Mainroad Party(AYP)	05.05.1994	Gürcan Başer
18	Justice and Development Party(AKP)	14.08.2001	R.Tayyip Erdoğan	42	True Path Party (DYP)	23.06.1983	Mehmet Ağar
19	Justice Party of Turkey (TAP)	12.04.1995	Mehmet Yorgancıoğlu	43	Turkey is Happy with her Handicapped	26.09.1996	Murat Dilmen
20	Justice Party(AP)	11.04.1995	Sezai Akdoğan	44	Turkey Party	23.02.2004	Tekin Enerem
21	Labor Party(EMEP)	26.11.1996	Abdullah Levent Tüzel	45	Union of Hearts Greens Party	03.11.2000	Eşref Yazıcıoğlu
22	Leader Turkey Party(LTP)	03.08.2001	Mustafa Özman	47	Worker's Party(İP)	02.03.1992	Doğu Perinçek
23	Liberal Democrat Party (LDP)	26.07.1994	Emin Şirin	48	Young Party (GP)	10.07.2002	Cem Cengiz Uzan
24	Motherland Party (ANAP)	20.05.1983	Erkan Mumcu				

APPENDIX B: Election Winners

	CITIES	PARTIES	MAYORS
1	ADANA	AKP	Aytaç Durak
2	ADYAMAN	AKP	Necip Büyükaslan
3	AFYON	AKP	Abdullah Kaptan
4	AĞRI	AKP	Ekrem Aktaş
5	AMASYA	AKP	İsmet Özarlan
6	ANKARA	AKP	Melih Gökçek
7	ANTALYA	AKP	M.Tevfik Türel
8	AYDIN	AKP	İlhami Örtekin
9	BALIKESİR	AKP	Sabri Uğur
10	BİLECİK	AKP	Selim Yağcı
11	BİNGÖL	AKP	Hacı Ketenalp
12	BİTLİS	AKP	Cevdet Özdemir
13	BOLU	AKP	Alaaddin Yılmaz
14	BURDUR	AKP	Sabahattin Akkaya
15	BURSA	AKP	Hikmet Şahin
16	ÇANKIRI	AKP	İrfan Dinç
17	ÇORUM	AKP	Turan Atlamaz
18	DENİZLİ	AKP	Nihat Zeybekci
19	ERZİNCAN	AKP	Mehmet Buyruk
20	ERZURUM	AKP	Ahmet Küçükler
21	GAZİANTEP	AKP	Asım Güzelbey
22	GİRESUN	AKP	Hurşit Yüksel
23	HATAY	AKP	Mehmet Yeloğlu
24	İSPARTA	AKP	Hasan Balaman
25	İSTANBUL	AKP	Kadir Topbaş
26	KARS	AKP	Naif Alibeyoğlu
27	KAYSERİ	AKP	Mehmet Özhasseki
28	KİRŞEHİR	AKP	Halim Çakır
29	KOCAELİ	AKP	İbrahim Karaosmanoğlu
30	KONYA	AKP	Tahir Akyürek
31	KÜTAHYA	AKP	Mustafa İca
32	MALATYA	AKP	Cemal Akın
33	MANİSA	AKP	Bülent Kar
34	KAHRAMANMARAŞ	AKP	Mustafa Poyraz
35	MUŞ	AKP	Necmettin Dede
36	NEVŞEHİR	AKP	Hasan Ünver
37	RİZE	AKP	Halil Bakırcı
38	SAKARYA	AKP	Aziz Duran
39	SAMSUN	AKP	Yusuf Ziya Yılmaz
40	SİİRT	AKP	Mervan Gül
41	SİNOP	AKP	Zeki Yılmazzer
42	SİVAS	AKP	Sami Aydın
43	TEKİRDAĞ	AKP	Ahmet Aygün
44	TOKAT	AKP	Adnan Çiçek
45	ŞANLIURFA	AKP	Ahmet Fakibaba
46	UŞAK	AKP	Mesut Apaydın
47	VAN	AKP	Burhan Yenigün
48	YOZGAT	AKP	Yusuf Başer
49	ZONGULDAK	AKP	Secaattin Gonca
50	AKSARAY	AKP	Nevzat Palta
51	BAYBURT	AKP	Bekir Çetin

52	KARAMAN	AKP	Ali Kantürk
53	KIRIKKALE	AKP	Veli Korkmaz
54	YALOVA	AKP	Barbaros Binicioğlu
55	KARABÜK	AKP	Hüseyin Erer
56	KİLİS	AKP	M.Abdi Bulut
57	OSMANİYE	AKP	Davut Çuhadar
58	DÜZCE	AKP	Mehmet Keleş

	CITIES	PARTIES	MAYORS
1	ARTVİN	CHP	Emin Özgün
2	ÇANAKKALE	CHP	Ulgur Gökhan
3	EDİRNE	CHP	Hamdi Sedefci
4	MERSİN	CHP	Macit Özcan
5	İZMİR	CHP	Aziz Kocaoğlu
6	KIRKLARELİ	CHP	C.Yılmaz Sesen
7	MUĞLA	CHP	Osman Gürün
8	TRABZON	CHP	Volkan Çanalıoğlu

	CITIES	PARTIES	MAYORS
1	ESKİŞEHİR	DSP	Yılmaz Büyükersen
2	ORDU	DSP	Seyit Torun
3	BARTIN	DSP	M.Rıza Yalçınkaya

	CITIES	PARTIES	MAYORS
1	ELAZIĞ	DYP	M.Süleyman Selmanoğlu

	CITIES	PARTIES	MAYORS
1	GÜMÜŞHANE	MHP	Mustafa Canlı
2	KASTAMONU	MHP	Turhan Topcuoğlu
3	NİĞDE	MHP	Mümin Inan
4	İĞDIR	MHP	Nurettin Aras

	CITIES	PARTIES	MAYORS
1	DİYARBAKIR	SHP	Osman Baydemir
2	HAKKARİ	SHP	Metin Tekce
3	TUNCELİ	SHP	Songül Erol Abdil
4	BATMAN	SHP	Hüseyin Kalkan
5	ŞIRNAK	SHP	Ahmet Ertak

	CITIES	PARTIES	MAYORS
1	MARDİN	SP	Metin Pamukcu

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