Ethical Issues in Political News Coverage: A Case Study of 2015 General Elections in Turkey

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ABSTRACT

Journalism ethics is important to study, and this study focuses on infringements of journalism ethics during the General Elections of 2015 in Turkey. Its aim to find out five most circulated newspapers' which are Zaman Hürriyet, Posta, Sözcü and Sabah, infringement of journalism ethics between two General Election of June 7th and November 1st in 2015.

In this study, content analysis was used without physical measurement. Only cover pages were analysed which news was relevant to political issues. A coding sheet was used to analyse, and its reliability was .97 according to Cohen's formula.

The study was conducted to answer two major questions. (1) Is there any unethical news has been published during the two elections, and (2) what changed between the two elections on cover pages news according to journalism ethics?

At the end of the research, infringements of journalism ethics were remarked by all newspapers during the elections. Main conspicuous thing is that newspapers infringed journalism ethics according to being pro-government or not. Especially, most infringements have happened before the elections, and newspapers were being changed their attitudes according to election results.

Keywords: journalism ethics, general election, Turkey, content analysis

ÖZ

Gazetecilik etiği önemli bir konudur ve bu çalışma Türkiye'deki 2015 Genel Seçimleri sırasında yapılmış etik ihlallere odaklanmıştır. Bu çalışma, en yüksek tirajlı beş gazete olan; Zaman, Hürriyet, Posta, Sözcü ve Sabah'ın, 7 Haziran ve 1 Kasım 2015'te gerçekleşen Genel Seçimler'deki gazetecilik etiği ihlallerini araştırmıştır.

Çalışmada, içerik analizi kullanılmış ve fiziksel ölçüm hesaba katılmamıştır. Sadece ön sayfalardaki, politikayla ilgili haberler analiz edilmiş, analiz için kodlama tablosu hazırlanmış ve Cohen'in formülüne göre .97 ile kodlama tablosunun uygulanabilirliği kanıtlanmıştır.

Çalışma, iki soruya cevap bulmak için yapılmıştır. Gazetecilik etiğine göre, ön sayfada yayınlanan haberlerde; (1) iki seçim süresince etik dışı haberler yayınlanmış mıdır? (2) iki seçim arasında ne gibi bir değişiklik vardır?

Araştırmanın sonucuna göre, bütün gazeteler seçimler süresince etik ihlaller yapmıştır. Asıl belirgin olan olgu da gazetelerin etik dışı haberler yapmaları yayın politikalarıyla olduğuydu. Özellikle, etik ihlallerin çoğu seçimlerden önce yapılıyor ve seçim sonucuna göre gazetelerin tutum belirlediği göze çarpıyor.

Anahtar Kelimeler: gazetecilik etiği, genel seçimler, Turkey, içerik analizi

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research for my family.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Media institutions are not always totally disconnected from politics, and this makes it complex to understand the relationship between them. Understanding these two powerful sectors gets even more difficult during election campaign period because it becomes evident that relationship is based on self-interest. The question; what is news and what is ethical are two important sets of inquiry to explore with afore-discussed.

Generally, news coverage is an integral part of politics and many have said that the relationship between news media and politics as well as journalists and politicians is unique. Voltmer (2010) specifically accedes that, "The interaction between journalists and politicians is characterized by a high degree of cooperation, frequently even a symbiotic relationship, where each side benefits from their respective counterpart" (p. 4). During the election campaign period, news media may violate some ethical codes because some media owners have personal interest other institutions. As Marx and Engels (1998) mention, ruling class always steers masses, so unethical attempts might be legitimated by this group for their interest. Likewise, conflicts which are created via media to govern masses as requested. Consequently, the media organisation might be biased and since the media's watchword is to be the "watchdog" of the society, it is unethical to be one-sided. The media structure strengthens ideological power. Mostly, this is visible during the

election campaign period, because all political parties need people to vote for them. Ethical codes may be violated because of the intense electoral rivalry so it is important to look at the ethical dynamics in the media during the election campaign period and that is what this study sought to explore.

This study was conducted to find out infringements of journalism ethics during the two General Elections of 2015 in Turkey. The relationship between media ownership and political was scrutinised through journalism ethics. These elections are so important to study because of two campaign periods in one year never existed before in Turkey. Also, journalism ethics is the forgotten values or suppressed by the power. This study shows how journalism ethics was infringement.

1.1 Statement of Problem

In Turkey, media industry is an oligopolist market where media production is in the hands of a small number in years. According to Tellan and Güngör (2009) oligopolist market exists because of capital has media organs after the 80's Turkish neo-liberal economic policies. Many of the media owners own other conglomerates where they own a host of other companies under a single organization. Thus, news coverage is about political inclined, which may not be objective. For this reason, society can be affected by news that is produced as the dominant ideology resulting from the relationship between politicians and media owners.

Some studies claim that biased news is published repeatedly during election campaign period. Chomsky (1999) says "By dint of endless repetition, combined with media election coverage …. the required doctrine has become established truth" (p. 97). Also, "the tone of news coverage, both the frame and the content, in general

and for specific candidates" (Stevens, Alger, Allen, & Sullivan, 2006, p. 67). Following the assertion of what these scholars have said, it is an evidence that there is a high possibility that it is a case too in the Turkish General Elections in 2015. Generally, this kind of news has its own aim relevant to the interjacent politics and media owners. In this news, ethical approaches might be broken by media, at the cost of gaining voters.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The study aims to investigate the relations between media owners and political parties drawing answers from newspaper cover pages. We find this inquiry ultimately important because media has a tendency to support the dominant or mainstream political ideologies to protect their own interests. According to Murdock (1995);

> Critical political economy mostly works at a structural level, detailing the ways in which the dynamics of capitalism create particular kinds of areas for action which encourage certain forms of meaning-making and discourage or rule others out (p. 92).

Also, Marx and Engels (1998) indicate that ruling class ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch. News coverages can be relevant media owners' and/or politician's interest, so therefore news should be criticized based on its contents.

Evidently, politics steer the 'mass' through media, and the media might serve them willingly, because of the common interests. In such circumstances, media owners may canalize media and/or journalists to break ethical approaches.

This study aims to find infringements of journalism ethics during two election campaign periods in the Turkish General Elections in 2015, and how/why it has been

used to violate ethical codes in news coverages. Also, it tries to inquire into how news coverage is used as a clear representation of political issues and subverted journalism ethics between two election campaign periods; one week before and after the June 7th, 2015 and one week before and after the November 1st, 2015 Turkish General Election.

Two election periods were chosen because of to see what changed in ethical issues between these two periods. Especially, positions of newspapers to the government may be changed after the first election, and this can be seen in differences between infringements of journalism ethics two election periods.

1.3 Importance of the Study

This study is important to understand how media members set ethical codes at naught during the election campaign period, withal news coverage is an activity that mandates news makers to be responsible for the society, and ethics is an integral part of this activity. In this study, we sought to understand how the media violate ethics during the two election campaign periods before and after election. This study is significant because it is the first comprehensive study to inquire into the June 7th, 2015 and November 1st, 2015 General Election in Turkey using content analysis. We focused on two important periods; before and after election for both dates. Another importance of this study is that the study focused on journalism ethics which is extremely pivotal for news consumers because as earlier stated, the media is responsible for news consumers. In support of this assertion, Ryan (2001) posits that

> Objective journalists are accountable to their audiences, to the highest ethical and professional standards of objective journalism, and, finally, to their employers. They never assume that their employers, and not themselves, bear the ultimate responsibility for their behavior (p. 5).

1.4 Research Methodology

The method used in this present research is quantitative approach of content analysis. Based on the journalistic ethics on cover pages of national dailies before and after the Turkish General Elections of 2015. Use of content analysis helps to find out journalistic behaviour easy per journalism ethics because of Dicken-Garcia (1989) indicates that there is no specific information about history of journalism ethics, and also this is the first study of to find out ethical violation on cover pages between two election campaign periods in Turkey. And also, content analysis is important to see who overthrow journalism ethics in this period. Furthermore, Potter and Levine-Donnerstein (1999) indicate importances of coder' schema and content cues which is emphasized to confirm validity and reliability of the meaning of content. Thus, coding sheet's importance is came to light.

Because of these, two participants were chosen for reliability test. One of them studied in communication field and the participant is in fact savvy for ethical approaches in journalism and, the other one does not. This helped to understand what is the differencies between results who knows journalism ethics and who does not.

Data was obtained from a media monitoring agency; Medya Takip Merkezi[1]. All scanned copies of cover pages were downloaded via the Internet. The coding sheet was prepared to check data per ethical approaches in journalism which were combined from different associations such as Medya Derneği[2], Medya Etik Kurulu[3], Medya Etik Konseyi[4], Basın Konseyi[5] and Society of Professional Journalists (SPJ)[6].

[1] http://www.medyatakip.com.tr
[2] http://www.medyadernegi.org/wp-content/uploads/2011/09/medyaetikturk.pdf
[3] http://medyaetikkurulu.org/wordpress/index.php/gazetecilik-meslek-ilkeleri/
[4] http://www.medyaetikkonseyi.com/index.php/medya-etik-ilkeleri/basin-ahlak-esaslari

Journalism ethics on cover pages of newspapers were chosen to analyse within ethical approaches to political news, during the election campaign period in the Turkish General Elections of 2015.

Five Turkish national daily newspapers were chosen out of 32 Turkish national daily newspapers[7] according to higher circulations announced between January and May in 2015 by Basın İlân Kurumu[8] (BİK) in Turkey, and 33 Turkish national daily newspapers were during the research. These newspapers were chosen because of they reach large and heterogeneous readers. Also, these newspapers are being read in the morning news on most TV channels. In addition to this, chosen news is relevant to political issues one week before and after in General Elections of 2015 in Turkey. Others were not evaluated.

1.5 Research Questions

Mostly, pro-governments media support dominant political party's ideologies and this is evident because they reflect these messages on their coverage. This might be the case in the Turkish General Elections of 2015 as we have seen overtime, many pro-governments media support the incumbent government. Conversely, the opposition might be forced to find means to publish according to their own ideology. During this period, both sides try to report based on their interests, beliefs and ideology and this in turn costs the violation of ethical codes which is why this study seek to inquire into it in the case of Turkish General election of 2015.

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[5] http://basinkonseyi.org.tr/basin-meslek-ilkeleri/
[6] http://www.spj.org/pdf/spj-code-of-ethics.pdf
[7] There were 32 Turkish daily newspapers during the election campaign period of Turkish General Elections in 2015.
[8] Basın İlân Kurumu (BİK) is a governmental agency to count circulation of newspaper in Turkey. www.bik.gov.tr

According to previous studies on the relations between political parties and news coverage shows that there is an unidentifiable relation between these institutions, and Sözeri (2015) indicates that this situation exists for a long time in Turkey. Also, Bayram (Bayram, 2011) refers politics can find an outlet to express own ideolgy. Notwithstanding, Butler (2009) premediates "journalists may resist government regulation under any guise as a threat to freedom of the press". Therefore, research was conducted by two major questions: (1) Is there any unethical news has been published in five Turkish language daily newspapers during the two election campaign periods of 2015 General Elections in June - November, 2015? and (2) What changed in between the two elections related in respect to unethical news publishing during the 2015 General Elections in June - November, 2015? The minor questions of this study:

1- Is there any news that infringes private life?
2- Is there any news which contains hate speech (threat, blackmailing or swearing)?
3- Does the news marginalize someone or any group?
4- Is the news unbiased?
5- Does the news attempt to assault (violence, bullying or terrorism)?

1.6 Limitations of the Study

There are some limitations of this study;

- This study focuses on five Turkish national newspapers namely: Hürriyet, Zaman, Posta, Sözcü and Sabah out of 32 nationally circulated newspapers published between January and May in 2015 in Turkish region.

- Two important periods were selected for this study; one week before and after the June 7th, and one week before and after the November 1st, 2015 Turkish General Election.
- This study is limited to the scanned copies of newspaper publications provided by Medya Takip Merkezi.
- Study has been focused only on political news within journalism ethics amidst all other issues on the selected newspaper cover pages.
- Columns were excluded.
- Physical contents of news stories were not measured.
- June 7th and November 1st, 2015 are not perused because of the publication about political news ban in the election day.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms

Mass: A large group, the collective aggregate (Danesi, 2009).

Watchdog: It is a self control mechanism of individual or organization to protect from unacceptable or offensive practices (Danesi, 2009).

Oligopolist[9]: A person who promotes and supports limited competition within a business market.

Conglomerates: Large business organization consisting of a number of media companies (Danesi, 2009).

[9] oligopolist. (n.d.). *Dictionary.com's 21st Century Lexicon*. Retrieved December 29, 2016 from Dictionary.com website http://www.dictionary.com/browse/oligopolist

Yellow Journalism: It is a technique with using sensationalized reporting to gain readers and increase circulation. (Danesi, 2009).

Parallel Structure: It originally comes from 'parallel state structure' and it is used for followers of Fethullah Gülen (FETÖ/PDY)[10] which were announced as a terrorist organization (Anayasa Mahkemesi, 2016, pp. 2-8) in 2014, by the Milli Güvenlik Kurulu (The National Security Council) (T.C. Milli Güvenlik Kurulu Genel Sekreterliği, 2014).

[10] FETÖ (Fethullahçı Terör Örgütü) means the terrorist organization of Fethullah, and PDY (Paralel Devlet Yapılanması means parallel states structure.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

Communication devices are a part of economic and cultural life (Işık, 2005, p. 83), and journalists try to influence people's perceptions via newspapers (McCombs & Reynolds, 2009, p. 1) with their own ideologies. And these ideologies generally belong to media structure. Thus, media owners can control the structure in compliance with their own interests. Also, masses can be manipulated with depictured of candidates by elite groups (Chomsky, 1989). These all are related to the political economy of communication because of containing common interests.

According to most people, the news is the information in the beginning but after all it became ideological apparatus to contribute media owners and their class by journalists (Dursun, 2005, pp. 69-71). In this circumstance, news' description cannot be clarified by only one side. More point of view should help to describe it.

Media owners and political candidates can cause to uncaringly suck advantage out of the destruction of ethical approaches to protect own common interest, and Williams (2003) says 'freedom of the press' can be existed in the absence of interest groups (p. 74) and "the press is undoubtedly an essential element of the public sphere" (Chan-Meetoo, 2013, p. 31) in democratic societies. So, highly mediated system exists in this era and power control media to steer societies by using the media. This issue may be louded during the election campaign period. From this point, journalism

ethics may be violated by elits. Power groups need to get the edge on competition through the media, and Downey and Taberez (2014) indicate that politics may reconstite news coverage with manipulations (p. 479). In that case, society should be notified about them. Hence, journalism ethics is important for mass. Also, editors may help agenda setting according to the power groups', elits; or media owners' common interests.

Unethically political manner was procreated by *The Yellow Kid*[11] cartoon which was created by Richard Felton Outcault in 19th century. It was caused to arise *Yellow Journalism* which motives people emotionally; and that includes scandalums of politics by editorial board (Franklin, Hamer, Hanna, Kinsey, & Richardson, 2005, pp. 279-280). Also, Mansfield (1943) mentioned qualified journalism was transformed to *Yellow Journalism* with sensatinalism (cited in Frost, 2011). Just after that, journalism ethics started to be discussed too often because journalism was changed compared before. Some journalism associations step in to restore jornalism. Henceforth, journalism ethics was started to discuss.

During these incidents, Turkish media was rising unrestrained way and had have coup three times. Turkish media was not recovered itself after these coups, and this situation is still continuing since the 1925s with Takrir-i Sükûn (Demir, 2007, p. 120).

2.1 Political Economy of Communication

Considering that "Popular culture and politics do not have to be separate" (Bek, 2004, p. 373), media may operate independent of much political engagement to reach

[11] It is the first coloured cartoon which is published on the newspaper. It was created by Richard Felton Outcault for New Your World. This is also first time to use yellow colour on the newspaper. For more information; http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma04/wood/ykid/origins.htm

the large, scattered and heterogenous mass through *tabloidization*. Williams (2003) mentions that "Classical political economy saw private ownership as central to the functioning of capitalism" (p. 74). Althusser's (1971) used Marxist terms such as "the organic composition of capital" and "a theory of the unit of production" (p. 97), to assert that the news is a product and it is controlled by the powerful. Doyle (2002) indicates the importance of relations between 'political pluralism' and 'range of political opinions and viewpoints' in the media (p. 12). Williams (2003) also adds that 'the role of the media' to promote 'the ideology of the bourgeoisie' is to silence opponent view or ideas. Hence, the media is controlled by a small number called 'capitalist class' or 'ruling class' (p. 75).

Furthermore, according to Murdock and Golding's (1997) research, "the complexity of power relation in capitalist society" is affected every organs of media sector, and they agreed that "mass communications are central to legitimation" (pp. 1-25). Following this assertion, it can be said that the media is a major business, and 'capitalist class' or 'ruling class' has to use it to protect for its own sake even if the media steer the mass incorrectly.

Sözeri (2015) indicates that Turkish media owners were forced to build a good relationship with government in the 1990s. Thus, "the market-based and outward-oriented strategy for economic development has resulted in taking a shortcut to a more information-based economy and a massive public investment in an advanced communications network" (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010, p. 525). This consolidates relationship between media owners and politics. Taşdemir (2005) mentions that media owners cannot be unbiased because they have their own political ideologies

and economic interests (p. 177). For this reason, capitalists monopolize the media in Turkey.

2.2 Media Structure

Media is parallel with other sectors as is also understood from Picard (2002) states media sector procures capital from the market and 'create facilities' (p. 2). Besides, Newcomb (2004) points to conglomerates media has 'greatly affected the structure' of media therefore mergers occur (pp. 1459-1460). Thus, and so media may be said that is an industry which is not different from the other business sectors. In these premises, power elits' ideologies are important for media to steer the mass. Therewithal, Williams (2003) indicates that bourgeoisie dominates the capital, and *subordinate classes* is being regulated by power elits (p. 76). Also, Williams (2003) remarks 'press barons' has power to control political ideologies within political spectrum, thus and so outcome of economic activities are served a purpose for the interests of one group in society (pp. 75-76).

Doyle (2002) states that there is a diversity inside the media, and it represents different opinions and cultures (p. 11), so different media organs may support different ideologies. Therefore, media may constitute mass which prop to the power elites. And, this resembles with Williams 'one group in society'. In this manner, the media is controled by elites, and these elites generally controls the capital. Then, 'bourgeoisie', 'elites' and 'one group in society' are the same. Hereby, media structure is relevant to the capital.

2.3 What is News?

News is any "reports of a current happening or happenings" (Danesi, 2009) and "both the important and the frivolous, can be used to bind people together in a sense

of community and get them talking to one another" (Burns, 2002, pp. 49-50), and also Armstrong and et. (2015) indicate that news is germaneness with audiences' consideration of newsworthiness (p. 82). Moreover, Shoemaker (2006) says news is what comes in media every day. In spide of that, critical approaches act with suspicion towards reality of news. Brighton and Dennis (2007) assert that news reality may be recreated by elits to excite attention of audience (p. 28). In the same time, Dursun (2005) says critical approach to news means that may be kept reproducing of news for hedge position of media ownership (p. 70). For these reasons, there is no common response for the question of what is news. Nevertheless, the news may not only be existed for informing but also what to think. Thus, the news may be manipulated under the pretence of informing to steer society by elits or press for their own profits. Hence, it is rigorously hard to describe the news which is only existed for informing.

The news may be identified roughly like that; which was qualified to inform society for a coterie's profits, therefore, it may be manipulated or not be given or be recreated artificially to hide somethings from the society, mislead or inform the society.

2.3.1 News Values

Lexical meaning of news values is the "criteria applied by journalists to evaluating which news stories are worthy of printing or broadcasting, and in which order of importance they should appear" (Danesi, 2009, p. 213). "News values are a result of the productive needs of industrialized news corporations" (O'Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, Montgomery, & Fiske, 2006, pp. 201-202) and, in that case the news may be described as one of "ideological state apparatuses" (Althusser, 1971, p. 144). Also, power elites can filter the news from readers who support them rather than who

do not (Bennett, Lawrence, & Livingston, 2007), thus and so the filtering may be increased loyalty towards elites. News values may be altered by elites. It may be rewritten and published by editors to match the eltite ethical codes. In this respect, news values may be different from person to person.

In addition, "'news' are actually 'olds', because the correspondence to what one expects to happen – and if they are too far away from the expectation they will not be registered" (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p. 67). Often times, the news may not represent reality. In this way, Galtung and Ruge (1965) indicates that the news essentially may be repeated within 'unexpected' and 'rare' things (p. 67). In some instances, news values may be differ from what is expected. On such an occasion, news values may be altered according to necessities.

Popular news value aphorism, news is when 'man bites dog' shows that an odd report is a major criteria for news. However, this does not mean that the news must always contain odd reports. Repetition of odd reports devoid news of its originality.

News value can be issues that are relevant to people's needs, desires, conditions, interests and knowledge. Consequently, definition of news value differs and depends on persons and/or situations. News value may also be identified in accordance with conditions rather than general.

2.3.2 Definition of Political News

Political news has earned considerable scholarly attention over the years and some scholars have offered definition to the term. Çarkoğlu et al. (2014) defines political news "as any news article or commentary that is related to politics or a political figure" (p. 304). Bennett et al. (2007) indicates that "political news is generally short

lived for all but those few players, such as presidents, who have permanent press entourages attached to them, and who have the resources to generate news scripts on a regular basis" (p. 70). The definitions above show that political news is mostly related governmental news. Some of the following may also fall in the category of political news; politics, political figure, election, political parties, party members, constitutional amendment packages, practices, speech, meetings and, corruption etc.

2.3.3 Ethical vs Unethical News

According to Berry (2008), functions of media ethics is to help media to maintain democracy (p. 76). News should serve for democracy, and ethical news should meet on a common ground for enhancing of public awareness to it. Journalistic Code of Ethics[12] in agreed upon by various associations of journalists in different countries. It basically stipulates how journalistics should act when they are covering the news.

When news is presented without the consideration of code of ethics, it is regarded as as unethical news. Unethical news generally creates conflicts, and among other areas of journalism, this topic is particularly talked about more in field of peace journalism.

Turkish Penal Code specifies blackmailing in Article 107th and threatening in Article 106th which are in 5237-numbered statute (T.C. Resmi Gazete, 2004). According to the law, blackmailing is when a person is pressured by another person through threats. This in turn means that if news contains threat statements then it is considered to be blackmailing.

[12] See in Appendix A

Threats can be an attack on a person, his/her life, body or sexual immunity and property damage (T.C. Resmi Gazete, 2004). Also, the law includes utilizing the frightening power created by existing or supposed criminal organizations that is in clause 2/d of Article 106th of the law (T.C. Resmi Gazete, 2004). In this case, publishing this kind of news may not be ethical. It can be said that these kinds of news may be provided as a basis for criminal organizations. Besides, the clause 2/a of Article 39th indicates publishing any story that encourages crime or strengthening the criminal decision or promises to help after the act is committed (T.C. Resmi Gazete, 2004), is an unethical approach to news because it constitutes crime.

The code of ethics guides journalists to approach news in an ethical way. If content of the code of ethics is being followed by journalists, outcome will be ethical, otherwise it may be said that ethical behaviour had been infringed.

2.4 Journalist's Duties

According to White[13] (2008) journalist should have ethical initiatives to "promote and nourish the mission of ethical journalism for public good" (p. 3), so journalist should behave in the public interest. Also, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) indicates that "most news comes from official channels" (p. 253), "after all, is not only based on a relationship of power, but more importantly is a relationship with and against power" (Berry, 2008, p. 31) and Ongowo (2011) says that some issues can be hidden by 'the power elits' such as corruption, immoral behavior and other vice (p. 12), because of that journalist should use other sources to find correct information. Meanwhile, Harcup (2007) remarks journalist gets attention to "truth" and "respect"

[13] Aidan White who was International Federation of Journalists General Secretary from 1987-2011 based in Brussels.

for people's human rights simultaneously (p. 138) within predetermined journalism ethics.

Türkiye Gazeteciler Cemiyeti's (2017) Decleration of Turkish Jurnalism Rights and Responsibility indicates that journalist should be who is against all censorship and self-censorship to enable accurate news to society; first responsibility should be society; and to be in charge of own reports. "Like responsible persons, responsible journalists are accountable for their actions. They admit errors, explain mistakes, improve editorial procedures and seek to repair damages" (Ward, 2011, p. 55).

2.5 Gatekeeping Theory

Kurt Lewin was the first person who expressed 'Gatekeeping' term. "It is part of an essentially mechanistic model, which sees news as the outcome of a 'flow' or channel of raw information that has passed the selective filters or 'gates' of a news bureaucracy" (O'Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, Montgomery, & Fiske, 2006, p. 126).

"Gatekeeping theory could have been adopted as a way to study change in social structures and even how to change them, and David Manning White got answers that mirrored traditional news principles: significant, controversial, unusual, and interesting to the audience" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996, p. 36) (Harmion, 1998, p. 75). As Ersoy (2010) argue that "in White's gatekeeping model, the gatekeeper or 'Mr. Gate' inside plays an important role. 'Mr. Gate' or the editor selects the sources of news items, and after this selection, he decides which news is suitable for their audience" (p. 46), and also, audience choose the news and way of reach, but the agenda has been chosen before the news reaches to audience.

Underwood (2003) indicates that “Gatekeepers might be reporters, copy tasters, sub-editors, editors and, to a lesser extent, media owners and sometime might be page designers” (cited in Ersoy, 2010), and gatekeeper is also relevant with journalist’s duties, because ditto journalist is responsible to transfer correct information to the mass.

2.6 Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda-setting theory was primarily developed to find out the answer of question “How does news coverage influence our personal perceptions of what are the most important issues of the day?” (McCombs & Bell, 1996, p. 105). McCombs (2005) indicates that agenda-setting can also be used to protect ‘corporate reputations’ (p. 553). Baran & Davis (2012) also points that “the idea that media don’t tell people what to think, but what to think about” (p. 293). Nevertheless, Entman (1989) sees agenda-setting as problematic. He argues that “the problem with the agenda setting position is that the distinction between "what to think" and "what to think about" is misleading. Nobody, no force, can ever successfully "tell people what to think." (p. 349). Therefore, the question should be “who sets the agenda of the media?” (Ersoy, 2010, p. 30). To ascertain what to steer the mass and what to think about, connections between news content and sides which are on the news can help construct who has power on agenda-setting. This, however, cannot be definite judgement.

McCombs and Yüksel (2004) assert that “agenda-setting theory basically explains how and why the public learn how much importance to attach to a topic from the emphasis placed on it in news coverage” (p. 382). Repetitions which are related to any event may strengthen to constitute news coverage, so agenda may be created by

repetitions of news. Entman (1989) argues that "the central assumption of the more recent agenda setting research has been that media do exert significant influence, but only in a narrow sphere. In this view, the public's autonomy is not complete, but its susceptibility to media influence is limited to agendas." (p. 348). Furthermore, Shoemaker and Reese (1996) presents the following five categories in their study: "Content (1) reflects social reality with little or no distortion, (2) is influenced by media workers' socialization and attitudes, (3) is influenced by media routines, (4) is influenced by other social institutions and forces, (5) is a function of ideological positions and maintains the status quo" (pp. 6-7).

"Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw found that the media have a powerful effect on voters' opinions; and journalists can use this powerful effect for influencing public opinion to build peace and prevent conflict" (cited in Ersoy, 2010, p. 31).

"The term agenda setting was by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw coined" (Harcup, 2004, p. 63). In addition, Ersoy (2010) asserts that "these researchers found that the media have a powerful effect on voters' opinions; and journalists can use this powerful effect for influencing public opinion to build peace and prevent conflict" (p. 31). This is to say that agenda-setting is important to alter perceptions of the society based on elites' ideology. Though in some cases, agenda setting doesn't work as planned especially if the elites tend to steer the society for their own interests against the interests of the many.

Agenda setting is predominantly used during election campaign periods. Çarkoğlu et al. (2014) mentions that state polarization in the public agenda was revealed during the 2011 campaign in Turkey. He further adds that the agenda may be impacted by

political issues and, media may be positioned to report in certain ways that benefits media owners', elites', powers' or politicians' interests. In Most cases, agenda setting is perpetuated by mainstream media because of the conglomerate media companies.

2.7 Journalism Ethics

There is no specific information history of journalism ethics, but sensationalism started with 'Yellow Journalism'. According to information from The Office of the Historian 'Yellow Journalism' had been became more effective for the United States' wars between United States and Spain in Cuba and the Philippines (Office of the Historian, 2017), and also Dicken-Garcia (1989) says "none examines what journalists have viewed over time as 'right' and 'wrong' practices, appropriate and inappropriate conduct, or the role of ethics in their work" (p. 4). Therefore, new studies' aim try to find ethical approaches for journalists. According to Ward's (2015) description is that ethic as a way to 'guide individual and social conduct' (p. 4), and it is working like a mechanism of "self-criticism" (Keeble, 2009, p. 1). In the same time, Belsey (2002) says journalist may ignore well-accepted rules voluntarily, and he calls it 'journalistic misbehaviour' (p. 5). It may be said that ethics may be shown changes from person to person. Thus, there are no certain ethical approaches in the press, but different institutions prepare common ethical codes.

Besides, "ethics takes all of life as its subject matter" (Ward, 2015), thereby ignoring rules may be existed by everyone like politicians, media owners, elits etc., and also, journalism ethics sometimes is being correlated with moral. However, moral may be differed from person to person, and this should be considered because of that journalists are also human who has different moral and ethical aspects. Nonetheless,

Ward (2011) says "correct conduct is honoring rules of fair social interaction – rules that apply to humans in general or to all members of a group" (p. 8), so exigency of journalism ethics is ensued to constitute common sense. Also, Çaplı (2002) indicates that the unethical conduct is relevant to journalists' standart of judgment (p. 91), therefore journalism ethics is mostly attached to journalists. Further, Meyers (1993) indicates that sometimes moral may be got involved with ethics, and this moral may be difffered according to people' thought, knowledge, lifestyle, religion, etc. Thus, moral and ethics are not being disconnected each other totally. According to İrvan (2005) moral includes spiritual, immaterial features which describe human as good or not, in this case ethics is a philosophy to scrutinise it (pp. 61-62). In the circumstances, journalism ethics should be served to interests of the society. Otherwise, it can be said journalism ethics may be infringed.

Political approaches may be caused ethical problems in the news, especially, in the disagreements of ideologies. This may cause conflicts between groups even while news was written in ethical frames. In the wake of this, journalism ethics may be contradictory. For this reason, that, "journalism ethics are tried to be promoted by two documents: the "Declaration of Rights and Responsibilities" by Journalists Association of Turkey (1998) and the "Code of Professional Ethics of the Press" by the Press Council (1989)" (Barış, 2007, p. 298).

2.8 History of the Turkish Media

Turkish media history is complicated in order to examine relations between media owners and politics. It had have difficult eras like contributing to revolution during the Turkish political developments, new regulations, coups and owners who are not of the media. This also triggers lack of qualified press members; consequently,

ethical issues were existing. These eras should be examined between 1923-1980, 1980-2001 and after 2001.

2.8.1 Between 1923-1980 in Turkey

The Republic of Turkey has been built in 1920, and media was being needed to spread national states to the public. Therefore, laws concerning media were contributing politics to infuse philosophy of new Turkey revolution into the citizen, after the Turkish Republic was found. As Işık (2005) indicates, regulations of media were made to control by political power in between 1923-1950 (p. 80). After that time, media was started to keep under control by politics. Also, coup exists in Turkish History. The first one was in May 27th, 1960 by Türk Silahlı Kuvvetleri (Turkish Armed Forces), and one memorandum was existed in March 12th, 1972, and the third one was existed in September 12th, 1980 by Milli Güvenlik Konseyi (National Security Council) to take over the Turkish Republic. These are milestones for Turkish Media. "Free press term was removed by the September 12th Government via restrictions, penalties, sanctions and censorships" (Dündar, 2016, p. 128). After that time, Basın İlan Kurumu (Press and Advertisement Institution) has been built up for official announcements by Milli Birlik Komitesi (National Union Committee), and ethical approached have been taken shape from politics. In those times, media got big blows in the cause of control by ins. Işık (2005) points that all opposition media organs brought under strict control until 1980 (pp. 80-81). Also, capitals became involved in media sector after 70s. Especially, technological developments helped capitals to participate in media sector, because advertisement would be needed to keep media afloat (Dündar, 2016, pp. 128-129).

2.8.2 Between 1980-2001 in Turkey

Political issues have been changed and neoliberalism has become more effective with a new government in 1983. Big capitals stepped in the media sector, and this changed and undermined conventional press (Işık, 2005, p. 81). Hence, the only source of income of press that persons were obligated to abandon to capitalists. New technological developments caused that thought of gain in profit is more important than content (Kaya, 2009). Commercialisation and industrialization of media culture is accelerated after the 1980s, and media became commercialised through advertisements (Sönmez, 2014, p. 89) More than one media organs had been owned by capitalists, and this caused crisis on media (Koloğlu, 2009), detentions of journalist done on the back of rulership of Turgut Özal[14]. Also, murdered journalist number was increased from that time to these day.

Media organs was belonged to government until 1990s, and beginning of period of 1990s, the monopol era of TRT was splited without legislative regulation. Thus, media mostly were brought under control by the government. And also, "son of Turgut Özal benefits from this legal void. Reinforcements and cheap credits were given to some people and media sector got a few companies' hands on in a short span of time. Also, these media groups were supported" (Gür, 1995, pp. 145-146). "Holdings which own of media organisations went head to head with each other to strengthen its hand after second half of 1990s until economic crisis in 2001, because of that media witnessed promotion exercises" (Sözeri, 2014, p. 73). Hence, media owners were supported by politicians to steer the mass and the capital.

[14] Halil Turgut Özal was the 8th President of Turkey.

2.8.3 After 2001 Economic Crisis in Turkey

"After 2001 economic crisis, some media companies were obligated to pull out of the market, and some of them became state-run company because of corruptions. After all of this, structure of media ownership has been changed" (Sözeri, 2014, p. 74). Also, media ownership was controlled by article 13 of the 4756-numbered enactment[15] in May 15th, 2002. And, it is not possible to have more than 50% of the media if its rating is higher than 20% of total. Thus, monopolization is brought under control via the enactment.

"The country's second biggest media group Turkuvaz Media, was sold to Çalık Group, which has close ties to the government and where Prime Minister's son-in-law serves as the chairman of the board in 2007" (Ercebe, 2015). "Antidemocratic developments of 2007–2010, such as the AKP's crackdown on dissidents and journalists, financial reprisals on media companies, expansion of police and surveillance powers, to name just a few, had already subjected Turkish democracy to a gradual erosion" (Yesil, 2016, p. 11). Henceforth, media ownership is started to shape pursuant to pro-government ideologies. Opponent media organs were passed in other hands or were shut down. For example, Koza İpek Holding's media companies which are Birgün newspaper and TV, and Feza Gazetecilik were seized by the TMSF[16], in 2015 and 2016.

Moreover, there was a civil disobedience action in 2013 which is named Gezi Park Protest[17]. Media had position according to ideologies, and mainstream media

[15] Also see https://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k4756.html
[16] Saving Deposit Insurance Fund of Turkey
[17] It was started harmlessly in May 31st, 2013, but it became civil disobedience action after injuriously police intervention. AKP government talked back to citizens who support Gezi Park Protest.

countinued their own regular programming during the Gezi Park Protests, and alternative media or opposition media to the government got reaction because of their attitude (Yesil, 2016, p. 110), and this betrayed society's trust. Hence, people stoped to believe without questioning.

TGS[18]'s report about situation of Turkish media in the last 3 months in 2015 indicates media which support Gezi Park Protest and to be against the government during the general elections in 2015 was pressured by the government. Most journalists got arrested with several crimes because of their attitude (Önderoğlu, 2016). Also, AKP gave new media owners who are support AKP a ground and used force for browbeating (Ağbaba, Özel, Demir, & Işık, 2014).

Turkey overcame July 15th Coup in 2016, but after that, 156 media organs were closed by delegated legislations and 2500 press member lost their jobs and 778 press-cards were cancelled by Directorate General of Press and Information (Çağdaş Gazeteciler Derneği, 2017; Uluslararası Af Örgütü, 2017; Önderoğlu, 2016).

Most of these issues may cause fear of being dismissed, arresting or being branded as a member of any terrorist organisation. Therefore, media owners and press members may infringe journalism ethics to protect themselves from the current issues.

2.9 Relations between Media and Politics in Turkey

According to Işık's indication (2005) Turkish media is being shaped just like other countries by politics (p. 79), so politics is more powerful to dominate media. Therefore, it is unavoidable between media and politics have some correlations. Sözeri (2014) remarks with other scholars that the relations were had between

[18] Journalists' Union of Turkey. http://www.tgs.org.tr

current government in 1960s and media, and so journalists benefited from this stituation. Further, these journalists had been called as 'servant press' (besleme basın) (p. 71). There are still journalists who are pro-government. This situation is caused by media owners, and nowadays, these media owners have links with government, and they have economic interests. These interests are mentioned in Media Ownership Monitoring[19] reports. 'Servant press' still goes on, because capital owners have own media companies while working with the government. Especially, Çalık Holding, Doğan Holding, Ciner Holding and Kolyon Group were called pro-government because of their relations with the current government. This situation can be predicated that Doğan Group sold off Gözcü to depurate from general tax lien (Akyol, 2014, p. 159).

2.10 Media Ownership in Turkey

Media was state funded in the early years of the Republic of Turkey. Thereby, most media proprietors had been working merely media business, subsequently, it changed. Sefa Kılıçoğlu was the first person who came by different trade to buy *Yeni Sabah*, and then, Malik Yolaç came by different trade to buy *Akşam* newspaper in 1979, after that, Aydın Doğan followed him to bought *Milliyet* newspaper (Işık, 2005, p. 85). Herewith, major capitals from outside of the media business have been taken part in the media business, and Adaklı (2001) describes this transition like from 'traditional media ownership' to 'new media ownership' (p. 145). Although, media ownership is restrained by regulations in Turkey, and the Competition Law examines the media sector in the market to check "the applications concerning the media sector on the basis of violation of competitive practices, creating a dominant position in the market, and abuse of dominant position" (Sözeri & Güney, 2011).

[19] http://turkey.mom-rsf.org/tr/bulgular/siyasi-iliskiler/

Notwithstanding, media conglomeration is visibly and media owners compete each other to get good position for controlling the market. Thus, media sector is linked to a few media owners.

One of the non-governmental organization[20] researches media ownerships relations with the other sectors. Also, the results says that conglomeration of Turkish media ownership is became popular. For instance, Doğan Yayın Holding Inc., Doğuş Holding Inc. and Turkuvaz Medya Grubu are primary. These companies also play a part in business sector except the media. The main ones are these; energy sector, retail industry, realty, banking-finance, turism, marine, aeronautical, construction, food and other effective business. Therefore, newspapers are interrelated with other business sector in Turkey, and this may cause getting contact for common interest in with the political parties. This can be seen in the situation of media sector assignment for pro-government companies during the current government.

2.10.1 Hürriyet and Posta Newspapers

Hürriyet and Posta belong to Doğan Yayın Holding Inc.[21] which is owned by Doğan Şirketler Grubu Holding Inc., and the corporation operates a wide range of sectors, which include the media, energy and retail, as well as industry, real estate and automotive marketing, tourism and financial services (Sözeri, 2015; Barış, 2007).

Doğan Yayın Holding Inc. is the biggest media company in Turkey, and it keeps the biggest distribution network of publication which is named Yaysat. Also, it possesses 5 newspapers, 4 book and magazine publishing companies, 4 printing, distribution

[20] Mülksüzleştirme Ağları. http://www.mulksuzlestirme.org/
[21] According to regulations which are required by Ministry of Finance and Ministry of Economy of the Republic of Turkey, all corporation have upload own ownership structure on their own website, because of that corporation's website is good source to see relations. http://www.doganholding.com.tr/

and foreign trade companies, 1 news agency, 4 TV channels, 4 radio channels, 2 production companies, 1 digital TV platform, 2 TV channels in EU, 4 online news portals, 1 online advertising and marketing company and 8 social and classified websites (Mülksüzleştirme Ağları, 2015a; 2015b).

2.10.2 Zaman Newspaper

Zaman newspaper was started publishing in 1986 until 2016 by Feza Gazetecilik Inc.[22] (Barış, 2007, p. 290), and Feza Gazetecilik Inc. had 10 newspapers, 4 magazines, 1 news agency, 13 online news portals and 1 book publishing companies in Turkey. Two of them were effective on Turkish news which were Zaman and Cihan News Agency. It is known for the closeness to Fethullah Gülen who imputed as a head of parallel structure[23]. Also, Bank Asya, PASIAD (Pacific Asia Businessmen and Industrialists Association), FEM Dershanesi[24] (supplemental educational institution), Fatih University[25], the Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı (Journalists and Writers Foundation), and TUSKON (Confederation of Businessmen and Industrialists in Turkey) are affiliated with Fethullah Gülen (Hendrick, 2013, pp. 29-30).

During the research, appoint a trustee to Zaman Gazetesi, and it was shut down in middle of 2016.

[22] Equity receiver was assign to Feza Gazetecilik A.Ş. by magistrates' court in March 4th, 2016.
[23] It has been identified in congressional resolution of The Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM). http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/develop/owa/tbmm_internet.arama?q=Fethullah%20GÜLEN
[24] It is closed by Turkish Constitutional Court, because of the 2015/68 resolution number of 6528 legislation. http://www.anayasa.gov.tr/Kararlar/GenelKurul/Dava_Dilekcesi/2015-68.pdf
[25] Fatih University was closed by 667 numbered delegated legislation. All students were transferred to other universities by YÖK based on 667 numbered delegated legislation. http://www.yok.gov.tr/documents/10279/27657791/667_kayit_ve_diger_hususlar_ogrencilere_aciklama_23092016.pdf

2.10.3 Sabah Newspaper

Sabah was started publishing in 1985 by Dinç Bilgin with the name of Sabah Publication Inc., and then it was passed in other hands several times. Çukurova Holding had 10% of its share in 1991 (Taşdemir, 2005, p. 175), then the Çalık Group bought Sabah as its first media acquisition in 2007 (Open Source Center Media Aid, 2008, pp. 20-22). After that, it passed in other hands. Last owner of Sabah is Turkuvaz Medya Grubu belongs to Zirve Holding which also belongs to Kalgon Group that is operating construction and energy. Kalyon Group[26] is doing the biggest construction in process and finished. Sabah newspaper is under this media group.

Turkuvaz Medya Grubu has 6 newspapers, 13 magazines, 4 TV channels, 2 radio channels, 1 distribution company, 2 publishing companies, 1 production company, 1 news agency and 2 digital platform companies (Sözeri, 2015, p. 31).

2.10.4 Sözcü Newspaper

Sözcü[27] was beloned to Doğan Yayın Holding Inc. with different name which was Gözcü, and it was passed in after General Election of 2007 (Open Source Center Media Aid, 2008, p. 10). It is opponent and small capital press which belongs to Burak Akbay (Estetik Yayıncılık Inc.) (Sözeri, 2015, p. 17). He has only 2 newspapers, and one of them is relevant to the sport. The prenciples of publication is Kemalist thought that was being termed by a dissenter opinion.

[26] http://www.kalyongrup.com
[27] http://www.sozcu.com.tr/sozcu-kunye/

Chapter 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research sought to find out ethical infringment on Turkish daily newspapers during the two periods of general election campaigns in 2015, in Turkey. Research is conducted based on content analysis on five newspapers' cover pages chosen according to circulation. During the research, coding sheet was used to analyze infringement of journalism ethics content. The coding sheet was highly informed by codes of journalism ethics written by some associations of journalism leaders.

The following five newspapers were chosen as the sample of this research, and those are Hürriyet, Zaman, Posta, Sözcü and Sabah. These newspapers were chosen out of 32 newpapers in Turkish region. Their cover pages were downloaded via the Internet from monitoring agencies, and the data were analyzed with using SPSS version 24.

Questions were chosen from the code of journalism ethics to repare the coding sheet, and to ensure relaibility, questions were acessed several times. To measure internal consistency of the coding sheet, Cronbach's Alpha was employed. There was a number of mistakes in the first prepared coding sheet and overtime they were corrected and ready for analyses.

3.1 Research Design

Content analysis has been used in this research as informed by journalism ethics codes. Coding sheet was prepared for data gathering and named as 'Coding Sheet of

Ethical Issues for General Election of 2015 in Turkey'[28]. All questions were presented according to definitions within the ethical approaches. Participants working in the field of journalism filled the coding sheets and prior they were informed how to fill the coding sheets. Five Turkish national daily newspapers; Zaman, Hürriyet, Posta, Sözcü and Sabah were chosen from 32 nationally circulated newspapers in Turkey as sample. These newspapers were the top five highest newspapers based on BİK's circulation between January and May in 2015.

3.2 Content Analysis

Krippendorff (2004) describes content analysis as research technique that helps researchers to find replicable and valid conjectures from texts in the contexts of their use. He also indicates that this technique induces the systematic reading of an image, a text and a symbolic matter, not required from an author's or user's perspective. Riffe et al. (2014) also adds that "the systematic assignment of communication content to categories according to rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those categories using statistical methods" (p. 3). Content analysis is an objective and systematic research method (Singletary, 1993).

According to aforementioned scholarly assertions, it is apparent that the most important reason why content analysis is used in this research is to find infringement of journalism ethics in the selected newspapers, time and trivial details, to describe the valid results for all authors and users. And;

> Quantitative content analysis is the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules, and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the

[28] See Appendix B.

communication to its context, both of production and consumption (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2014).

Consequently, the results with numeric values in this research would be accurate, and the results and the coding sheet can be applied for other studies.

3.3 Sampling of the Study

Cluster sampling was used, and five newspapers were chosen out of 32. All political news were selected on cover pages, and other news were excluded. Chosen five Turkish national daily newspapers out of 32 based on their higher circulations announced between January and May in 2015 by Basın İlân Kurumu (BİK) in Turkey which are namely: Zaman[29], Hürriyet, Sözcü, Posta and Sabah in Turkish region during the study. Hürriyet and Posta belong to one media corporation.

Samples were chosen randomly according to date for making reliability test with two participants who informed about content of research. Newspapers were arranged after dates were stated to check code sheet.

3.4 Population of the Study

Five Turkish national daily newspapers which are Zaman, Hürriyet, Posta, Sözcü and Sabah out of 32 in Turkish region were chosen as a population of the study pursuant to the top 5 highest newspapers with 623 political news on cover pages, according to BİK's circulation dated from January 2015 to May 2015.

3.5 Instruments and Data Gathering Procedures

Data were collected all scanned copies of cover pages via the Internet from media monitoring agency which is Medya Takip Merkezi. All data are including newspapers' cover pages during election campaign period in Turkish General

[29] Zaman newspaper was closed down by the decree No. 688 which was announced in 2016.

Elections in 2015. Each cover page was downloaded one by one and given a file name which is date per exact date written on the cover page. All files were stored by categorized under the name of newspapers'. IBM SPSS Statistics is a sotfware package Version 24 were used to analyse data.

3.6 Research Questions

This study was conducted to find out due mainly to 'unethical news' during the two election campaign periods of 2015 General Elections, and what changed in between two elections related in respect to unethical news publishing. Also, some detailed questions were used which are related to 'infringes personal life', 'containing threat, blackmailing and swearing', 'marginalising', 'unbiased news' and 'attempting violence, bullying and terrorism' to examine.

The research was conducted by two major questions: (1) Is there any unethical news has been published in five Turkish language daily newspapers during the two election campaign periods of 2015 General Elections in June – November, 2015? And (2) What changed in between the two elections related in respect to unethical news publishing during the 2015 General Elections in June – November, 2015? The minor questions of this study:

1- Is there any news that infringes personal life?
2- Is there any news which contains hate speeches (threat, blackmailing or swearing)?
3- Does the news marginalize someone or any group?
4- Is the news unbiased?
5- Does the news attempt to assault (violence, bullying or terrorism)?

3.7 Validity and Reliability

The coding sheet was prepared several times and practiced with 3 participants who were informed about journalism ethics before the last coding sheet. 105 data were gathered out of n = 623 for inter-rater reliability test.

Cohen's (1960) formula for calculating kappa is: k = (Po – Pc) / (N – Pc), Po is the observed proportion of agreement by coders, Pc is the proportion of agreement expected by chance and N is the total number of judgments made by each coder.

There were 20 conflicts out of N = 105, and the coding sheet was prepared again after solving problematical questions, and also, participants were trained about journalism ethics according to Code of Ethics. Then, 3 agreements expected by chance were existed with the new coding sheet. According to this, k = (102 – 3) / (105 – 3), and the result is α = .97. Banerjee et al. (1999) confirm that kappa greater than 0.75 or so indicate represent excellent agreement beyond chance. The coding sheet is passed validity and reliability for the very reason.

3.8 Limitations

This study focuses on five Turkish national daily newspapers between two important periods of the 2015 Turkish general elections. The first ones are one week before and after June 7th, 2015, and one week before and after November 1st, 2015. Five newspapers selected are Hürriyet, Zaman, Posta, Sözcü and Sabah out of 32 nationally circulated newspapers in Turkey, and the study is limited to the scanned copies of newspaper publications provided by Medya Takip Merkezi. We focused only on political news within journalism ethics amidst all other issues on the selected newspaper cover pages.

Coding sheet was constructed three times. First one was informed by other coding sheets from previous works (Ersoy, 2010; Çarkoğlu, Baruh, & Yıldırım, 2014). The second one was used for the pilot study and last one is the current coding sheet used to actualise the findings of this study.

The first coding sheet was eleminated because the codes did not counterbalance the intended goals of this research. It was relevant to subjects partaining to general newspapers' ideological assumptions. Thus, coding sheet was not adopted or improved on. The second coding sheet was prepared according to ethical issues of newspapers.

The second one involved two partcicpants working in the field of journalism. Out of 100 newspapers' coverpages, 30 was selected. 105 news stories related to political issues as part of ethical approaches on newspapers during 2015 election campaign period, were selected. Data shown that some of questions were unclear and redundant to describe news by ethical approaches. Based on this inadequacy, reliability test. These problematic questions were specified. Then, two questions were removed. One was not relevant to political issues and it was not necessary for this study; and other one was previously repeated and keeping it would affect the accuracy of answers. Two questions related with hate speech and attempting to violence were divided six questions. Two questions were converted to multiple choice format for the sake of specification. Journalistic ethics were explained to participants before the research commenced. Five units of problematic newspapers were chosen again to verify reliability test.

Coding sheet is strict to define categorisation of ethical and unethical news because of all categories were taken from Code of Ethics.

Chapter 4

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This section is divided in two parts. The first section answers basic journalism ethics questions as it concerns the 2015 General Elections in Turkey. In this section, analysis shows which newspaper infringed the journalism ethics. The sections also present some samples so as to understand the kinds of infringements perpetuated, though samples should are not related to newspapers. The other part discusses violations of journalism ethics.

Generally, results include more than one main themes of news, and more than one answers for the questions, because of each news story is contained more than one option. Therefore, there cannot be neutral answers for the questions, otherwise nonapparent expressions may cause conflicts and it cannot be said the news is ethical. Also, it is not expected for answers to be neutral even if not clear.

Ethical and unethical news were chronologically divided according to newspapers and news sources. Also, the results may not be sketched in something properly because of the strictly categorisation. The reason for higher result is likely to be due to the fact that the codes of ethics have been categorized with strict questions. The remarks made here are general expression.

4.1 Analysis of Ethical Issues

This section presents basic results about ethical violation. Results include news according to newspapers; ethical and unethical counting; alterations of news count in accordance with date, and also its ethical overthrowing issue; and some ethical questions. In addition, some examples are randomly chosen and they are included in the results.

In this study, newspapers orderly published political news on cover pages, Hürriyet (141 news), Zaman (137 news), Sabah (123 news), Sözcü (113 news) and Posta (109 news) before and after General Elections in 2015, in Turkey.

Table 1: Q4 - Evaluation of the headline in ethical approach

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Ethical**	316	50.7%
	Unethical	307	49.3%
	Total	623	100.0%

Table 1 shows total of evaluation of the headline in ethical approach is slightly ethical with 316 news out of 623 news. Unethical headlines are 307 news. High results of unethical news are existed because of as mentioned before, and these kinds of results are seemed frequently.

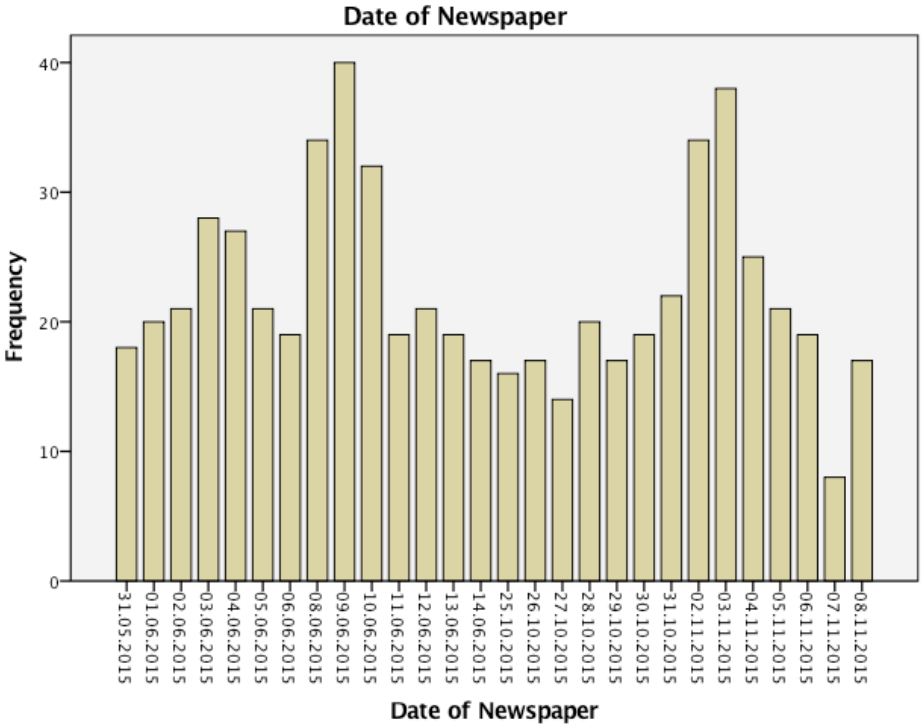

Figure 1: News relevant to politics which is published according to date

Figure 1 shows news according to dates. As it seen Figure 1, political news is becoming upward after both elections. This situation was lead for 3 consecutive days. However, more news has been published before the first election than the second one.

Table 2: Q4 - Date of Newspaper – Evaluation of the headline in ethical approach Cross Tabulation

			Evaluation of the headline in ethical approach		Total
			Ethical	Unethical	
Date of Newspaper	**31.05.2015**	Count	5	13	18
		% within Date of Newspaper	27.8%	72.2%	100.0%
		% of Total	0.8%	2.1%	2.9%
	01.06.2015	Count	6	14	20
		% within Date of Newspaper	30.0%	70.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.0%	2.2%	3.2%
	02.06.2015	Count	7	14	21

		% within Date of Newspaper	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.1%	2.2%	3.4%
	03.06.2015	Count	9	19	28
		% within Date of Newspaper	32.1%	67.9%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.4%	3.0%	4.5%
	04.06.2015	Count	6	21	27
		% within Date of Newspaper	22.2%	77.8%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.0%	3.4%	4.3%
	05.06.2015	Count	7	14	21
		% within Date of Newspaper	33.3%	66.7%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.1%	2.2%	3.4%
	06.06.2015	Count	12	7	19
		% within Date of Newspaper	63.2%	36.8%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.9%	1.1%	3.0%
	08.06.2015	Count	20	14	34
		% within Date of Newspaper	58.8%	41.2%	100.0%
		% of Total	3.2%	2.2%	5.5%
	09.06.2015	Count	27	13	40
		% within Date of Newspaper	67.5%	32.5%	100.0%
		% of Total	4.3%	2.1%	6.4%
	10.06.2015	Count	17	15	32
		% within Date of Newspaper	53.1%	46.9%	100.0%
		% of Total	2.7%	2.4%	5.1%
	11.06.2015	Count	10	9	19
		% within Date of Newspaper	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.6%	1.4%	3.0%
	12.06.2015	Count	10	11	21
		% within Date of Newspaper	47.6%	52.4%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.6%	1.8%	3.4%
	13.06.2015	Count	12	7	19
		% within Date of Newspaper	63.2%	36.8%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.9%	1.1%	3.0%
	14.06.2015	Count	8	9	17
		% within Date of Newspaper	47.1%	52.9%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.3%	1.4%	2.7%
	25.10.2015	Count	2	14	16

		% within Date of Newspaper	12.5%	87.5%	100.0%
		% of Total	0.3%	2.2%	2.6%
	26.10.2015	Count	8	9	17
		% within Date of Newspaper	47.1%	52.9%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.3%	1.4%	2.7%
	27.10.2015	Count	6	8	14
		% within Date of Newspaper	42.9%	57.1%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.0%	1.3%	2.2%
	28.10.2015	Count	8	12	20
		% within Date of Newspaper	40.0%	60.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.3%	1.9%	3.2%
	29.10.2015	Count	4	13	17
		% within Date of Newspaper	23.5%	76.5%	100.0%
		% of Total	0.6%	2.1%	2.7%
	30.10.2015	Count	9	10	19
		% within Date of Newspaper	47.4%	52.6%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.4%	1.6%	3.0%
	31.10.2015	Count	9	13	22
		% within Date of Newspaper	40.9%	59.1%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.4%	2.1%	3.5%
	02.11.2015	Count	24	10	34
		% within Date of Newspaper	70.6%	29.4%	100.0%
		% of Total	3.9%	1.6%	5.5%
	03.11.2015	Count	32	6	38
		% within Date of Newspaper	84.2%	15.8%	100.0%
		% of Total	5.1%	1.0%	6.1%
	04.11.2015	Count	16	9	25
		% within Date of Newspaper	64.0%	36.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	2.6%	1.4%	4.0%
	05.11.2015	Count	14	7	21
		% within Date of Newspaper	66.7%	33.3%	100.0%
		% of Total	2.2%	1.1%	3.4%
	06.11.2015	Count	10	9	19
		% within Date of Newspaper	52.6%	47.4%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.6%	1.4%	3.0%
	07.11.2015	Count	6	2	8

		% within Date of Newspaper	75.0%	25.0%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.0%	0.3%	1.3%
	08.11.2015	Count	12	5	17
		% within Date of Newspaper	70.6%	29.4%	100.0%
		% of Total	1.9%	0.8%	2.7%
Total		Count	316	307	623
		% within Date of Newspaper	50.7%	49.3%	100.0%
		% of Total	50.7%	49.3%	100.0%

According to Table 2, unethical news has been published more than ethical news before both elections, then the ethical news has been increased after the elections. The total number of unethical news before the first election is 102 and the second one is 79. Nevertheless, 52 news before the first election and 46 news before the second election are ethical. On the other hand, the total number of unethical news which are after first and second election that orderly are 78 and 48. Then, ethical news has been increased with 104 news after the first election and 114 news after the second election.

Table 3: Q7 - Is there right to speak for opposition?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	27	4.3%
	No	259	41.6%
	Total	286	45.9%
Missing	99.00	337	54.1%
Total		623	100.0%

In Table 3, ‘Missing’ is represented as an unknown which is not clear to understand there is right to speak for the opposition or not in the news. As stated in Table 3, right to speak for the opposition has not been allowed with 41.6% (in 259 news), and

the unknown result is the highest with 54.1% (in 337 news) out of the total (in 623 news) results. Besides, 4.3% (in 27 news) out of the total has allowed right to speak for the opposition. Given right to speak for opposition was happen rarely, but it does not mean that all were given to the opposition party. There is also government party which has been given right to speak by newspapers.

Table 4: Q8 - Is there any infringement news of private life?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	11	1.8%
	No	612	98.2%
	Total	623	100.0%

According to Table 4, results offset that private life has been infringed in 11 news out of 623, and 612 news has not infringed private life. One of the sample for this table is that Sözcü infringes private life of Reza Zarrab. The news was that Sözcü made news about 'Zarrab's unregulated condominiums for waterside' (SÖZCÜ, Zarrab'ın Kanlıca'daki yalısına kaçak kat çıkmasını manşet yaptı). This sample is unique, because Reza Zarrab has relation with the President of Turkey, and because of that, the opposition newspaper writes about one person's private life and it is being tabloidize. There could be discussion about the results, but as mentioned categorisation is sharp to be described unethical news according to Code of Ethics.

Table 5: Q9 - Is there any news expression which contains threat?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	42	6.7%
	No	580	93.1%
	Total	622	99.8%
Missing	99.00	1	.2%
Total		623	100.0%

In Table 5, threatening has been indicated 42 times, and its proportion is 6.7% out of the total. One missing information and the remaining 580 news do not contain any threat. An example for this table is that 'They will give an account of spying' (CASUSLUĞUN HESABINI VERECEKLER) from Hürriyet newspaper. This was told by the president to journalists, but according to the law, it is prohibited to judge the president, so legislation of law is not working in this process.

Table 6: Q10 - Is there any news expression which contains blackmailing?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	3	.5%
	No	619	99.4%
	Total	622	99.8%
Missing	99.00	1	.2%
Total		623	100.0%

Table 6 shows that 3 news out of 623 contain blackmailing and there is one missing which is not clear to explain. 619 unit news do not include blackmailing. According to Table 6, Sabah allowed blackmailing which is '… We call to account if we cannot make the cut, the region will be a complete mess' (… Barajı geçemezsek hesabını sorarız, bölge yangın yerine döner). This blackmailing sampling was told by member of HDP, but newspaper gave permission to reach the mass, so this issue is also unethical.

Table 7: Q11 - Is there any news expression which contains swearing?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	17	2.7%
	No	606	97.3%
	Total	623	100.0%

As is seen in Table 7, 17 unit news out of the total contain swearing and it correspond to 2.7% of whole. 606 news (97.3%) do not contain any swearing. An example of published new in Posta is that 'He would accept my invitation if he has personal dignity' (Zerre kadar haysiyeti varsa bu davetime uyar). The president feels free to underestimate the opposition, and this statement was told to the Leader of CHP. In here, disdain is like swearing, and newspaper was published this news behalf of the president. This news cannot be ethical within this possition.

Table 8: Q12 - Does the news marginalize someone or any group?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	184	29.5%
	No	439	70.5%
	Total	623	100.0%

The biggest incompatibility is showing up in Table 8. According to the question of marginalizing indicates that 184 unit news are marginalize someone or any group, and it comes up to 29.9% out of the total. Remained 439 news do not marginalize, and its proportion is 70.5% out of the total. Hürriyet contains marginalization that is 'Who do you think you are to help Turkmens' (Siz kim, Türkmenlere yardım kim). In this sampling, statement was told by the Leader of CHP, and Turkmens are marginalized. However, newspaper helped the Leader of CHP to reach the mass. Similar incidents had been done by all newspapers. It may be caused to create social differentiation.

Table 9: Q13 - Does the news attempt to violence?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	2	.3%
	No	621	99.7%
	Total	623	100.0%

Table 9 shows that there are only 2 news attempt to violence, and residual news (621 unit) does not attempt to violence. An example of attempt to violence is that 'Silent anger is blown up somewhere if god pleases' (Bu sessiz öfke bir yerlerde patlayacaktır inşallah) from Hürriyet. This expression attempts violence, and it was allowed by newspaper.

Table 10: Q14 - Does the news attempt to bullying?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	109	17.5%
	No	514	82.5%
	Total	623	100.0%

Also, Table 10 is effective as Table 9 because of the percentages. Bullying in news is 17.5% as it is shown in the Table 10. The rest of result in Table 10 indicates that 82.5% of it does not attempt to bullying. This sample from Zaman newspaper, and it is that '… blamed spying and agency' (… casusluk ve ajanlıkla suçladı). In this sampling, journalists were stigmatized by the president, but newspaper's approach was blaming the president because of the president's statement. Therefore, it can be said that newspaper's approach to the incident is unethical.

Table 11: Q15 - Does the news attempt to terrorism?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	3	.5%
	No	620	99.5%
	Total	623	100.0%

According to Table 11, 3 news attempt to terrorism and 620 do not. Attempt to terrorism news was published in Sabah and the news is that 'To make the cut or take the hill' (YA BARAJI AŞARIZ YA DAĞA ÇIKARIZ). This communique was

expressed by head of armed terrorist organization. It was allowed to publish. This is also abetment of crime, and there is a punishment in the law

Table 12: Q16 - Is there any diversion in the news?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	108	17.3%
	No	515	82.7%
	Total	623	100.0%

Diversion in the news exists as it is seen in the Table 12. 108 news includes diversion and 515 news does not. As a sample for this table is that 'Like a party's channel' (Partinin kanalı gibi) from Posta newspaper. This sampling is taken from Posta newspaper, and it was told for TRT. There could be different approach to this but Posta newspaper did not choose another way to express the news. Programmes were broadcasting according to TRT's broadcasting policy, and Posta newspaper counld not stand this policy. This is not ethical approach.

Table 13: Q17 - Does headline related with body of the news?

		Frequency	Percent
Valid	**Yes**	556	89.2%
	No	66	10.6%
	Total	622	99.8%
Missing	99.00	1	.2%
Total		623	100.0%

Table 13 displays 66 headlines do not related to body of the news, and there is one missing. However, 556 headlines are interrelating with body. According to results of Table 13, 66 times were cheated to readers about content with heading. This may be done to attract readers' attention, but it is not ethical.

4.2 Details of Infringements of Journalism Ethics

This part includes details about subheading of issues of infringements of journalism ethics relevant with previous results in this study. More than one result has been included in the same time which is related to any choices in coding sheet.

Table 14: General information of main theme

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
What is the main theme of the news?	619	99.4%	4	0.6%	623	100.0%

'What is the main theme of the news?' question has 619 values and 4 missing in this table. These 4 missing equal to none avaliable.

Table 15: Newspaper's Name - Evaluation of the headline in ethical approach Cross Tabulation

		Ethical	Unethical	Total
Newspaper's Name	Zaman	57	80	137
	Hürriyet	82	59	141
	Posta	68	41	109
	Sözcü	36	77	113
	Sabah	73	50	123
Total		316	307	623

Table 15 shows which newspaper published ethical and unethical news during the two elections campaign periods in 2015. Hürriyet published 82 ethical and 59 unethical news out of 141; Zaman did 57 ethical and 80 unethical news out of 137; Sabah did 73 ethical and 50 unethical news out of 123; Sözcü did 36 ethical and 77 unethical news out of 113; Posta did 68 ethical and 41 unethical news out of 109. It

is not possible to be said that ethical and unethical news are related with media ownership, but opposition newspapers (Zaman and Sözcü)[30] against to the government did more unethical news.

Table 16: Q5 - What is the main theme of the news? (Numbers of the news)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
What is the main theme of the news?	AKP	25	2.6%	4.0%
	AKP Member	4	0.4%	0.6%
	AKP Practices	18	1.9%	2.9%
	AKP Constitutional Amendment Package	13	1.4%	2.1%
	AKP Corruption	17	1.8%	2.7%
	AKP Meeting	30	3.1%	4.8%
	AKP Youth Branches	2	0.2%	0.3%
	CHP	14	1.5%	2.3%
	CHP Leader/Point Man	4	0.4%	0.6%
	CHP Practices	1	0.1%	0.2%
	CHP Constitutional Amendment Package	1	0.1%	0.2%
	CHP Corruption	1	0.1%	0.2%
	CHP Meeting	7	0.7%	1.1%
	MHP	7	0.7%	1.1%
	MHP Leader/Point Man	2	0.2%	0.3%
	MHP Corruption	1	0.1%	0.2%
	MHP Meeting	5	0.5%	0.8%
	HDP	7	0.7%	1.1%
	HDP Leader/Point Man	1	0.1%	0.2%
	HDP Member	2	0.2%	0.3%
	HDP Meeting	11	1.1%	1.8%
	Other Parties	3	0.3%	0.5%
	Other Parties Meeting	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Former Minister	7	0.7%	1.1%
	Media	51	5.3%	8.2%
	Newspaper	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Sözcü	1	0.1%	0.2%
	External Media	3	0.3%	0.5%
	Journalist/Press Member	4	0.4%	0.6%
	Trustee	10	1.0%	1.6%
	Social Network Sites	2	0.2%	0.3%
	Minister	2	0.2%	0.3%
	Education	4	0.4%	0.6%
	Government	24	2.5%	3.9%

[30] Zaman and Sözcü are opposition to the AKP Government because of the structure of ownership.

	President	57	5.9%	9.2%
	Prime Minister	7	0.7%	1.1%
	Local Authority	6	0.6%	1.0%
	Non-Governmental	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Institution of Public Utility[31]	2	0.2%	0.3%
	Social Events	4	0.4%	0.6%
	Police	2	0.2%	0.3%
	Intervention	17	1.8%	2.7%
	MIT	21	2.2%	3.4%
	Military	2	0.2%	0.3%
	Intervention	3	0.3%	0.5%
	Crime	3	0.3%	0.5%
	Terrorism	63	6.6%	10.2%
	Paralel Structure	16	1.7%	2.6%
	Other	2	0.2%	0.3%
	Citizen	4	0.4%	0.6%
	Jurist	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Refugees	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Any Group	3	0.3%	0.5%
	Law	17	1.8%	2.7%
	Sport Club President	4	0.4%	0.6%
	Bank Asya	4	0.4%	0.6%
	Election	285	29.7%	46.0%
	Palace	27	2.8%	4.4%
	Presidental System	17	1.8%	2.7%
	Coalition	66	6.9%	10.7%
	Solution Process	7	0.7%	1.1%
	International Relations	10	1.0%	1.6%
	Business People	2	0.2%	0.3%
	Economy	19	2.0%	3.1%
Total		959	100.0%	154.9%

In table 16, results are suitable to categorised according to the coding sheet which is written in List of Choice[32], also some news include more than one theme. Thus, *Election* is 285; *AKP* is 109; *Crime* is 82; *Media* is 72; *Government* is 70; *Coalition* is 66; *Police* is 40; *Other* is 36; *Minister* is 30; *CHP* is 28; *Palace* is 27; *HDP* is 21; *Economy* is 19; *Presidential System* is 17; *MHP* is 15; *Other Parties* is 11;

[31] Turkey Atomic Energy Agency (TAEK) and Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (BDDK).
[32] See Appendix C.

International Relations is 10; *Organizations* is 7; *Solution Process*[33] is 7; *Military* is 5; *Business People* is 2 times be emphasized in the news before and after General Elections in 2015, in Turkey. Likewise, *AKP* was ruled in that time, so it also includes *Government*, *Police*, *Minister*, *Palace*, *Presidential System*, *Solution Process* and *Military* in some way. Therewithal, news which is relevant with *AKP* is repeated 305 times during these periods.

Table 17: Q5 - What is the main theme of the news? (Numbers of ethical vs unethical news)

		Evaluation of the headline in ethical approach		Total
		Ethic	Unethic	
What is the main theme of the news?	AKP	12	13	25
	AKP Member	0	4	4
	AKP Practices	14	4	18
	AKP Constitutional Amendment Package	11	2	13
	AKP Corruption	5	12	17
	AKP Meeting	7	23	30
	AKP Youth Branches	0	2	2
	CHP	10	4	14
	CHP Leader/Point Man	4	0	4
	CHP Practices	0	1	1
	CHP Constitutional Amendment Package	1	0	1
	CHP Corruption	0	1	1
	CHP Meeting	2	5	7
	MHP	5	2	7
	MHP Leader/Point Man	2	0	2
	MHP Corruption	0	1	1
	MHP Meeting	0	5	5
	HDP	3	4	7
	HDP Leader/Point Man	0	1	1
	HDP Member	0	2	2
	HDP Meeting	7	4	11
	Other Parties	1	2	3
	Other Parties Meeting	0	1	1
	Former Minister	2	5	7
	Media	6	45	51
	Newspaper	1	0	1
	Sözcü	0	1	1

[33] It is a process of the agreements about Kurdish citizens' civil, political, social and economic rights.

	External Media	1	2	3
	Journalist/Press Member	1	3	4
	Trustee	2	8	10
	Social Network Sites	2	0	2
	Minister	0	2	2
	Education	3	1	4
	Government	11	13	24
	President	19	38	57
	Prime Minister	3	4	7
	Local Authority	0	6	6
	Non-Governmental	1	0	1
	Institution of Public Utility	1	1	2
	Social Events	1	3	4
	Police	2	0	2
	Intervention	4	13	17
	MIT	9	12	21
	Military	1	1	2
	Intervention	1	2	3
	Crime	1	2	3
	Terrorism	29	34	63
	Paralel Structure	3	13	16
	Other	0	2	2
	Citizen	4	0	4
	Jurist	1	0	1
	Refugees	0	1	1
	Any Group	0	3	3
	Law	9	8	17
	Sport Club President	0	4	4
	Bank Asya	0	4	4
	Election	163	122	285
	Palace	11	16	27
	Presidental System	12	5	17
	Coalition	41	25	66
	Solution Process	3	4	7
	International Relations	7	3	10
	Business People	0	2	2
	Economy	17	2	19
Total		315	304	619

According to Table 17, *Election* is the highest results even unethical approach. 163 times ethical and 122 times unethical news is published. 49 ethical and 60 unethical news includes *AKP* directly. *Coalition* has 41 ethical and 25 unethical news; *Crime* and *Government* have 33 ethical news, but *Crime* has 49 unethical and *Government*

has 61 unethical news. 17 ethical and 11 unethical news are related to *CHP*. Also, *Economy* has 17 ethical news, but 2 unethical news related to it. 15 ethical and 25 unethical news related to *Police*. *Other* is 14 ethical and 22 unethical; *Media* is 13 ethical and 59 unethical; *Presidental System* is 12 ethical and 5 unethical; *Palace* is 12 ethical and 16 unethical; *HDP* is 10 ethical and 11 unethical; *International Relations* is 7 ethical and 3 unethical; *MHP* is 7 ethical and 8 unethical; *Minister* is 3 ethical and 3 unethical; *Organizations* is 3 ethical and 4 unethical; *Other Parties* is 3 ethical and 8 unethical; *Solution Process* is 3 ethical and 4 unethical; *Military* is 2 ethical and 3 unethical; *Business People* is none ethical and 2 unethical news included.

Table 18: Q6 - Is there any source of news? (Sources according to the newspapers)

		Newspaper's Name					Total
		Zaman	Hürriyet	Posta	Sözcü	Sabah	
Sources According to Newspapers	AKP	1	0	0	0	0	1
	AKP Leader/Point Man	0	6	3	0	0	9
	AKP Member	2	2	3	5	5	17
	CHP	1	0	0	0	1	2
	CHP Leader/Point Man	8	21	13	4	2	48
	CHP Member	6	1	4	7	1	19
	MHP	1	0	0	0	0	1
	MHP Leader/Point Man	9	16	10	4	1	40
	MHP Member	8	2	1	3	0	14
	HDP	2	0	0	0	0	2
	HDP Leader/Point Man	9	16	9	0	1	35
	HDP Member	2	0	2	0	0	4
	Other Parties	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Other Parties Leader/Point Man	9	1	0	0	0	10

	Other Parties Member	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Former Minister	5	6	5	1	1	18
	Media	1	0	0	0	3	4
	DHA	0	2	3	1	0	6
	AA	0	1	0	0	0	1
	Newspaper	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Zaman	44	0	0	0	0	44
	Hürriyet	0	20	0	0	0	20
	Posta	0	0	47	0	0	47
	Sözcü	0	0	0	82	0	82
	Sabah	0	0	0	0	59	59
	External Media	3	5	3	1	1	13
	Journalist/Press Member	63	27	13	22	13	138
	Social Network Sites	1	0	2	1	1	5
	Minister	2	2	0	0	1	5
	Education	2	0	0	0	0	2
	Government	2	2	1	0	2	7
	President	3	12	8	0	22	45
	Prime Minister	3	16	12	1	24	56
	Local Authority	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Non-Governmental	3	5	0	0	2	10
	Institution of Public Utility[34]	4	0	2	0	0	6
	International	8	3	1	1	1	14
	Police	0	0	0	1	0	1
	Military	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Other	4	3	0	4	0	11
	Citizen	2	0	0	0	0	2
	Jurist	4	0	0	1	0	5
	Any Group	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Business People	3	0	0	0	2	5
Total		137	141	109	113	123	623

According to Table 18, Zaman used 63 times *Journalist/Press Member*, 44 times *Zaman Newspaper*, 18 times *MHP*, 16 times *Other Parties*, 15 times *CHP* and

[34] Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK), Chamber of Architects of Turkey (TMMOB), Turkish Industry and Business Association (TÜSİAD), Education and Science Workers' Union (Eğitim-Sen), Association of Law and Life (which was closed by delegated legislation because of FETÖ inquest), Union of Chambers and Commodity Exchanges of Turkey (TOBB), Confederation of Turkish Tradesmen and Craftsmen (TESK) and Turkish Enterprise and Business Confederation (TÜRKONFED).

Organizations, 13 times *HDP*, 12 times *Government* (with *Minister*), 11 times *Other* sources, 3 times *AKP* and *Business People*, and 1 time *Media*, *Newspaper* (which is Cumhuriyet), *Social Network Sites* (which is Twitter) and *Military* as news sources.

Besides, Hüriyet used 32 times *Government* (with *Minister*), 27 times *Journalist/Press Member*, 22 times *CHP*, 20 times *Hüriyet Newspaper*, 18 times *MHP*, 16 times *HDP*, 8 times *AKP* and *Organizations*, 7 times *Other Parties*, 3 times *Other*, 2 times *DHA*, and 1 time *AA* as news sources.

Likewise, Posta used 47 times *Posta Newspaper*, 21 times *Government*, 17 times *CHP*, 13 times *Journalist/Press Member*, 11 times *MHP* and *HDP*, 6 times *AKP*, 5 times *Other Parties*, 3 times *DHA*, *External Media* and *Organizations*, and 2 times *Social Network Sites* (which is Twitter) as news sources.

Sözcü also used 82 times *Sözcü Newspaper*, 22 times *Journalist/Press Member*, 11 times *CHP*, 7 times *MHP*, 5 times *AKP* and *Other*, and 1 time *Other Parties*, *DHA*, *External Media*, *Social Network Sites* (which is Twitter), *Government*, *Organizations* and *Police* as news sources.

Sabah used 59 times *Sabah Newspaper*, 50 times *Government* (with *Minister*), 13 times *Journalist/Press Member*, 5 times *AKP*, 4 times *CHP*, 3 times *Media* and *Organizastions*, 2 times *Business People*, and 1 time *MHP*, *HDP*, *Other Parties*, *External Media* and *Social Network Sites* (which is Twitter) as news cources.

Table 19: Q6 - Is there any news source of news? (News sources according to the List of Choice)

	Responses	Percent of

		N	Percent	Cases
News Source	AKP	1	0.1%	0.2%
	AKP Leader/Point Man	9	1.1%	1.4%
	AKP Member	17	2.1%	2.7%
	CHP	2	0.2%	0.3%
	CHP Leader/Point Man	48	5.9%	7.7%
	CHP Member	19	2.3%	3.0%
	MHP	1	0.1%	0.2%
	MHP Leader/Point Man	40	4.9%	6.4%
	MHP Member	14	1.7%	2.2%
	HDP	2	0.2%	0.3%
	HDP Leader/Point Man	35	4.3%	5.6%
	HDP Member	4	0.5%	0.6%
	Other Parties	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Other Parties Leader/Point Man	10	1.2%	1.6%
	Other Parties Member	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Former Minister	18	2.2%	2.9%
	Media	4	0.5%	0.6%
	DHA	6	0.7%	1.0%
	AA	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Newspaper	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Zaman	44	5.4%	7.1%
	Hürriyet	20	2.5%	3.2%
	Posta	47	5.8%	7.5%
	Sözcü	82	10.1%	13.2%
	Sabah	59	7.3%	9.5%
	External Media	13	1.6%	2.1%
	Journalist/Press Member	138	17.1%	22.2%
	Social Network Sites	5	0.6%	0.8%
	Minister	5	0.6%	0.8%
	Education	2	0.2%	0.3%
	Government	7	0.9%	1.1%
	President	45	5.6%	7.2%
	Prime Minister	56	6.9%	9.0%
	Local Authority	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Non-Governmental	10	1.2%	1.6%
	Institution of Public Utility	6	0.7%	1.0%
	International	14	1.7%	2.2%
	Police	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Military	1	0.1%	0.2%
	Other	11	1.4%	1.8%
	Citizen	2	0.2%	0.3%
	Jurist	5	0.6%	0.8%
	Any Group	1	0.1%	0.2%
Total		809	100.0%	129.9%

Table 19 shows that 253 times *Newspapers* (Zaman, Hürriyet, Posta, Sözcü, Sabah and Cumhuriyet), 138 times *Journalist/Press Member*, 116 times *Government* (with *Minister*), 69 times *CHP*, 55 times *MHP*, 41 times *HDP*, 30 times *Other Parties* (which also includes *Former Minister*) and *Organizastions*, and 27 times *AKP* are consulted as a news source.

Table 20: Q8 - Is there any infringement News of Private Life? (by who)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Infringement News of Private Life by Who	CHP Leader/Point Man	1	9.1%	9.1%
	MHP Leader/Point Man	1	9.1%	9.1%
	Sözcü	6	54.5%	54.5%
	Sabah	1	9.1%	9.1%
	Journalist/Press Member	2	18.2%	18.2%
Total		11	100.0%	100.0%

Table 20 shows who did infringement of private life. It is repeated totally 11 times in news, and *Sözcü* did this 6 times, *Journalist/Press Member* did 2 times, and *CHP Leader/Point Man*, *MHP Leader/Point Man* and *Sabah* did 1 time.

Table 21: Q8 - Is there any infringement News of Private Life? (to whom)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Infringement News of Whose Private Life	AKP	1	8.3%	9.1%
	AKP Member	2	16.7%	18.2%
	CHP Member	1	8.3%	9.1%
	Government	1	8.3%	9.1%
	President	3	25.0%	27.3%
	Other	1	8.3%	9.1%
	Citizen	1	8.3%	9.1%
	Jurist	1	8.3%	9.1%
	Business People	1	8.3%	9.1%
Total		12	100.0%	109.1%

Table 21 is relevant to Table 20, and it shows that whose private life is infringed. *President*'s private life was infringed 3 times, and *AKP Member*'s private life was infringed 2 times. *AKP*, *CHP Member*, *Government*, *Other*, *Citizen*, *Jurist* and *Business People*'s private life were infringed 1 time. In this table, some information show general things which are categorised according to List of Choice. It is repeated 12 times in the total.

Table 22: Q9 - Is there any news expression which contains threat? (by who)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Contains Threat by Who	AKP	1	2.4%	2.4%
	AKP Member	1	2.4%	2.4%
	Youth Branches	2	4.9%	4.9%
	MHP Leader/Point Man	4	9.8%	9.8%
	MHP Member	2	4.9%	4.9%
	HDP	1	2.4%	2.4%
	HDP Leader/Point Man	5	12.2%	12.2%
	Other Parties Leader/Point Man	1	2.4%	2.4%
	Former Minister	1	2.4%	2.4%
	Sözcü	5	12.2%	12.2%
	External Media	1	2.4%	2.4%
	Government	1	2.4%	2.4%
	President	8	19.5%	19.5%
	Prime Minister	5	12.2%	12.2%
	Terrorism	2	4.9%	4.9%
	Jurist	1	2.4%	2.4%
Total		41	100.0%	100.0%

Table 22 displays who threated in that time, and it is happened 41 times. *President* threated 8 times. *HDP Leader/Point Man*, *Sözcü* and *Prime Minister* threated 5 times. *MHP Leader/Point Man* threated 4 times. *AKP Youth Branches*, *MHP Member* and *Terrorism* (terrorist group which is PKK). *AKP*, *AKP Member*, *HDP*,

Other Parties Leader/Point Man, *Former Minister*, *External Media*, *Government* and *Jurist* did 1 time.

Table 23: Q9 - Is there any news expression which contains threat? (to whom)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Contains Threat to Whom	AKP	7	12.7%	16.7%
	MHP	4	7.3%	9.5%
	Other Parties	3	5.5%	7.1%
	Media	1	1.8%	2.4%
	Dogan Medya Yayin Holding Inc.	1	1.8%	2.4%
	Sözcü	1	1.8%	2.4%
	External Media	1	1.8%	2.4%
	Journalist/Press Member	5	9.1%	11.9%
	Government	7	12.7%	16.7%
	President	2	3.6%	4.8%
	Prime Minister	2	3.6%	4.8%
	Local Authority	3	5.5%	7.1%
	Police	1	1.8%	2.4%
	Terrorism	3	5.5%	7.1%
	Paralel Structure	1	1.8%	2.4%
	Other	2	3.6%	4.8%
	Citizen	8	14.5%	19.0%
	Jurist	1	1.8%	2.4%
	Bank Asya	1	1.8%	2.4%
	Business People	1	1.8%	2.4%
Total		55	100.0%	131.0%

Table 23 and Table 22 is interrelated. Table 23 shows who was threatened. 55 times people were threatened in the total. *Government* (which also includes *President*, *Prime Ministeran* and *Local Authority*) was threatened 14 times. *Citizen* was threatened 8 times, and *AKP* were threatened 7 times. *Media* as a combination (according to List of Choice) which includes *Dogan Medya Yayin Holding Inc.*, *Sözcü*, *External Media* and *Journalist/Press Member* were threatened 9 times. *MHP* 4 times and *Other Parties* 3 times were threatened. *Terrorism* (terrorist organizations

which are PKK and ISIS) was threatened 3 times too. *Other* (which also includes *Jurist* and *Bank Asya*) was threatened 4 times. *Police*, *Parallel Structure* and *Business People* were threatened 1 time.

Table 24: Q10 - Is there any news expression which contains blackmailing? (by who)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Contains Blackmailing by Who	MHP Leader/Point Man	1	33.3%	33.3%
	International	1	33.3%	33.3%
	Terrorism	1	33.3%	33.3%
Total		3	100.0%	100.0%

Table 24 shows who did blackmailing, and 3 blackmailing were existed in the total. *MHP Leader/Point Man*, *International* and *Terrorism* (which is PKK) did blackmailing once in the period of General Election in 2015, in Turkey,

Table 25: Q10 - Is there any news expression which contains blackmailing? (to whom)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Contains Blackmailing to Whom	AKP	1	33.3%	33.3%
	Government	1	33.3%	33.3%
	Citizen	1	33.3%	33.3%
Total		3	100.0%	100.0%

AKP, *Government* and *Citizen* were faced blackmailing once according out of 3 news to Table 25.

Table 26: Q11 - Is there any news expression which contains swearing? (by who)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Contains Swearing by Who	CHP Leader/Point Man	1	6.3%	6.3%
	MHP Leader/Point Man	2	12.5%	12.5%

	MHP Member	1	6.3%	6.3%
	Sözcü	1	6.3%	6.3%
	Sabah	1	6.3%	6.3%
	Journalist/Press Member	2	12.5%	12.5%
	Trustee	1	6.3%	6.3%
	President	6	37.5%	37.5%
	Prime Minister	1	6.3%	6.3%
Total		16	100.0%	100.0%

Table 26 shows 16 news contains swearing in the total which were done by someone. *President* did swearing 6 times, *MHP Leader/Point Man* and *Journalist/Press Member* did 2 times. *CHP Leader/Point Man*, *MHP Member*, *Sözcü*, *Sabah*, *Trustee* and *Prime Minister* did once.

Table 27: Q11 - Is there any news expression which contains swearing? (to whom)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Contains Swearing to Whom[a]	AKP Member	1	5.3%	7.1%
	CHP	2	10.5%	14.3%
	CHP Leader/Point Man	2	10.5%	14.3%
	MHP	1	5.3%	7.1%
	HDP	2	10.5%	14.3%
	Other Parties	1	5.3%	7.1%
	Media	3	15.8%	21.4%
	Journalist/Press Member	2	10.5%	14.3%
	Minister	1	5.3%	7.1%
	President	2	10.5%	14.3%
	Terrorism	1	5.3%	7.1%
	Citizen	1	5.3%	7.1%
Total		19	100.0%	135.7%

Table 27 is relavant to Table 26, and it displays who was gotten target for swearing. 19 targets were contained in the total. *Media* (with *Journalist/Press Member*) was targeted 5 times. *CHP* (with *CHP Leader/Point Man*) was faced with swearing 4

times. Also, *HDP* and *President* were sworn 2 times. *MHP*, *Other Parties*, *Minister*, *Terrorism* (which is PKK) and *Citizen* were also faced with swearing once.

Table 28: Q12 - Does the news marginalize someone or any group? (by who)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Marginalizing by Who	AKP Leader/Point Man	1	0.5%	0.5%
	AKP Member	4	2.1%	2.2%
	CHP Leader/Point Man	20	10.3%	10.8%
	CHP Member	3	1.5%	1.6%
	MHP Leader/Point Man	14	7.2%	7.6%
	MHP Member	5	2.6%	2.7%
	HDP	1	0.5%	0.5%
	HDP Leader/Point Man	14	7.2%	7.6%
	Other Parties	2	1.0%	1.1%
	Other Parties Leader/Point Man	2	1.0%	1.1%
	Other Parties Member	1	0.5%	0.5%
	Former Minister	6	3.1%	3.2%
	Media	3	1.5%	1.6%
	Newspaper	1	0.5%	0.5%
	Zaman	11	5.6%	5.9%
	Hürriyet	1	0.5%	0.5%
	Posta	1	0.5%	0.5%
	Sözcü	31	15.9%	16.8%
	Sabah	10	5.1%	5.4%
	External Media	2	1.0%	1.1%
	Journalist/Press Member	7	3.6%	3.8%
	Minister	1	0.5%	0.5%
	Government	2	1.0%	1.1%
	President	22	11.3%	11.9%
	Prime Minister	23	11.8%	12.4%
	Non-Governmental	1	0.5%	0.5%
	Institution of Public Utility	1	0.5%	0.5%
	Military	1	0.5%	0.5%
	Citizen	2	1.0%	1.1%
	Jurist	2	1.0%	1.1%
Total		195	100.0%	105.4%

Table 28 shows that who marginalize someone or any group between chosen dates for the research. News was triggered 195 times in the total otherization. *Sözcü* did otherise most, with 31 times. After that, *Prime Minister*, *President* and *CHP Leader/Point Man* follow it respectively 23, 22 and 20 times. *MHP Leader/Point Man* and *HDP Leader/Point Man* marginalized 14 times. *Journalis/Press Member*, *Former Minister* and *MHP Member* also marginalized sequentially 7, 6 and 5 times. *AKP Member* did 4 times, *CHP Member* and *Media* did 3 times. *Other Parties*, *Other Parties Leader/Point Man*, *External Media*, *Government*, *Citizen* and *Jurist* marginalized 2 times. Lastly, *AKP Leader/Point Man*, *HDP*, *Other Parties Member*, *Newspaper*, *Hürriyet*, *Posta*, *Minister*, *Non-Governemental* (Organization), *Institution of Publich Utility* and *Military* marginalized once.

Table 29: Q12 - Does the news marginalize someone or any group? (to whom)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Marginalize to Whom	AKP	50	14.7%	27.2%
	AKP Member	5	1.5%	2.7%
	CHP	34	10.0%	18.5%
	CHP Leader/Point Man	3	0.9%	1.6%
	MHP	30	8.8%	16.3%
	MHP Leader/Point Man	1	0.3%	0.5%
	HDP	48	14.2%	26.1%
	HDP Leader/Point Man	1	0.3%	0.5%
	Other Parties	26	7.7%	14.1%
	Former Minister	1	0.3%	0.5%
	Media	14	4.1%	7.6%
	AA	2	0.6%	1.1%
	Newspaper	4	1.2%	2.2%
	Hürriyet	1	0.3%	0.5%
	Sabah	2	0.6%	1.1%
	External Media	3	0.9%	1.6%
	Journalist/Press Member	1	0.3%	0.5%
	Social Network Sites	2	0.6%	1.1%
	Minister	2	0.6%	1.1%
	Government	36	10.6%	19.6%
	President	17	5.0%	9.2%

	Institution of Public Utility	1	0.3%	0.5%
	International	2	0.6%	1.1%
	Police	5	1.5%	2.7%
	Terrorism	3	0.9%	1.6%
	Paralel Structure	6	1.8%	3.3%
	Other	5	1.5%	2.7%
	Citizen	24	7.1%	13.0%
	Jurist	1	0.3%	0.5%
	Refugees	1	0.3%	0.5%
	Any Group	4	1.2%	2.2%
	Sport	2	0.6%	1.1%
	Business People	2	0.6%	1.1%
Total		339	100.0%	184.2%

Table 29 is relevant to Table 28. This table shows who were marginalized by who was indicated in Table 28. Furthermore, 339 times marginalization were used againt someone and/or any group. *AKP* was the ruler, and so *Government* and *Minister* were belonged to *AKP*, so they can be counted in *AKP*'s group. Hereby, *AKP* (with *AKP Member*, *Government* and *Minister*) was marginalized 93 times, then *HDP* (with *HDP Member*) follows it with 49 times. *CHP* (with *CHP Member*) was marginalized 37 times. *MHP* (with *MHP Member*) was marginalized 31 times. *Media* (with *AA*, *Newspaper*, *Hürriyet*, *Sabah*, *External Media*, *Journalist/Press Member* and *Social Network Sites*) was marginalized 29 times and *Other Parties* (with *Former Minister*) was done 27 times. *Citizen* was marginalized 24 times. *Other* (with *Jurist*, *Refugees*, *Any Group* and *Sport*) was marginalized 13 times and *Paralel Structure* (which is Gülen Cemaati) was marginalize 6 times. *Police* was marginalized 5 times. *Organization* (with *Institution of Public Utility* and *International*) and *Business People* were marginalized 3 and 2 times.

Table 30: Q13 - Does the news attempt to violence? (by who)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Attempt to Violence by Who	MHP Leader/Point Man	1	50.0%	50.0%
	President	1	50.0%	50.0%
Total		2	100.0%	100.0%

Table 30 indicates that who attempt to violence and it was existed 2 times. *MHP Leader/Point Man* and *President* did once.

Table 31: Q13 - Does the news attempt to violence? (to whom)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Attempt to Violence to Whom	HDP	1	100.0%	100.0%
Total		1	100.0%	100.0%

Table 31 show that *HDP* was targeted to violence by *MHP Leader/Point Man* and *President* according to Table 31.

Table 32: Q14 - Does the news attempt to bullying? (by who)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Bullying by Who	AKP Leader/Point Man	1	0.9%	0.9%
	AKP Member	3	2.7%	2.8%
	CHP Leader/Point Man	6	5.3%	5.6%
	CHP Member	2	1.8%	1.9%
	MHP	1	0.9%	0.9%
	MHP Leader/Point Man	14	12.4%	13.1%
	MHP Member	4	3.5%	3.7%
	HDP	1	0.9%	0.9%
	HDP Leader/Point Man	3	2.7%	2.8%
	Zaman	6	5.3%	5.6%
	Hürriyet	1	0.9%	0.9%
	Sözcü	24	21.2%	22.4%
	Sabah	6	5.3%	5.6%
	External Media	2	1.8%	1.9%
	Journalist/Press Member	7	6.2%	6.5%

	Trustee	2	1.8%	1.9%
	Social Network Sites	1	0.9%	0.9%
	Government	2	1.8%	1.9%
	President	10	8.8%	9.3%
	Prime Minister	9	8.0%	8.4%
	Institution of Public Utility	1	0.9%	0.9%
	International	2	1.8%	1.9%
	Police	2	1.8%	1.9%
	Military	1	0.9%	0.9%
	Terrorism	1	0.9%	0.9%
	Sport	1	0.9%	0.9%
Total		113	100.0%	105.6%

According to Table 32, *Sözcü* is the top to bullying with 24 times. Then, *MHP* (with *MHP Leader/Point Man* and *MHP Member*) bullied 19 times; *President* bullied 10; *Prime Minister* bullied 9 times; *CHP* (with *CHP Leader/Point Man* and *CHP Member*) bullied 8 times; *Journalist/Press Member* bullied 7 times; *Zaman* and *Sabah* and *AKP* (with *AKP Leader/Point Man*, *AKP Member* and *Government*) bullied 6 times; *HDP* (with *HDP Leader/Point Man*) bullied 4 times; *Extarnal Media*, *Trustee*, *International* (which is under the Organization category) and *Police* bullied 2 times; *Hürriyet*, *Social Network Sites*, *Institution of Public Utility*, *Military*, *Terrorism* (which is PKK) and *Sport* (which is president of Trabzonspor) bullied once.

Table 33: Q14 - Does the news attempt to bullying? (to whom)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Bullying to Whom	AKP	19	12.3%	18.3%
	AKP Member	4	2.6%	3.8%
	CHP	10	6.5%	9.6%
	CHP Leader/Point Man	3	1.9%	2.9%
	CHP Member	1	0.6%	1.0%
	MHP	10	6.5%	9.6%
	MHP Member	1	0.6%	1.0%
	HDP	16	10.4%	15.4%

	HDP Leader/Point Man	3	1.9%	2.9%
	Other Parties	8	5.2%	7.7%
	Former Minister	1	0.6%	1.0%
	Media	3	1.9%	2.9%
	AA	2	1.3%	1.9%
	Dogan Medya Yayin Holding Inc.	1	0.6%	1.0%
	Newspaper	2	1.3%	1.9%
	Hürriyet	1	0.6%	1.0%
	External Media	1	0.6%	1.0%
	Journalist/Press Member	8	5.2%	7.7%
	Government	8	5.2%	7.7%
	President	28	18.2%	26.9%
	Prime Minister	9	5.8%	8.7%
	Local Authority	1	0.6%	1.0%
	International	1	0.6%	1.0%
	Police	2	1.3%	1.9%
	Paralel Structure	1	0.6%	1.0%
	Citizen	6	3.9%	5.8%
	Jurist	1	0.6%	1.0%
	Sport	2	1.3%	1.9%
	Business People	1	0.6%	1.0%
Total		154	100.0%	148.1%

Table 33 shows who was bullied, and *President* was bullied 28 times which is highest. Then, *AKP* (with *AKP Member*) follows it with 23 times, and *HDP* (with *HDP Leader/Point Man*) is 19 times. Also, *Media* (with *AA*, *Dogan Medya Yayin Holding Inc.*, *Newspaper*, *Hürriyet*, *Extarnal Media* and *Journalist/Press Member*) was bullied in 18 news. Table 33 display that *CHP* (with *CHP Leader/Point Man*) was bullied 14 times and *MHP* (with *MHP Member*) was bullied 11 times. Then, *Prime Minister* follows thwm with 9 times, and *Government* was bullied 8 times. *Citizen* ranks as 6 times. *Police* and *Sport* (which is President of Trabzonspor) also was bullied 2 times. Lastly, *Local Authority*, *International* (which is *Organization*), *Paralel Structure*, *Jurist* and *Business People* were bullied once.

Table 34: Q15 - Does the news attempt to terrorism? (by who)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Attempt to Terrorism by Who	HDP	1	33.3%	33.3%
	Former Minister	1	33.3%	33.3%
	President	1	33.3%	33.3%
Total		3	100.0%	100.0%

Table 34 which is related to the Question 15 displays who attempt to terrorism, and *HDP*, *Former Minister* and *President* attempted once.

Table 35: Q15 - Does the news attempt to terrorism? (to whom)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Attempt to Terrorism to Whom	HDP	1	33.3%	33.3%
	Local Authority	1	33.3%	33.3%
	Citizen	1	33.3%	33.3%
Total		3	100.0%	100.0%

Table 35 demonstrates that 3 news were attempted against to *HDP*, *Local Authority* and *Citizen* once.

Table 36: Q16 - Is there any diversion in the news?

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Question16_who	110	17.7%	513	82.3%	623	100.0%

Table 36 answers the Question 16 pursuant to general values. It shows that 17.7% out of the total which include diversion in the news.

Table 37: Q16 - Is there any diversion in the news? (by who)

		Responses		Percent of Cases
		N	Percent	
Diversion by Who	AKP Member	2	1.7%	1.8%
	CHP Leader/Point Man	5	4.3%	4.5%
	CHP Member	1	0.9%	0.9%
	MHP Leader/Point Man	4	3.4%	3.6%
	MHP Member	2	1.7%	1.8%
	HDP Leader/Point Man	2	1.7%	1.8%
	HDP Member	1	0.9%	0.9%
	Other Parties	1	0.9%	0.9%
	Other Parties Leader/Point Man	1	0.9%	0.9%
	Former Minister	1	0.9%	0.9%
	DHA	1	0.9%	0.9%
	Newspaper	1	0.9%	0.9%
	Zaman	10	8.5%	9.1%
	Hürriyet	3	2.6%	2.7%
	Posta	3	2.6%	2.7%
	Sözcü	50	42.7%	45.5%
	Sabah	7	6.0%	6.4%
	Journalist/Press Member	11	9.4%	10.0%
	President	8	6.8%	7.3%
	Prime Minister	3	2.6%	2.7%
Total		117	100.0%	106.4%

Table 37 is relavant to Table 36. It shows who made diversion in the news. Results demonstrate that *Sözcü* has highest outcomes with 50 times, then *Journalist/Press Member* follows it with 11 times, and then *Zaman* comes with 10 times. *President* also did diversion 8 times, and *Sabah* did it 7 times. *CHP* (with *CHP Leader/Point Man* and *CHP Member*) and *MHP* (with *MHP Leader/Point Man* and *MHP Member*) did 6 times. *HDP* (with *HDP Leader/Point Man* and *HDP Member*) and *Prime Minister* diverted 3 times. *Former Minister*, *DHA* and *Newspaper* did once.

Chapter 5

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

This chapter is divided into three sections. The chapter presents a short summary of the study, revisits research questions, draw conclusion from the study and suggests newer research areas for further investigation.

5.1 Summary of the Study

Based on findings of the study, it is evident that infringement of journalism ethics is predominant in the world today even in liberal democratic society. It is pertinent to say journalists also have their own values. However, self-interested media owners and politicians are some of the major causes of infringement of journalism ethics. These kinds of infringements were existed in campaign periods of elections.

In this study, we evaluated infringement of journalism ethics during the two General Elections of 2015 in Turkey. Five newspapers were analysed which are *Zaman*, *Hürriyet*, *Sözcü*, *Posta* and *Sabah*. These were selected due to top five highest circulation as reported by BİK. Content analysis was used to highlight infringements and a coding sheet was prepared according to journalism ethics. 623 news from 150 newspapers were analysed with coding sheet which comprises 17 questions.

5.2 Conclusions Drawn from the Study

This research was conducted to investigate ethical infringements in journalism during the two periods of 2015 General Elections in Turkey. The study evaluates two important periods; before and after both elections. The following five Turkish daily

newspapers were chosen; *Zaman*, *Hürriyet*, *Sözcü*, *Posta* and *Sabah* out of 32. Content analysis was used to count number of journalism ethics infringements. Findings of related studies were discussed alongside results of the present study to show consistency or inconsistencies.

The first major research question asks; 'Is there any unethical news has been published in five Turkish language daily newspapers during the two election campaign periods of 2015 General Elections in June - November, in 2015?', and the results show that a considerable amount of unethical news were published during the two election campaign periods, especially when it is related to AKP and the current government. This is evidents in almost half of the news stories. Previous research shows that AKP was dominant on the news coverage in Turkish Election of 2011 (Çarkoğlu, Baruh, & Yıldırım, 2014, p. 296), and this may have been a strategy by AKP to be in the limelight.

Two important periods were chosen to understand what can change if the media becomes bias. The second major research question asks; 'What changed in between the two elections related in respect to unethical news publishing during the 2015 General Election in June and November, in 2015?'. The second question was displayed the details of infringements before and after the elections. Results show that electioneering and political news were highly covered the day after both elections. The high coverage continued even after three days. Results show that unethical news is remarkable high in the first period of both elections in 2015. Conversely, news were mostly ethical after the elections, and this situation shows that the media take a stand according to the results of elections. As Williams (2003) mentioned 'capitalist class' or 'ruling class' act to protect its position (p. 75). Just

because of this reason, inactive media organs became active after announcement of election results in favor of the government. This can be used to manipulate the society. In this manner, it is explicit to support and give parties a ground for propaganda by the media. However, there is no certain information that relations between media owners and politics causes infringement of journalism ethics. Nevertheless, Hürriyet's widely read columnist was resigned because of the AKP Government's substantial pressure to Doğan Yayın Holding Inc. after the general election of July 22nd, 2007 (Kaya & Çakmur, 2010, p. 533), and this issue may restrain journalist from expressing themselves against the AKP's government. Thus, pro-government media which are Doğan Yayın Holding Inc. (*Hürriyet* and *Posta* were analyzed in this study) and Turkuvaz Medya Grubu (*Sabah* was analyzed in this study) (Sözeri, 2015; Yesil, 2016), strongly defend the current government and AKP against opposition, and make news in accordance with the government's and AKP's needs.

In this manner, it can be said that media ownership steer journalist to infringe journalism ethics against the opposition. In Turkey, it is evident because Doğan Yayın Holding Inc. and Turkuvaz Medya Grubu have major media companies and shares in other businesses, thus it is easy to reach the mass. Chomsky (1989) states capitals can manipulate the masses with depictured of candidates. Thereby, reporting ethical news increased, in conjunction with the changing equilibrium. It is obvious that attitudes of media owners' are aimed to protecting own market equilibrium, otherwise proceeds may be thought to lose. Thus, the media use its power in support of political ideology which visually changes the aggressive attitudes in the sequel election results (See Table 2).

Similar results were found before and after both elections (See Table 2). As seen in Table 1, the ratio of the unethical news rated high, but as one can see the ethical news is higher than the unethical news. However, it can be said that high rate of unethical news supports political campaigns. Unethical news before elections decreased after elections, moreover, it seems similar in both elections (See Table 2). This shows that unethical news are presented for political purpose in the intense period. Generally, pro-government media infringe journalism ethics to dominate the opposition, and the opposition media responds and infringe journalism ethics to prevail against the government and AKP. Sometimes, the oppsotion expressed themseleves on the news, but it does not mean that it was ethical. Mostly, *Zaman* newspaper infringed journalism ethics to create pressure for AKP and the government of the day. In 2016, the government shut it down *Zaman* newspaper because of these activities. Despite all, party exposed to unethical news and animadversion which defeated the other parties and won the election. Thus, the expression of 'there's no such thing as bad publicity' justifies why they won.

As McCombs (2005) indicates, agenda-setting can also be used to protect 'corporate reputations' (p. 553). The media can manipulate news to confuse the mass by infringing journalism ethics. Media companies can protect 'corporate reputations' when the news is under the spotlight for the society. Thus, infringement of journalism ethics may be used to distract for agenda-setting. In this research, result shows that generally, hate speeches and assaults were used to distract attention. However, these things were mostly made by the opposition and targeted at the government.

The minor questions of this study were also evaluated. For example; 'Does the news marginalize someone or any group?'. Result shows that *Sözcü* marginalized some individuals and groups. Journalists who work with *Sözcü* may find it acceptable to infringe journalism ethics by virtue of being an opposition, but this is not crystal-clear fact and it does not justify their actions. Also, *Zaman* gave source information. They also made it possible for journalists to infringe journalism ethics and apprently, following journalism code of ethic, this is not also acceptable.

According to results, mainstream media mostly present news about the government of the day. O'Sullivan et al. (2006) indicates that raw information is eliminated by gatekeepers to keep some information for themselves (See Table 15). This can be because of governmental affiliations. One of the most important factors that justifies why most mainstream media present news for the government is the media ownership in Turkey. As aforemtntioned, there are links between media owners which are Doğan Yayın Holding Inc.;Turkuvaz Medya Grubu and government party[35] in Turkey. Thereupon, it is an unavoidable situation that all news related to the governmet within the scope of 'win win' is related directly or indirectly to government party. Based of the findings of this study, it evident that in Turkey, expression of variety of opnions are restricted. It is apparent in the analysis that 'us-them' dichotomy rveals that the marginalised or voiceless groups or people are hardly represented. All in all, media helps the parties to propagate, and news were presented in ways that supports the current government instead of giving an array of voices an opportunity to be represented.

[35] AKP was the government party during the study.

At one time or another, unethical news were reported to divert attention. Mostly, it was made to pressure a group or steer society. It is seen that ownership and ideological structure constitutes opposing party because of this situation. Usually, *Sözcü* did diversions and this shows that the paper involves ideology of CHP. Besides, there is no tie between *Sözcü* and government party when examining media ownership within the scope of the research. This is revealed because it was the only opposition to current ideology.

It is pertinent to note that results of minor questions cannot be generalised. The unethical news is being made in any case. Furthermore, ethical infringements have existed in significant subjects during the elections; threatening, blackmailing, sevearing and attempt to terrorism were not used often as seen. This might be because of legal sanctions concerns.

The findings of this study shows that the rate of ethical and unethical news are closely distrubuted. Substantial number of unethical news was reported and this can be because of 'journalistic misbehaviour' and individualised attitudes and approaches to the various topics. According to the research questions; the unethical news was published, but there is no large distinction between the rates of unethical news between the two elections. This is such as a proof that journalism ethics can be shown alterations due to conditions.

Consequently, journalism ethics may be ruled out when media owners and politicians' profits are in intersection point. Additionally, we can say that political news may be reported regardless of journalism ethics especially when it reaches to peak in election time. Result of this research reveals that, journalism ethics is

discounted by media members, moreover infringement of journalism ethics appears when conflict of interest exists. As aforementioned, journalist gets attention to "truth" and "respect" for people's human rights simultaneously (Harcup, 2007, p. 138). And, this study contributd to the literature of journalism ethics with its results.

Journalism ethics is an integral part of the journalism proffesion and primarily, it helps journalist and scholars to identify which news is real or not. Considering that online news media grows rapidly, doctored news, bullying, swearing, marginalization, violence, infringement of personal life and so on spreads like wildfire via the Internet. This situation creates conflicts, especially in social network sites. Mostly, people infringe other's personal life, and this action is seen as justfied. However, this should be precluded by regulations, so as to avoid harming people of the online community.

For these reasons, people, especially students should be educated about journalism ethics so as to avoid most of harmful statements.

5.3 Recommendation for Further Research

For the further research, the coding sheet and List of Choice can be developed. Categorisation in coding sheet is sharp and some new categories can be made. Thus, unethical news results can be seemed less. Also, this research can be conducted again by using of critical discourse analysis to find out between power relations, newspapers and ownership, or physical content analysis of news stories can be conducted to measure and analysis photos because of 2015 General Election in Turkey is important to research. This period can be milestone relevant to political

economy of communication directly. And also, the coding sheet can be conducted to the social network site with minor changes.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Code of Ethics by Society of Professional Journalists

SOCIETY OF PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISTS

Code of Ethics

PREAMBLE

Members of the Society of Professional Journalists believe that public enlightenment is the forerunner of justice and the foundation of democracy. The duty of the journalist is to further those ends by seeking truth and providing a fair and comprehensive account of events and issues. Conscientious journalists from all media and specialties strive to serve the public with thoroughness and honesty. Professional integrity is the cornerstone of a journalist's credibility. Members of the Society share a dedication to ethical behavior and adopt this code to declare the Society's principles and standards of practice.

SEEK TRUTH AND REPORT IT

Journalists should be honest, fair and courageous in gathering, reporting and interpreting information.

Journalists should:

- Test the accuracy of information from all sources and exercise care to avoid inadvertent error. Deliberate distortion is never permissible.
- Diligently seek out subjects of news stories to give them the opportunity to respond to allegations of wrongdoing.
- Identify sources whenever feasible. The public is entitled to as much information as possible on sources' reliability.
- Always question sources' motives before promising anonymity. Clarify conditions attached to any promise made in exchange for information. Keep promises.
- Make certain that headlines, news teases and promotional material, photos, video, audio, graphics, sound bites and quotations do not misrepresent. They should not oversimplify or highlight incidents out of context.
- Never distort the content of news photos or video. Image enhancement for technical clarity is always permissible. Label montages and photo illustrations.
- Avoid misleading re-enactments or staged news events. If re-enactment is necessary to tell a story, label it.
- Avoid undercover or other surreptitious methods of gathering information except when traditional open methods will not yield information vital to the public. Use of such methods should be explained as part of the story.
- Never plagiarize.
- Tell the story of the diversity and magnitude of the human experience boldly, even when it is unpopular to do so.
- Examine their own cultural values and avoid imposing those values on others.
- Avoid stereotyping by race, gender, age, religion, ethnicity, geography, sexual orientation, disability, physical appearance or social status.
- Support the open exchange of views, even views they find repugnant.
- Give voice to the voiceless; official and unofficial sources of information can be equally valid.
- Distinguish between advocacy and news reporting. Analysis and commentary should be labeled and not misrepresent fact or context.
- Distinguish news from advertising and shun hybrids that blur the lines between the two.
- Recognize a special obligation to ensure that the public's business is conducted in the open and that government records are open to inspection.

MINIMIZE HARM

Ethical journalists treat sources, subjects and colleagues as human beings deserving of respect.

Journalists should:

- Show compassion for those who may be affected adversely by news coverage. Use special sensitivity when dealing with children and inexperienced sources or subjects.
- Be sensitive when seeking or using interviews or photographs of those affected by tragedy or grief:
- Recognize that gathering and reporting information may cause harm or discomfort. Pursuit of the news is not a license for arrogance.
- Recognize that private people have a greater right to control information about themselves than do public officials and others who seek power, influence or attention. Only an overriding public need can justify intrusion into anyone's privacy.
- Show good taste. Avoid pandering to lurid curiosity.
- Be cautious about identifying juvenile suspects or victims of sex crimes.
- Be judicious about naming criminal suspects before the formal filing of charges.
- Balance a criminal suspect's fair trial rights with the public's right to be informed.

ACT INDEPENDENTLY

Journalists should be free of obligation to any interest other than the public's right to know.

Journalists should:

- Avoid conflicts of interest, real or perceived.
- Remain free of associations and activities that may compromise integrity or damage credibility.
- Refuse gifts, favors, fees, free travel and special treatment, and shun secondary employment, political involvement, public office and service in community organizations if they compromise journalistic integrity.
- Disclose unavoidable conflicts.
- Be vigilant and courageous about holding those with power accountable.
- Deny favored treatment to advertisers and special interests and resist their pressure to influence news coverage.
- Be wary of sources offering information for favors or money; avoid bidding for news.

BE ACCOUNTABLE

Journalists are accountable to their readers, listeners, viewers and each other.

Journalists should:

- Clarify and explain news coverage and invite dialogue with the public over journalistic conduct.
- Encourage the public to voice grievances against the news media.
- Admit mistakes and correct them promptly.
- Expose unethical practices of journalists and the news media.
- Abide by the same high standards to which they hold others.

The SPJ Code of Ethics is voluntarily embraced by thousands of journalists, regardless of place or platform, and is widely used in newsrooms and classrooms as a guide for ethical behavior. The code is intended not as a set of "rules" but as a resource for ethical decision-making. It is not — nor can it be under the First Amendment — legally enforceable.

The present version of the code was adopted by the 1996 SPJ National Convention, after months of study and debate among the Society's members. Sigma Delta Chi's first Code of Ethics was borrowed from the American Society of Newspaper Editors in 1926. In 1973, Sigma Delta Chi wrote its own code, which was revised in 1984, 1987 and 1996.

Appendix B: Coding Sheet

Coding Sheet of Ethical Issues for General Election of 2015 in Turkey This coding sheet is relevant with political issues, others do not have any place for research. There is a list at the back of coding sheet to choose for multiple choices.		
1. Newspaper's Name		
Zaman Hürriyet Posta	Sözcü Sabah	
2. Date of Newspaper		
3. Headline (copy verbatim)		
4. Evaluation of the headline in ethical approach		
Ethic Unethic		
5. What is the main theme of the news?		
(Check from the list)		
6. Is there any source of news?		
Yes No Unclear		
6.a News sources		
7. Is there right to speak for opposition?		
Yes No Unclear		
8. Is there any infringement news of private life?		
Yes No Unclear		
8.a. By who		
8.b. To whom (target)		
9. Is there any news expression which contains threat? (words)		
Yes No Unclear		
9.a. By who		
9.b. To whom (target)		

10. Is there any news expression which contains blackmailing? (words)	
Yes No Unclear	
10.a. By who	
10.b. To whom (target)	
11. Is there any news expression which contains swearing? (words)	
Yes No Unclear	
11.a. By who	
11.b. To whom (target)	
12. Does the news marginalize someone or any group? (words)	
Yes No Unclear	
12.a. By who	
12.b. To whom (target)	
13. Does the news attempt to violence? (words)	
Yes No Unclear	
13.a. By who	
13.b. To whom (target)	
14. Does the news attempt to bullying? (words)	
Yes No Unclear	
14.a. By who	
14.b. To whom (target)	
15. Does the news attempt to terrorism? (words)	
Yes No Unclear	
15.a. By who	
15.b. To whom (target)	
16. Is there any diversion in the news?	
Yes No Unclear	

16.a Who do it?	
17. Does headline related with body of the news?	
Yes No Unclear	
17.a. What is about?	

Appendix C: List of Choice

This list is created for General Election in 2015, in Turkey. Therefore, it can be changed according to issues.

a. AKP
    - a1. AKP Leader/Point Man
    - a2. AKP Member
    - a3. AKP Practices
    - a4. AKP Constitutional Amendment Package
    - a5. AKP Corruption
    - a6. AKP Meeting
    - a7. Youth Branches
b. CHP
    - b1. CHP Leader/Point Man
    - b2. CHP Member
    - b3. CHP Practices
    - b4. CHP Constitutional Amendment Package
    - b5. CHP Corruption
    - b6. CHP Meeting
c. MHP
    - c1. MHP Leader/Point Man
    - c2. MHP Member
    - c3. MHP Practices
    - c4. MHP Constitutional Amendment Package
    - c5. MHP Corruption
    - c6. MHP Meeting
d. HDP
    - d1. HDP Leader/Point Man
    - d2. HDP Member
    - d3. HDP Practices
    - d4. HDP Constitutional Amendment Package
    - d5. HDP Corruption
    - d6. HDP Meeting
e. Other Parties
    - e1. Other Parties Leader/Point Man
    - e2. Other Parties Member
    - e3. Other Parties Practices
    - e4. Other Parties Constitutional Amendment Package
    - e5. Other Parties Corruption
    - e6. Other Parties Meeting
    - e7. Former Minister
f. Media
    - f1. Newsagency

f1a. DHA
f1b. IHA
f1c. CIHAN
f1d. AA

f2. Media Owners
f2a. Dogan Medya Yayin Holding Inc.
f2b. Feza Gazetecilik
f2c. Turkuvaz Medya Grubu
f2d. Estetik Yayincilik
f2e. Other Media Owners

f3. Newspaper
f3a. Zaman
f3b. Hürriyet
f3c. Posta
f3d. Sözcü
f3e. Sabah

f4. External Media
f5. Journalist/Press Member
f6. Trustee
f7. Social Network Sites

g. Minister
g1. Education
g2. Economy
g3. Law

h. Government
h1. President
h2. Prime Minister
h3. President of the Assembly
h4. Local Authority

i. Organizations
i1. Non-Governmental
i2. Institution of Public Utility
i3. International
i4. Social Events

j. Police
j1. Intervention
j2. MIT

k. Military
k1. Intervention

l. Crime
l1. Terrorism
l2. Paralel Structure

m. Other
m1. Citizen
m2. Jurist
m3. Refugees
m4. Any Group
m5. Law
m6. Sport
m7. Bank Asya

n. Not Available (NA)
o. Election
p. Palace
q. Presidental System
r. Coalition
s. Solution Process
t. International Relations
u. Business People
v. Economy