

T.C.
MARMARA UNIVERSITY
THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
THE DEPARTMENT OF JOURNALISM
JOURNALISM PROGRAMME

**NEWS AGENCIES IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION,
CASE STUDY: TURKISH ANADOLU AGENCY**

Ph.D. Thesis

OMO AIMAN BOUDCHAR

İSTANBUL, 2022

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ÖZET

KÜRESELLEŞME BAĞLAMINDA HABER AJANSLARI: ANADOLU AJANSI ÖRNEĞİ

Medyanın küreselleşmesi, az sayıda uluslararası haber ajansının dünya medyasına hakim olmasına yol açmıştır. Bu ajansların etkisi, siyasal sınırlara bakılmaksızın ülkeler arasında yayılabilir. Arap toplumunun beğenisini kazanmak ve Arap dünyasındaki hakimiyetlerini pekiştirmek için uluslararası yarışın bir parçası olarak, büyük medya şirketleri programlarını ve haberlerini Arapça olarak sunmak için çaba sarf etmektedirler. Arap toplumu, Arap basınının gelişmesinde önemli bir rol oynayan küresel haber ajanslarının Arapça departmanları tarafından da hedeflenmiştir. Türkiye son yıllarda Arap kamuoyu ile basın aracılığıyla iletişim kurmak için bazı inisiyatifler almıştır; bunlardan en önemlisi de Anadolu Ajansı'nın Arapça departmanıdır. Bu çalışma, Anadolu Ajansı'nın Arap departmanına ve Arap medyasında nasıl önemli bir yer tutmayı başardığına odaklanmaktadır. Bu çalışma esas olarak Anadolu Ajansı'nın Arapça departmanının Arap dünyasındaki medya varlığının düzeyini incelemektedir. Bu çalışmada hem nicel hem de nitel araştırma yöntemleri kullanılmış, araştırmacı, birçok Arap medyasının haber kaynağı olarak Anadolu Ajansı'na dayanması nedeniyle, Anadolu Ajansı'nın Arapça departmanının yayılmasına katkıda bulunan faktörleri ve Arap dünyasındaki kamuoyu üzerindeki etkisini incelemiştir. İstatistiksel olarak, çalışmada Arap bölgelerindeki seçilmiş medya kuruluşlarından veri toplamak için bir araç olarak çevrimiçi gazete arşivleri kullanılmıştır. Buna ek olarak, Arap medyasının çoğunun Anadolu Ajansı'nı günlük haber makalelerini düzenlemek için güvenilir bir haber kaynağı olarak görmesinin nedenlerini araştırmak için önceki çalışmalardan elde edilen istatistikler ve anketler kullanılmıştır. Buna ek olarak, çalışma kapsamında araştırmacılar ve Arap gazetecilerle bazı görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Çalışmanın sonuçları, Anadolu Ajansı'nın Arap dünyasında önemli bir varlığa sahip olduğunu ve Arap medyası tarafından güvenilir bir haber kaynağı olarak görüldüğünü göstermiştir. Çalışma ayrıca, Anadolu Ajansı'nın Arapça departmanının Arap dünyasındaki başarısına ve yayılmasına katkıda bulunan bazı dini, siyasi, kültürel ve sosyal faktörler olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu

bağlamda çalışma, Türkiye ile Arap dünyası arasındaki ortak kültürel, dini ve tarihi bağların Anadolu Ajansı'nın Arap bölgesindeki aktif varlığını büyük ölçüde kolaylaştırdığını göstermiştir.



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ABSTRACT

NEWS AGENCIES IN THE CONTEXT OF GLOBALIZATION, CASE STUDY: TURKISH ANADOLU AGENCY

The globalization of the media has led to a few international news agencies controlling the world's media. The influence of these agencies can spread across countries without regard to political boundaries. As part of the international race to win the favor of Arab audiences and consolidate their dominance in the Arab world, major media companies are making efforts to present their programs and news in Arabic. Arab audiences are also targeted by the Arabic departments of global news agencies, which have played an important role in the development of the Arabic press. In recent years, Turkey has taken some initiatives to communicate with the Arab public through the press, the most important of which is the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency. This study focuses on the Arab section of the Anadolu Agency and how it has managed to occupy a significant position in the Arab media. This study mainly examines the level of media presence of the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency in the Arab world. Both quantitative and qualitative research methods were used in this study, where the researcher examined the factors that contributed to the spread of Anadolu Agency's Arabic department and its influence on public opinion in the Arab world, as several Arab media outlets often rely on Anadolu Agency as a news source. Statistically, the study used online newspaper archives as a tool to collect data from purposively selected media outlets in the Arab regions. In addition, the statistics and surveys from previous studies were used to investigate the reasons why most Arab media consider Anadolu Agency as a reliable news source for editing their daily news articles. In addition, some interviews with researchers and Arab journalists were conducted as part of the study. The results of the study showed that Anadolu Agency has a significant presence in the Arab world, and is considered a reliable news source by the Arab media. The study also showed that there are some factors that contribute to the success and spread of the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency in the Arab world, namely the religious factor, the political factor, the cultural factor, and the social factor. In this context, the study showed that the common cultural, religious, and historical ties between Turkey and the

Arab world have greatly facilitated the active presence of Anadolu Agency in the Arab region.



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1. INTRODUCTION

Media globalization has led to the control of global media by a section of international news agencies, satellite broadcasting channels, and the internet. These agencies' influence can spread through countries without regard to political boundaries. Since the beginning of the last century, major powers have relied on news agencies as the most important means of communication during crises and interstate conflicts. Media is one of the most important means of influence in the world because of its impact on shaping public opinion, and a fair number of countries have weaponized it to defend their interests. The importance of media, according to Spanish scholar Hussein Majdoubi, was first recognized in the 1930s before World War II, when the Mussolini regime in Italy set up a radio station broadcasting in Arabic and targeting the Arab world. Germany, led by Adolf Hitler, founded the famous "Radio Berlin", which managed to secure a prominent place in the Arab world. Britain later responded by founding the BBC's Arabic service. Most other countries, such as the Soviet Union, the United States, France, and, China later established Arabic-speaking channels to win the Arab public audience. (Majdoubi, 2010)

As part of the international race to appease the Arabic audience and consolidate their dominance in the Arab region, major media companies have sought to present their programs and news in Arabic. The Arab audience are targeted through the Arabic departments of international news agencies, which have played a major role in the development of the Arab press. These global news agencies have always been an important source of news, especially when information and communication technology was not as advanced as it is today, as there was only telephone and telex, which were very expensive. In recent years, Turkey has considered communicating with Arab audiences through the press. As part of its comprehensive renaissance, Turkey established the Arabic Department of the Anatolia Agency in 2011.

Since the year 2000, the world has begun to witness a new geopolitical map due to the emergence of global powers such as China and the recovery of Russia its

position before the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the emergence of regional powers such as Brazil, Turkey and South Africa. And in light of the development of the communication tools offered by the Internet, a number of countries have bet on communicating with Arab public in their mother tongue. Hence, Turkey wanted to strengthen its presence in the Mediterranean region, a country that has a great historical legacy in the Arab region and is represented in the former Ottoman Empire. Turkey has realized the importance of communicating with Arab public opinion through the press, and for this reason, several initiatives came, most notably the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency.

We live in a world where communication is one of its main features, and that is why various news agencies seek to have sections in different languages, and this is the case for a number of even medium-sized countries such as Morocco and Algeria, but even small countries that have a main section in the language of the country and one or two sections in international languages such as English and French. Hence, the Arab department of Anadolu Agency is an important step to communicate with the Arab world and facilitates the explanation of Turkish political positions, and the interpretation of events, whether they mean Turkey itself or mean parties with whom Turkey has interests.

The Anadolu Agency was closer to the prevailing Arab public mood, especially regarding political Islam, the Arab Spring, and other issues, which brought the Agency into clear and strong conflict with some Arab countries that were considered by the Arab public as the countries that supported the counter-revolution against the Arab Spring. The Arab media rely on the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency as a news source or quoted full articles from this department. as result, the Arabic department of Anadolu agency become an important news source for Arabs journalists in editing their daily news.

In the nutshell, this study has been divided into six chapters, the first chapter contains the background of the study in which the study problem, its main questions were discussed. In addition, the chapter included the importance of the study, its objectives as well as the study terminology. As for the second chapter will focus on the

historical background of global news agencies, their establishment, and consequently their development. The study will also discuss the growth of the telegraph and explain how its invention led to the establishment of strong global news agencies around the world. This chapter will also briefly highlight the importance of the telegraph in the development of news agencies. Also, this chapter will discuss the international news agency cartel and the reasons for its dissolution, and describe government intervention in news agencies. This chapter also dealing with the concept of globalization and their dimensions. In this chapter also the researcher will look at the nature of the relationship between national and international news agencies and discuss some of the key challenges including ideological that national news agencies sometimes face. The study will also discuss the evolution of national news agencies and their functions and role in the global news system. As for the third chapter, the researcher will shed light on how the Anadolu Agency that working hard to secure its place as the leading news provider in the international arena, particularly in the Arab world. First, the researcher will discuss the history and stages of the establishment of the Anadolu Agency during the Turkish War of independence, looking at the strategy of the agency's work, its vision for the future, and the importance of its Arabic department in the Arab media scene. The fourth chapter will deal with the research methodology, which is based on four research methods, namely the qualitative approach, the qualitative approach, data collection, and interviews. As for the fifth chapter will deal with the data presentation and analysis. Here, the researcher will focus on examining the level and nature of the media presence of the Anadolu Agency in the Arab world. This chapter will focus geographically on three regions, namely Arab Gulf, the Arab Maghreb, and the Arab press in the Western world. The selection of these geographical samples will cover the press in the Arab world and provide important insights. In this chapter, the researcher also examines the Anadolu Agency news on the Qatari “Al Jazeera Net”. In this chapter, the study will also examine the Anadolu Agency news in a media outlet from the Maghreb region, such as the Moroccan newspaper "Akhbar Al-Youm", another outlet from Algeria, and Tunisia are also examined. Meanwhile, some Arab newspapers in the Western world are also examined, such as the digital newspaper “Rai Al-Youm” and “Al-Quds Al-Arabi” newspaper.

For the quantitative analysis, the study will examine the number of news items published in the selected Arabic media from the Anadolu Agency. For the qualitative analysis, the study will select some mechanisms to analyze the nature of the Anadolu Agency's media presence in the Arab world.

Anadolu Agency has assumed a significant position in the world after being ranked among the ten most influential agencies in the world based on its 69 years of operations. The main reason for this is that the agency's content has gained the trust of subscribers around the world. The aim of this chapter is to find out whether the agency has managed to gain a foothold in the Arab media scene as its predecessors from the major international news agencies such as Reuters and France Press.

Finally, in the sixth chapter, based on the conclusion and evaluation of the presentation some recommendations of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

The last quarter of the twentieth century has witnessed an immense advancement in the information and communication technology sector, which researchers consider to be the main reason behind the massive media revolution on both quantitative and qualitative levels. This revolution is credited with the emergence of the new phenomenon of the "global village," which refers to the increasing interconnectedness of the world through the spread of media technologies. This expression was introduced in 1962 by the Canadian scientist Marshall McLuhan in his book *The Gutenberg Galaxy*. It expresses the essence of strong capitalism, which aims at bypassing the regulatory framework of nation-states in the spheres of international finance, cultural change, and access to information, especially in the present age where most countries in Asia, Africa, and South America have opened their borders to allow an easy flow of goods, capital, and ideas.

Furthermore, globalization is not just an economic system, it encompasses areas of politics, culture, science, and media. This is due to the fact that the global, capitalist, and economic growth presupposes the existence of free markets and political

systems with a certain form of governance. In modern global capitalism, the spheres of economic and political power have multiplied. This has created a set of alternatives and a plurality of forces in power, and as much as it has enhanced the democratic development it has brought by negative effects such as power's non-monopolization and circulation, and the multiplicity and diversity of centers of power and influence on society. To prevent authorities from possessing wealth, a kind of decentralization of administration was established. Most intellectuals and researchers in the media field believe that "No globalization exists without the advancement of mass media and media-culture industry as it is an integral part of mass media, communication and news." The geo-economic development that the world has experienced in recent years has led to critical changes and developments in the media and cultural industries on a global scale. As the capitalist globalization has impacted media institutions around the world, the global power is now restricted to a group of global, economic corporations such as Microsoft, Vodafone, Bertelsmann, United GlobalCom, Disney and other local and international media companies. Due to the massive and rapid expansion in the field of communication and information technology, these corporations have enormous capabilities to collect, transmit, and disseminate information throughout the world at a very high speed. In a related context, the digital revolution has exceeded traditional forms of communication - written, audio and visual - and paved the way for the internet, multimedia, and the digital revolution epitomized by McLuhan in his statement about the 'global village. Large media conglomerates had an interest in the various forms of written, visual and audio-visual communication and used diverse channels such as newspapers, magazines, radio stations, television stations, digital broadcasting networks, and the internet to disseminate information. The news services of international media agencies represent an age-old form of media globalization that has led to the establishment of technical relationships between satellite broadcasting and satellites. Media globalization has also led to the control of global media by a section of international news agencies, satellite broadcasting channels, and the internet. These agencies' influence can spread through countries without regard to political boundaries. Since the beginning of the last century, major powers have relied on news agencies as the most important means of communication during crises and interstate conflicts. As part of the international race to appease the Arabic audience and cement their

dominance in the Arab region, major media companies have sought to present their programs and news in Arabic. The Arab audience is targeted through the Arabic departments of international news agencies, which have played a major role in the development of the Arab press. Since time in memorial, they were an important source of news, especially as information and communication technology was not as advanced as it is today as there were only telephone and telex, which were very expensive. As a result, Arab news agencies were unsophisticated and only had reporters in some major capitals like Paris, London, and New York. Secondly, it allowed cultural exchange between peoples of the developed countries and the Arab world. It is worth noting that a country's diplomatic priority is not only limited to maintaining political, economic, military, or cultural relations with the international community; but as well as consolidating the state's position within that community and defending her interests. Therefore, a country's representation has become a trademark that enforces respect and achieves credibility in the eyes of the international public. According to Spanish scholar El Houssine Majdoubi, "one of the most important mechanisms to achieve these goals is to develop a communication strategy with others in their mother tongue in order to be convincing."

Therefore, countries ought to utilize communication and technological developments achieved in this field. Television programs that are aired in a foreign language and target a specific audience have recently been utilized. Arabs are among those targeted by the global media. This has led to the emergence of Arabic-speaking foreign television channels.

Media is one of the most important means of influence in the world because of its impact on shaping public opinion, and a fair number of countries have weaponized it to defend their interests. The importance of media, according to Spanish scholar El Houssein Majdouby, was first recognized in the 1930s before World War II, when the Mussolini regime in Italy set up a radio station broadcasting in Arabic and targeting the Arab world. Germany, led by Adolf Hitler, founded the famous "Radio Berlin", which managed to secure a prominent place in the Arab world. Britain later responded by founding the BBC's Arabic service. Most other countries, such as the Soviet Union, the

United States, France, and, China later established Arabic-speaking channels to win the Arab public audience. (Majdoubi, 2010)

Academic researcher Hussein Majdoubi, in his article "Western Arabic-language TV channels between the media bridge and the diplomatic agenda" published in the journal Info America through the University of Malaga, claims that the second most important leap is the establishment of Arabic departments in major international news agencies. The first was the Arabic department of Agence France-Presse in the early seventies. Then there was Reuters, which became a major news source for the Arab media. What contributed to this success was the lack of a major Arab media agency. Other agencies such as Associated Press, United Press International, German, Spanish, and Soviet agencies set up Arabic departments. Although not all Arabic news agencies departments were, the Arabic departments of Reuters and France Press continue to exist and are very successful, while the other departments have failed to pursue their work. (Majdoubi, 2010)

Turkey's relations with her Arab and Islamic neighbors had been intense for decades due to Turkey's hostile policies, which led to an escalation of tensions with most of her neighbors. During the Cold War, Turkey was subjected to international polarization due to her geopolitical role. Turkey possesses elements of influence that make her a regional powerhouse, this can be attributed through her strategic location between Asia and Europe, her large area and population (84.7 million people), her natural resources, and many other key factors. However, Turkey did not seem to have an explicit identity of her own until the Justice and Development Party (AKP) took power in 2002, perhaps due to the fragmentation of power elements in the state. Thereupon Turkey started to develop her own strategic identity; She no longer remained a peripheral state in the European or the Arab/Middle Eastern system; instead, she became distinctive.

The improvement in the Turkish-Arab relations during the last decade is due to factors related to domestic and foreign policy. The fact that the Justice and Development Party took power in 2002 is one of the most important internal factors that initiated a crucial step towards the improvement of the Turkish relations with her

neighboring Arab countries. External factors included the European Union's rejection of Turkey's accession, which had Turkey re-evaluate her relations with many groups, including Arabs and Muslims. During the ruling period of the Justice and Development Party, there were strategic shifts in the Arab-Turkish relations. The party realized the importance of developing relations between the two sides in the light of the Islamic ideologies it represents. Turkish politician, international relations expert and former Turkish Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu stated, "Turkey must work hard on changing the view of the geopolitical situation in order to open up to the world, including the Arab world." (Oglu, 2011, 143)

In recent years, Turkey has taken into consideration communicating with the Arab Populace through the press. As part of its comprehensive renaissance, Turkey has established the Arabic Department of the Anatolia Agency. There are contradictory reports surrounding the reasons behind its establishment. Some reports claim that it was established to introduce a new language into the agency and to communicate with Arabs in their mother tongue, while others believe that it was founded for political reasons.

This research primarily investigates the impact of the Anadolu Agency's Arabic department on the Arabian populace. It relies on both quantitative and qualitative research methods, which are key academic research tools in media and communication studies. The study will be conducted through direct interviews with academics and media researchers from the Arab media community. It thus aims at determining the extent of the Anadolu Agency's influence in the Arab world and to unravel the mystery behind the Arab media's dependence on Anadolu Agency's Arabic department as its main news source.

Despite all the challenges that news agencies face in the era of globalization, our study will focus on the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency and how it has managed to thrive in the Arab media industry despite the evolution of the Arab media and stiff competition from the Arabic departments of France Press and Reuters. Moreover, we will seek to explore the factors that have contributed to the spread of the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency and its influence on Arab public opinion, as multiple Arabic media often rely on Anadolu Agency news. We also note that world-

renowned media outlets such as Al-Jazeera also rely on Anadolu Agency as a news source and often quote entire news articles from the Agency. The same applies to popular Arabic newspapers such as Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper and the digital newspaper Rai Al-Youm.

1.2 Problem Statement

The key factors that effectively contribute to changing the political map of a region are the diversity of cultures, ethnicities, and conflicting economic interests. In this context, there are two geopolitical maps in the Arab world. The first is due to the Sykes-Picot Agreement, a secret tripartite agreement signed in May 1916 by France, Britain, and Russia. It caused the division of Arab territories in the eastern Mediterranean that came to be known as the Ottoman Empire's territories. Researchers believe that the Sykes-Picot Agreement falls into the realm of conspiracy theories, as it was secret and has only served the interests of the dominating authorities.

The second geopolitical map followed the independence of the Arab countries after the Sykes-Picot Agreement. Meanwhile, the French and the British empires collapsed as the United States and the Soviet Union rose to power. In the 1960s and 1970s, Britain's presence in the Arabian Peninsula diminished and it withdrew from most Arab countries. Later, Arab countries became globally influential as major countries showed great interest in reaching out to the Arab world through the media to win its public opinion.

The shift in political maps in the Arab world is what makes effective communication the most essential way for countries to unite and serve their interests.

The Arab world has always been culturally, politically, and historically diverse, which concerned the West and other countries. Ever since the nineteenth century, some countries have been relying on communication with the Arab public through media, which is one of the most important means of influencing public opinion in favor of the country. For example, under the rule of Adolf Hitler, Germany established Radio Berlin, which became very popular in the Arab world. Out of fear, Britain later

instituted the BBC Arabic service. BBC Arabic Radio became the most famous station in the history of Arabic media until today. Most other countries later established Arabic television stations, including the Soviet Union, the United States, France, and China.

Given a number of geostrategic variables and Turkey's desire to strengthen its presence in the Arab world, the capital Ankara recognized the importance of communicating with the Arab public through media. As Turkey was determined to strengthen the Turkish-Arab relations, a number of media initiatives emerged. "TRT Arabic", an Arabic channel primarily targeting the Arab world and its issues, as well as the Arabic department of the Turkish news agency Anadolu Agency are amongst the most popular initiatives.

The academic researcher El Houssine Majdoubi explains, "We are dealing with a world of concepts different from those of earlier times as communication has become one of its main features".

The Arabic department of Anadolu Agency was established in 2012, but it has widely spread throughout the Arab world despite the presence of Arabic departments of other major international agencies as well as the prominent media presence of national agencies such as the Egyptian and Emirati news agencies.

Although the Arab media has witnessed a remarkable development in news agencies, newspapers, and channels like Al-Jazeera and Al-Quds Al-Arabi in recent years, Anadolu Agency has become prominent in the Arab world through its Arabic department.

The research notes that Anadolu Agency is an important source of news in the Arab world as multiple Arab media outlets are dependent on it. Also, global media giants such as Al-Jazeera, Al-Quds Al-Arabi, and Al-Sharq Al-Awsat newspaper rely on Anadolu Agency to edit their news articles.

Media scholar El Houssine Majdoubi believes that "the success of a medium is manifested firstly in its spread and secondly in its influence on public opinion." Referring to Anadolu Agency, he affirms that "the place that the Arabic department of

the agency was able to reserve in the Arab world is very important that the Arab public opinion now sees Turkey through the eyes of Turks, not through French or British eyes." At the same time, Turkey's international presence is increasing due to its growing influence on the Arab world, especially North Africa. (Majdoubi, Interview 2021)

Based on these explanatory comments and observations, this study will examine the presence of Anadolu Agency's presence in the Arab media. The study will also examine the extent to which the Arabic department of this agency has managed to secure a place in the Arab media arena, as this department has become an important source of news for well-known media in the Arab world.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

This study has a number of objectives, including:

- To find out whether Anadolu Agency can become a reliable news source for the biggest media in the Arab world.
- To find out whether or not Anadolu Agency's Arabic department is having great success in profoundly influencing the Arab world.
- To find out whether the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency is a strong competitor for the Arabic departments of other foreign agencies in the Arab world.
- To identify the common cultural, religious and historical factors between Turkey and the Arab world and their role in promoting the active presence of the Anadolu Agency in this region.

1.4 Research Questions

The research notes that the dependence of the media in the Arab world on Anadolu Agency as the main source of news is increasing with time, which ignites following crucial questions:

Q1: To what extent has Anadolu Agency succeeded in becoming a reliable news source for the mainstream media in the Arab world?

Q2: What type of the success did Anadolu Agency's Arab department achieve in the Arab world? Is it a dominant or an ordinary media presence?

Q3: Does the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency compete with the Arabic departments of other foreign agencies targeting the Arab world?

Q4: Did the common cultural, religious, and historical factors between Turkey and the Arab world play an active role in the cementing of Anadolu Agency's presence in this region?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The importance of the study lies in knowing the reasons why Arab media outlets rely on the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency as a news source of Anadolu Agency, although it is a department established only in 2011. And how did Anadolu Agency become an important and reliable news source for Arab media?

1.6 Study Terminology

- Globaliation: Globalization is a phenomenon that dominates the global world at the end of the 20th century and has become a variable indicator in international relations and in people's lives. Globalization has brought many changes in national economic policies, such as the emergence of new economic activities like multinational companies.
- Social Darwin: social Darwinism is the theory that human groups and races are subject to the same laws of natural selection as Charles Darwin perceived in plants and animals in nature. (Britannica, 1990)
- Arab Barometer: Arab Barometer is a nonpartisan research network that provides insight into the social, political, and economic attitudes and values of ordinary citizens across the Arab world. We have been conducting high-quality and reliable public opinion surveys in the Middle East and North

Africa since 2006. We are the longest-standing and the largest repository of publicly available data on the views of men and women in the MENA region. Our findings give a voice to the needs and concerns of the Arab public.

- Soft power: the term "soft power" as coined by Joseph Nye, Jr. in the late 1980s refers to "the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payment" (Benrazeq, 2022).



2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND RELATED STUDIES

2.1 Introduction

Today's global news agencies may be historically unique, but the process of their emergence is not unprecedented. In the nineteenth century, the globalization of news was made possible by the confluence of telegraphy, state patronage, and the development of transnational news agencies. The establishment of news agencies was known for the significant development of the newspaper industry in the nineteenth century and changed the course of news dissemination nationally and internationally.

In this context, the main reason for the establishment of a news agency was the increasing demand for news, especially economic news - about companies, stocks, commodities, currencies, etc. From the beginning, the development of these agencies was related to the development of the telegraph and the commercial penny press, both of which also emerged in the 1830s.

In this chapter, the study will focus on the historical background of global news agencies, their establishment, and consequently their development. The study will also discuss the growth of the telegraph and explain how its invention led to the establishment of strong global news agencies around the world. This chapter will also briefly discuss the importance of the telegraph in the development of news agencies. In addition, this chapter discusses the international news agency cartel and the reasons for its dissolution and describes government intervention in news agencies. Finally, this chapter also addresses the concept of globalization and its dimensions. In this chapter, the researcher will also examine the nature of the relationship between national and international news agencies and discuss some of the major challenges, including ideological challenges, that national news agencies sometimes face. The study will also discuss the evolution of national news agencies and their functions and roles in the global news system.

2.2 The Historical Background of the Global News Agencies

2.2.1 The Founders of the Global News Agencies

Charles-Louis Havas (1783 - 1858) pioneered the creation of the world's first news agency. Before Havas invented his news agency, the newspapers of foreign countries were the main source of foreign news for all newspapers around the world. Newspapers hired Charles Havas to translate news from foreign newspapers. In 1832, he established a foreign newspaper's translation office and bookshop in Paris. In 1835, the Havas Agency became the first worldwide news agency. In 1840, Havas used carrier pigeons to deliver news to the newsrooms of Paris newspapers. But then came Samuel Morse's revolutionary invention, the electromagnetic telegraph, introduced in France in 1845, Havas quickly adopted and began installing Morse machines. Additionally, Havas established an advertising agency in 1852 that boosted revenue for its newspaper clients and helped them pay for the agency's services. In 1879, the Havas family sold its interests for seven million francs and the Havas Agency became a public limited company. In 1940, legislation forced the division of the advertising and newsgathering operations of Havas agency to split up. The newsgathering operation, now owned by the government, became the French Information Office (OFI) and in 1944 became Agence France-Presse (AFP), a public corporation. (K. M. Shrivastava, 2007: 2)

On November 28, 1849, the National Zeitung, a Berlin newspaper that had been founded the year before as a liberal party newspaper, announced that it would publish news dispatches from Paris, London, Amsterdam, and Frankfurt. Other dispatches were said to have come in a few days from Hamburg and Stettin. The announcement was made on the "birthday" of the Wolffs Telegraphisches Bureau (WTB), which was to become the first and until 1933, the most important German news agency. It was named after Bernhard Wolff, the director of the National Zeitung and the driving force behind the entire company. (K. M. Shrivastava, 2007: 3)

Wolff soon stumbled upon the idea of selling his news dispatches to other newspapers — an idea that necessitated the establishment of his own news office. The Wolffs Telegraphisches Bureau office endured a slow progress. In 1865, the business

went into amalgamation with the Continental Telegraphen Agentur, which provided for a fresh capital injection. In addition, the government began subsidizing the WTB, on a semi-official status. The WTB's new status was reflected in the fact that the agency moved into one of the buildings of the Berlin postal telegraph station in 1869, which must have been beneficial to its operations.

However, the dispatches had to be first redistributed to the customers in town by postmen or by the existing pneumatic tube. The WTB remained with the - Reichspost- until 1877. It organized news-gathering in partnership with smaller news services in other parts of the country. This partnership however deteriorated until 1877 due to the fact that telegraph charges were divided into several time zones. In 1893, the WTB opened its first branch office in Cologne. (K. M. Shrivastava, 2006: 3)

Paul Julius Reuter (1816- 1899), the founder of the Reuters agency, the global news and information organization, was born Israel Beer Josaphat in Kassel, Germany, on July 21, 1816. He came to England on October 29, 1845 as "Joseph Josaphat" and was baptized a few days later, on November 16, in the "German Lutheran Chapel" of St. George (Whitechapel, London) with the name "Paul Julius Reuter". A week later, on November 23, he married Ida Maria Elizabeth Clementine Magnus, the daughter of a banker, in the same chapel. In 1847 he became a partner in a Berlin bookshop, 'Reuter & Stargardt'. In 1848 he was forced to leave Germany because of his radical writings and fled to Paris, where he worked as a translator for the Havas agency. A year later he left Havas to start his own newspaper. He failed and moved to Aachen, where the first commercial telegraph line in Europe opened on October 1, 1849: the Prussian state telegraph line from Berlin. He founded the company, which provided local customers with news from the Prussian capital, and soon expanded it to serve customers in Antwerp and Brussels. When the French opened a line from Brussels to Paris the following spring, he bridged the gap, first with carrier pigeons and then with horses. In 1850, Reuter operated a news agency in Aachen, and on April 24, he signed a contract with "Heinrich Geller" to supply pigeons for service between "Brussels" and "Aachen." The agency operated for over a year until the "telegraph gap" was closed. When the telegraph network was extended, Reuter preceded it and in 1851, he moved to London

to operate the submarine link between Calais and Dover. He arrived in London on June 14, 1851, and about four months later, on October 10, Reuter set up a two-room office in the Royal Exchange Buildings in London. On November 13, 1851, the Cross-Channel submarine telegraph began operating. (Britannica, 2022)

The Press Association was founded in 1868 by a group of owners of provincial daily newspapers in the United Kingdom to provide a fast and accurate information service to its members. Its founders wanted to create a more accurate and reliable alternative to the oligopoly of telegraph companies. By working together, they hoped to provide a London-based information gathering and reporting service with correspondents in all major cities. A committee appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the formation of the society declared, "The Press Association is formed on the principle of cooperation and can never be exploited for individual profit or assume an exclusive character". It is a private corporation with 27 shareholders, most of whom are publishers of national and regional newspapers. (By K. M. Shrivastava, 2007: 4)

It took 35 years for the news agency formula to reach Spain from Paris. It was first used by Nilo María Fabra y Deas, the Catalan journalist and industrialist. In 1865, he set up an information center for correspondents in Madrid. He collected the news himself, wrote it down and then distributed it to subscribers. In 1866, the *Journal de Barcelona* asked him to cover the Franco-Prussian War. Fabra accepted the offer and made contacts in Vienna with other correspondents from the major agencies. After covering the war, he spent a few days in Paris, where he met Auguste Havas, one of the children of the founder of the Agence Havas. Upon his return to Spain in 1867, he transformed the Correspondents' Center into the Fabra Agency on Havas' instructions. Like his contemporaries, Fabra used carrier pigeons in 1874 and set up pigeon houses in Valencia, Barcelona, and Palma de Mallorca to receive information about ships before they arrived in Spanish ports. (K.M Shrivastava, 2006: 5)

2.2.2 The Growth of Telegraph

The development of international news agencies was the result of the invention and spread of the telegraph. In 1833, the telegraph was invented as a government monopoly in most European countries, with the exception of the United Kingdom, where the telegraph network was developed by private companies with generous government subsidies (International News Agencies in the Age of Global Communications, HUAN RAN, 2006, p. 5).

Samuel Morse invented the electric telegraph in 1837, which has been called "the first transnational electronic communication system parallel to the modern Internet" (Lahiri Choudhury, 2010: 2) and transformed global communication. The telegraph enabled "the rapid transmission of information" as well as the protection of secrets and codes. The speed and reliability of the telegraph opened up opportunities for profit and international expansion. (Headrick, 1991, Hugill, 1999, Hochfelder, 2012)

The rapid development of the telegraph was a crucial element in the unification of the British Empire. (Winseck and Pike, 2007, Lahiri Choudhury, 2010)

Following the introduction of the first commercial telegraph line in Britain in the year 1838, a public telegraph service was introduced in 1851, which incorporated a system for telegraphic money orders. By the turn of the century, the telegraph had enabled the Colonial Office and the Indian Office to communicate directly with the Empire within minutes, whereas previously it would take months for mail to arrive by sea. (Winseck and Brochet, 2007)

Furthermore, the aerial telegraph installed in Algeria in 1842 proved to be a crucial aid to the French in their occupation and colonization of Algeria (Mattelart, 1994). During the Civil War in the United States of America (1861-1865), over 24,000 kilometers of cable were laid to send over 6.5 million telegrams. The Civil War was not only one of the first conflicts to be widely reported, but also the first example of cooperative information gathering between American and European journalists and the use of photojournalism (Hochfelder, 2012).

The first undersea telegraph cable, connecting Britain and France, was put into service in 1851, and the first transatlantic cable connected Britain and the United States in 1866. Between 1851 and 1868, undersea networks were laid across the North Atlantic, the Mediterranean, the Indian Ocean, and the Persian Gulf. By the 1860s and 1870s, London was connected by cable to the major areas of the Empire. (Daya Kishan Thussu, 2019 :4)

The first link between Europe and India via Turkey was opened in 1865. Two other cables to India - one by land through Russia and the other by sea via Alexandria and Aden - were put into operation in 1870. India was connected to Hong Kong in 1871 and to Australia in 1872, and Shanghai and Tokyo were linked in 1873. By the 1870s, telegraph lines were in operation in most of Asia, and an international communications network dominated by Britain was beginning to develop (How the Telegraph Changed the World, William J. Phalen). The British ruling elite viewed the international telegraph infrastructure as a strategic resource to be used in defense of the empire, even though the system was privately owned. British competitors saw it as a monopoly power resource that gave the Empire control over information, propaganda, and censorship. Because its companies owned the international communications infrastructure, the British government not only had direct relational power (the power to enforce its decisions) by deciding whether messages should be transmitted and in what form. It also had structural power (the power to set the agenda) by controlling the information. (Daya Kishan Thussu, 2019 :4)

In South America, the Southern Transatlantic Cable, inaugurated in 1874, connected Lisbon to Recife in Brazil via the islands of Cape Verde and Madeira. Two years later, a network was established along the Chilean coast. The British cable of 1874 was joined in 1879 by a new French cable across the North Atlantic with a branch to Brazil, and a new German cable from Emden via the Azores to Monrovia on the African coast and from there to Recife. By 1881, a network was in operation along the Pacific coast from Mexico to Peru. In the 1880s France established a series of links along the coasts of Indochina and Africa, with nets in Senegal. (Desmond, 1978)

Submarine cables required enormous capital investment which were provided by the colonial authorities and the rapidly growing banks, businesses, and newspaper industries, subsequently, cable networks were largely in private hands. Of the total cable length of 104,000 miles, governments managed no more than 10 percent. To regulate the increasing internationalization of information, the International Telegraph Union was formed in 1865, with 22 countries as member states, all European countries except Persia. It was "the first international institution of modern times and the first organization for the international regulation of a technical network". According to the International Telegraph Union, the number of telegraphic transmissions in the world increased from 29 million in 1868 to 329 million in 1900. (Mattelart, 1994: 9)

For the first time in history, Headrick writes, "colonial metropolis had the means of communicating almost instantaneously with their remotest settlements ... the world was more profoundly reshaped in the nineteenth century than in any previous millennium, and few of these reshapes had such startling consequences as the communications and transportation network that emerged to link Europe with the rest of the world." (Headrick, 1981: 129-30)

2.2.3 Global News Agencies and Telegraph Technology

The telegraph allowed news agencies to "select articles based on their importance, not just their location." (Bielsa, 2008, p.)

Because news outlets could report on events from multiple locations, a global election experience was created. As Bielsa said, "as the telegraph provided faster information about far-flung events, European readers' demand for daily news increased."

The British agency Reuters (founded in 1850 by Paul Julius Reuter) has always seen itself as an imperial enterprise, and the telegraph was not only the basis for the agency's growth but also for a truly new form of imperialism. Britain held a controlling interest in 80 percent of all undersea cables. For the first time in history, "colonial

capitals like London could communicate instantly with their outposts, with far-reaching consequences." (Bielsa, 2008, p.)

Tehri Rantanen comments on the role of the telegraph in this context as follows: "The telegraph fundamentally changed the relationship between information and time, for the value of information could be measured in terms of time, which was now quantified" (1997: 610). In the 18th century, it took the British Crown at least 48 days to communicate with its colonial subjects in the Americas. The development of news agencies and the telegraph reduced this time to a few hours. (Stephens 1988, 220 cited in Rantanen 1997: 610).

The advent of daily newspapers was also related to the business world's need for up-to-date information and the telegraph's ability to disseminate it. Henceforth the success of newspaper companies depended on their ability to control and exploit the emerging relationships between place, space, and time. With the telegraph, people received news from distant places around the world, news that had no direct relation to their daily experiences. Quoting Anthony Giddens, Rantanen claims that the place had become "ghostly". (Rantanen 1997: 609)

Therefore, since the 19th century, there has been a compulsion to produce information as quickly as possible in an effort to add value, and of course, the exclusivity of sought stories that originated in the monopolized regions contributed greatly to improving the bottom line of these news outlets.

2.2.4 The Establishment of Global News Agencies

The emergence of news agencies coincided with the rise of the generalist newspapers whose aim was to sell readership to advertisers. It also coincided with the "colonial expansion" of the major European powers: Britain, Germany, and France. To control these vast territories, the colonial powers relied on their naval power and rapid communication through cables and telegraphy. (James Robert Compton, 2004, p.60)

The infrastructure for the production of world news was created in the mid-19th century with the introduction of the telegraph. It enormously changed the way

news was produced. The use of the telegraph became common and large news agencies emerged to gather and disseminate information. Their connections became worldwide in just two decades. The creation of global news agencies is the result of this new technology. (Esperanca Bielsa, 2008: 348)

The first news agency, Havas News Agency (descendant of Agence France-Presse), was founded in Paris in 1835 as a provider of national and international news and hired a number of translators, talented editors, journalists and information managers to serve its clients. (William, 2011)

The French agency Havas was the first international press agency in the world. In 1832, Charles-Louis Havas (1783 - 1858), a French businessman, bought the "Correspondance Garnier" - a foreign press translation company - and began to transform it into a press agency. His translation office was very functional by 1832 and quickly attracted public interest. It developed into a press agency, which became known as "Agence Havas." He began collecting his own news and translating articles from the foreign press. Havas began sending information to other European capitals, making extensive use of the developing telegraph network.

After establishing the Havas Agency, Charles Havas increased the number of his correspondents, established a rapid translation service for foreign newspapers, and, most importantly, improved his communications through the use of the semaphore telegraph, "the first successful telegraph system, patented in 1837." In 1840, Havas pioneered the use of carrier pigeons to transport messages from one capital city to another. One of the main reasons the newspaper chose the Havas Agency was the speed of communication. (UNESCO,1953)

According to the Havas agency, the number of news outlets had increasing at the time. The American Associated Press in New York, the German Wolff Agency in Berlin, and the British Reuters in London were founded in 1848, 1849, and 1851, respectively.

The Associated Press (AP) was founded in New York in 1848 to reduce the high cost of telegraphic transmissions between six competing New York newspapers.

Until 1943, its charter prohibited new members without the consent of existing members, a restriction that led to hostility from other press sectors and the creation of competing agencies, including the one that later became UPI.

The Associated Press was the first private-sector organization in the country to operate on a national scale. Over the past 170 years, the U.S. agency was the first to inform the world about many of history's most significant events, from the assassination of Abraham Lincoln and the bombing of Pearl Harbor, to the fall of the Shah of Iran and the death of Pope John Paul II.

Bernard Wolff, who had previously worked for Havas's office, became director of the Berliner National- Zeitung in 1848. In order to reduce the cost of obtaining information for his own newspaper, he proposed to subcontract his news service to a number of other publications and some commercial enterprises, in return for financial assistance.

At first, he sent out stock exchange quotations from Hamburg, Frankfurt am Main and Paris, but from 1855 he also published general information obtained over the newly installed telegraph wires in Germany and northern Europe. Wolff's initiative was a great success in Germany and eventually led to the founding of the Wolff Agency.

To compensate for the inadequacies of the European telegraph network, Paul Julius Reuter used 40 carrier pigeons to fly over stock exchange quotations between Brussels and Aachen. In 1851 he moved to London and resumed his business of transmitting stock exchange information, this time via the Dover-Calais submarine cable from London to Paris. Gradually he expanded his business to include general information and extended his clientele to people from other parts of the continent. In 1859, the agency's reputation grew considerably when it became the first to broadcast Napoleon's Paris speech III, which served as a prelude to war with Austria the following year. He was also the first person in Europe to cover the assassination of President Lincoln in 1865.

The role of news agencies as intermediaries of information from distant places first appeared in the 1850s. The Crimean War in particular, in which Havas and Reuters

were involved, facilitated this process. They deployed their agents in strategic locations such as St. Petersburg and Istanbul, which were at the forefront of diplomacy in those years. By the early 1860s, it was clear that European news continued to dominate, but news organizations sought to meet the growing demand for global information by improving technology and infrastructure, especially telegraphic. Reuters, for example, began its "Special Service to India and China" in 1859. From 1861, news from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa appeared regularly in Reuters' dossier. The transatlantic cable to America was then successfully installed in 1866. In the course of this, correspondents and offices were also established in the most important capitals of the non-European information markets.

2.2.5 The Growth and Development of Global News Agencies

The three European news agencies, Havas, Wolff, and Reuters, all subsidized by their respective governments, dominated European news markets and expanded their operations beyond the continent. In 1870, they signed a treaty to divide the world market among the three agencies. Out of this alliance of agencies (which eventually grew to about 30 members) came the League of Allied Agencies, the World League of Press Societies, the Alliances of National Agencies, the Allied Agencies, and Grand Alliance of Agencies. It was commonly referred to as "the ring combination" (Desmond, 1978). According to some, it was a "cartel" and governments exploited its influence on world opinion for their own purposes (Boyd-Barrett, 1980; Mattelart, 1994; Putnis, Kaul et al. Wilke, 2011; Silberstein-Loeb, 2014). The Basic Treaty, created in 1870, established "reserved territories" for these three agencies. In their own territories, each agency had its own separate contracts with nations or other subscribers. (Bielsa, 2008)

The major international news agencies saw their business as a kind of commodity trade: it was about the power of information, strengthened by the rapid increase in the number of newspapers, and a larger market for general information, and thus more profit. Although news and press matters were an important part of Reuters' business, most of its revenue came from business information and private telegrams.

Over the past 150 years, the company provided one of the most comprehensive international financial information services. Profits were used to fund new journalistic ventures that formed the basis of Reuters' personal standing and reputation, and for which it pursued an ambitious strategy to make the agency global, even in a world that had already become "global" This required agreements with the two largest agencies on the continent, Havas in France and Wolff in Germany.

The German agency was under intense scrutiny. After its establishment in 1849 by Bernhard Wolff, it had spread rapidly throughout Central Europe, signing into reciprocal agreements to exchange market prices with Havas and Reuter, which were extended to new contracts in 1859. Reuter had attempted to expand by entering into his own telegraph contract with each German state. Wolff's business was greatly threatened when Havas made him an offer to buy in 1865, prompting the Prussian government to act. Wolff asked them for support, as the telegraph would have found its way into the foreign hands. While Havas and Reuter persisted with their hostile actions, the Continental Telegraph Company (CTC) was eventually formed to finance Wolff's business, and a secret pact between the (CTC) and the Prussian government gave priority to Wolff's political dispatches. This agreement provided Wolff with a quasi-monopoly for the German Empire after 1871, and was followed by a series of "agency agreements" between Havas, Reuter, and WTB that established "spheres of interest" for collection and transmission of international messages outside the United States. Under this 19th century version of a world trade agreement, Havas covered the French Empire and South America, Reuter had exclusive rights to the British Empire and the right to develop in the Far East, while Wolff covered Central Europe, Scandinavia, and Russia. (Jane Chapman, 1789: 65)

2.2.6 The Global News Agencies Cartel

In 1869, the three European news agencies Havas, Reuters, and Wolff had formed an international press cartel by signing the Agency Alliance Treaty, promising each other exclusive coverage and services for specific regions of the world. The resulting alliance of agencies (which eventually numbered about 30 members) was

known as the League of Allied Agencies, World League of Press Associations, Alliances of National Agencies, and Grand Alliance of Agencies. It was commonly referred to as "The Ring Combination". (Desmond, 1978) Some considered it a cartel and governments used its influence on world opinion to their advantage (Boyd-Barrett, 1980, Mattelart, 1994, Putnis, Kaul, and Wilke, 2011, Silberstein-Loeb, 2014). Reuter obtained the entire British Empire as well as the Far East. In practice, Reuter dominated the "ring combination" according to the original plan. He had the most influence because his reserved territories were larger or more medial than those of most others. (Silberstein-Loeb, 2014)

Wolff was responsible for Scandinavia, Russia, Austria, and surrounding territories, while Havas was responsible for France and the Portuguese Empire, Italy, and Spain. Reuter and Havas agreed to go to South America together. The agreement was made to offset the rising cost of the telegraph. It was the first of three contracts between the three agencies that lasted into the 1930s.

The most important European agencies were located in imperial capitals: "Their expansion outside Europe was inseparable from the territorial colonialism of the late nineteenth century". (Boyd-Barrett, 1980: 23) Although Wolff ceased to be a global agency after World War I, the cartel continued to dominate international information distribution. When the Associated Press (AP) began supplying information to Latin America, it was the first to challenge the cartel's monopoly. In 1893, AP joined the cartel and was given exclusive rights by Reuter to distribute information in the United States and its possessions and to supply European agencies with information from the United States.

In fact, the cartel's quasi-monopoly on the international flow of news was broken in the early 1900s by the agency that later became known as United Press International (UPI). The United Press Associations was founded in 1907 by prominent American entrepreneur Edward Willis Scripps to challenge the dominance of AP in the United States, a position the agency held because it was the only national news agency in the country at the time. Unlike AP, the Scripps company had no restrictions on who could become a customer and sold information to anyone who could pay for it.

Although the news agency initially respected the international order that the cartel had created and relied on European agencies for coverage of other countries after 1919 United Press (UP) decided not to be constrained by the cartel and to gather its own international news. UP's decision proved to be a great success, largely thanks to the Argentine newspaper "La Prensa", which was willing to pay up to half a million dollars a year for the agency's international news. As a result of the success of UP, which threatened to make it the main U.S. agency, to the detriment of PA, AP gradually broke away from the cartel to better compete with UP. Between 1918 and 1919, AP took over Havas' responsibilities for Latin America. In fact, the cartel ended in 1930 when the Japanese agency Rengo agreed to distribute the AP service in Japan and AP announced that it was ending its agreement with the European cartel.

2.2.7 The State and News Agencies: The Government's Influence in the News Agencies

The three European news agencies, Havas, Wolff, and Reuters, all subsidized by their respective governments, dominated European news markets and expanded their activities beyond the continent.

Although the role of the state varied from country to country, state agencies quickly gained acceptance. Many private news agencies had close ties to their respective governments. The London-based Reuters agency, for example, received substantial government support for much of the twentieth century.

Reuters agreed to send official communiqués and Allied news to neutral countries, the British Empire and Allied troops during World War I, while the government funded the service by covering the cost of sending telegrams. The managing director of Reuters was also a government official for a time.

The PA "made itself available to the government for propaganda services in 1930," and the agency, in its coverage of American "extraterritorial ventures," "always viewed every situation through the lens the government placed upon it." AP first entered the South American market at the request of the State Department during World War I,

even though United Press was by far the most powerful agency there until long after World War II.

Reuters received a communications grant on the eve of World War II to expand the scope of its international wireless news services. Reuters received government funds during the war to keep its South American offices open in Havas.

From 1940 to 1943, the British Ministry of Information fully funded the London-based Agence de la France libre (AFI), which would later become one of the founding organizations of the AFP.

During World War I, the U.S. government actively used propaganda to influence Latin American perceptions of the United States. Given the dominance of the French news agency Havas in the region and the Associated Press's agreements with that agency, the U.S. government actively assisted United Press (UP) in its expansion into South America. As a result of UP's activities, PA was forced to cut its ties from the cartel of global news agencies.

The ability of the news agencies to expand their operations internationally was based on the pre-existing expansion of U.S.-owned cables, subsidies to the press broadcasting on these private cables, and to the maritime broadcasters. The US government organized the event. But Latin Americans were any less interested in American news than in the American film industry.

Hollywood, forced to distribute its films directly from the United States rather than through Europe, paved the way for postwar American radio and advertising interests. World War I was the most important factor in the shift of influence from Europeans to Americans in South America.

The history of governments' relations with all five major international news agencies (Havas, Wolff, Reuters, Associated Press, and United Press) shows that their governments were unwilling, for domestic and foreign policy reasons, to fold their arms and let the agencies fail, especially when asked for help. This suggests that predictions that the Big Five would be reduced to a smaller number due to the vagaries of the

international news market may not be entirely accurate. On the other hand, the case of the former Soviet Union shows how Big Five agencies can operate with a smaller number when the home state no longer exists. (Jill Hills,2002 :285)

Finally, some agencies will not be independent of the government's influence for the foreseeable future. And as Oliver Boyd-Barrett has pointed out, agencies and states have the opportunity to forge strong business relationships in lieu of other forms of support. In addition to their normal appetite for information, governments are increasingly interested in outsourcing government services. Perhaps agencies and governments can agree on tasks beyond the normal scope of information provided that a news agency could reasonably undertake without compromising its credibility.

2.3 Globalization: The Concept and Dimensions

Globalization has become a holistic concept that goes deep into the various directions that affect human life in the modern era. Globalization is not only a mechanism for the spontaneous development of the capitalist system, but it requires an ideology that expresses the imposition of world domination and the exclusion of private life since this concept affects all aspects of economic, cultural, and social life.

The capitalist world system seeks to dominate it in the name of the new world order. Its economic policy is the center of interest between it and the countries, knowing that this economic policy is not always the same between these countries and their policies. Some see in globalization a usurpation and erasure of national, religious and national cultures and human characteristics, whether directly or explicitly or camouflaged in a technological mask impregnated with the cultures of globalization that accompany its tools.

The roots of historical globalization have been in economics and politics since its beginnings, and this globalization is currently more evident than national. It can be said that globalization and the characteristics of the current world situation are determined by three phenomena: first, the emergence of the capitalist system as the dominant force in the world; second, the technology and information revolution, which

has become a gigantic turning point in terms of production and commercialization; and third, the hegemony of the United States of America and its ambition to educate the world with its culture and ideologies in life and to dominate it through the commercialization of all its products.

Globalization is a phenomenon that dominates the global world at the end of the 20th century and has become a variable indicator in international relations and in people's lives. Globalization has brought many changes in national economic policies, such as the emergence of new economic activities like multinational companies.

2.3.1 The Concept of Globalization

The tendencies of scholars to define the term "globalization" differ according to their various intellectual doctrines since it is a new concept and its entry into various fields of economics, politics, and culture makes it difficult to find a complete and precise definition that describes it.

The term globalization was first mentioned by the Canadian sociologist (Marshall Mac Lohan) in the 1960s, when he formulated the concept of (cosmic village), in his book (War and Peace in the Global Village), in which he emphasized the role of the enormous technical and technological progress of the means of communication and its impact on the transformation of the world into a small village.

The term globalization is a translation of the word globalization, which is derived from the word (globe) meaning the globe. This concept refers to two things at once: the "shrinking of the world" and the increase of world consciousness.

Some scholars believe that globalization is more like modeling, that is, the imposition of a certain model of culture, values, thought or economy through scientific progress and creativity in its fields and applications, the results of which are controlled by capital and the ruling power. Thus, globalization, in its dimensions and effects, represents an attempt to impose the domination of values, customs, and cultures, especially those of the Western and American world, on other countries of the world in

a way that leads to the mixing of cultures and civilizations and the dissolution of their social and cultural intimacy, as well as the marginalization of religious beliefs.

It is necessary to distinguish between the politics of globalization and the ideology of globalism. The former means the politics and the latter means the ideology of globalism, namely the declared values and the hidden values. The declared values are the freedom of the market, as if it were the magic solution to humanity's problems, while the implicit value is that globalization is simply based on so-called Social Darwinism, a doctrine or ideology formulated by the American capitalist to justify unbridled capitalism and derived from Darwin, the survival of the fittest.

It is very difficult to agree on a comprehensive definition of globalization, as there are a variety of views on it, influenced by the trends and attitudes of researchers on the subject.

To put the concept of globalization in a general framework, means we have to review some of the definitions and sayings discussed by scholars: Globalization is a translation of the English term globalization, which means to give something a global character, arising from the great advances in information and communication technology and advanced industries. On the other hand, globalization, according to many thinkers and writers, is the domination and dominance of one culture of cultures over all cultures of the world. There are those who distinguish between globalization and globalism, saying that (globalization is the opening to the world, to other cultures and the preservation of ideological disagreements, while globalism is the negation of the Other and the replacement of ideological conflicts with cultural interpenetration).

And the spread of the concept of globalization, which attracted the attention of most thinkers in all countries of the world at different levels and artistic and cultural affiliations, as it was commonly used to describe the extraordinary changes that have prevailed in the world system in recent decades, the most striking manifestations of which have included the rapid growth of international trade, the integration of production processes and the modernization of production. Trade barriers, taxes, fees

and investments, because globalization is mainly based on the liberalization of international trade and the opening of markets to goods imported from abroad. This reality makes the rich richer and the poor poorer, especially since the laws governing the course of globalization are often skewed in favor of rich countries and other regimes with the development, domination and spread of media, communications and technology. Globalization has given the artist the opportunity to (choose the nature of things at will by posing a problem; to make himself an idea or project in order to project a solution into his freedom) The emergence of the term globalization coincided with the emergence of a number of life phenomena, intellectual developments and the technological and scientific developments that have led to an increasing interdependence of the world, an increasing convergence and a contraction, which means the abolition of borders and divisions between individuals, societies, cultures and states, and this has been accompanied by an awareness of the formation of a free society or a world without borders, starting from the growing tendencies of liberation and structural adjustment and the adoption of policies involving the dismantling of organized or controlled ideological intervention, the removal of barriers to trade and investment, and the internationalization of capital and production from their traditional diffuse nature to more efficient means.

This has been made possible by enormous technological advances in transport, communications and information. Among its features is its renewed revolutionary tendency, which: penetrated practical life in the twentieth century and had a major impact on the way of life, cognition and human relations, as well as the impact of industrialization on art.

Globalization in itself cannot be seen as either good or bad. On the contrary, globalization is far from being an idea that is the subject of debate and controversy. Globalization is a product of the changes and developments that have taken place at the economic and political levels, and then it has evolved to include the social and cultural and other scientific and intellectual aspects, such as in the visual arts, which are the language, the documentation, the expression and the yardstick by which the level of civilization and urbanization is measured, and so we find it with a civilizational level of

evaluation that indicates various indicators and provides clues by which the value of peoples and their contribution to human civilization are measured.

2.3.2 The Dimensions of Globalization

In the depth of interdependence between countries and economies and in the unity of financial markets and the deepening of trade within the framework of protection and control, and most important in this is the establishment of a foreign trade organization. The problem of the "national crisis" arises as well as the crisis of the economic world.

Politics manifests itself in the decline of formalism, as does authority, the inclination towards democracy and political pluralism.

And cultural globalization is about the fact that global culture dominates architecture, as does cultural specificity.

And media globalization is about satellite television as the network, the internet, that connects people all over the planet.

Globalization is seen as irreversible and contains essentially economic elements, such as the internationalization of capital through technology and the free movement of goods, services, information and money.

Globalization as a historical-analytical category is useful to understand the current moment of capitalism, which is characterized by the strengthening of the monopoly of transnational corporations, increased labor migration and the deregulation of national economies to facilitate free trade agreements.

Market laws and global economic organizations now regulate trade between countries. Similarly, modern technologies in production and the collapse of the so-called socialist bloc have opened up new markets.

As a process, globalization creates paradoxes: while striving for a supranational state, nation-states are strengthened; when thinking of an ideologically

unipolar world, the internet goes beyond the control of information and is a means to learn about the diversity of thought; the discourse that reduces the economic and social independence of the state is being challenged by greater state intervention to control the economy.

Capital is globalized, but so is crime. Instead of homogenization, globalization promotes polarization; the universalization of the market leads to the exclusion of regions.

Although globalization is a fact that is primarily economic, it includes at least three other dimensions: The technical one, related to the technological revolution to process and transmit information to the markets; the political one, as the end of the Cold War and the capitalism-socialism blocs was interpreted as the victory of the liberal democratic model and of the United States in anticipation of a world government; and the ideological-cultural one, characterized by the universalization of values, the primacy of the liberal principles of human rights and the generalization of consumerism linked to the media monopoly.

2.3.2.1 The Economic Dimension

As far as the economic dimension is concerned, globalization is not a new or novel phenomenon. Its origins lie in mercantilism.

For Hirsch (1996) and (Saxe-Fernández,1999), capitalism has been a global system from the beginning, linked to colonialism and imperialism.

According to Saxe-Fernández (1999), globalization does not represent a fundamental break with the experiences of the capitalist past. It is therefore not something irreversible and abstract. However, the global discourse propagates the idea of an interdependent world in which economic sovereignty is an anachronism and the privatization of state-controlled enterprises and services corresponds to competition in the restructuring of global production. From this perspective, globalization is presented in the discourse of management theorists (Borón, 2003) as an irreversible process that depends not on political options but on economic needs.

In Economic globalization (Forrester, 2000), he argues that the profit motive is incompatible with employment and that speculation is destroying the economy, leading to cuts in social funds for education, health and pensions. Provides dates and names of companies that are guided by the logic that "competitiveness presupposes that...", merge and their first strategy is to cut jobs in order to increase their stock market listing and social solidarity movements.

Borón illustrates the paradox of 200 mega-corporations that have an annual turnover of \$7.1 billion and accumulate wealth equivalent to that of 80 per cent of the world's population, but employ less than one-third of 1 per cent of the world's population. Another inconsistency of globalization is that a large part of the population has no drinking water supply, while the priority is the information superhighway.

These paradoxes can be summarized as follows: economic and technological modernization and marginality.

In this brief tour of economic globalization, it is clear that the gap between the rich countries and the poor nations has widened, now referred to as North and South respectively, the world has become polarized, and international problems such as human rights, environment, crime, poverty, unhealth have emerged.

In short, globalization is a process of internationalization of capital that deepened in the 1980s on the basis of the technological and information revolutions directed at financial power. The crisis of the welfare state, which no longer regulated the economy and expanded the investment opportunities and profit margins of the capitalists, was the gateway for globalization. In order to fit into globalization, countries began to adapt in national constitutional states.

2.3.2.2 The Socio-Political Dimension

Globalization can also stand for the recognition of knowledge and information societies, in defense of which it is argued that on the basis of developments in telecommunications, the inter-state monopoly of communication and thus the nation-state orthodoxy is being undermined by drawing a distinction between two phases of

international politics: the age of international politics, characterized by the monopoly of a section of nation-states on the international arena, and the age of post-international politics, in which nation-states would be forced to share - not leave - the global power stage with international organizations, transnational corporations and transnational political and social movements. This second phase of politics is characterized by a necessary tacit authorization of the nationalizing state for globalization in a new middle age centred on the figure of the transnational state and driven by a transnational sub-politics that accommodates a range of different actors such as transnational organizations and transnational communities in one arena, in which they fight for a political agenda embedded in transnational issues and transnational events, in short, a polycentric world politics in which there would be a game without marked cards - a permanent tension - that runs counter to the theory that the market always has the last word.

The vision of the meanings of this conceptual type is similar to the meanings previously attributed to the first conceptual type analyzed in this study. It assumes one factor to be the director of the others, although it is kept separate from them, attributing to this factor a polarized relationship of permanent tension and instability: global wealth - local poverty; mobility of capital - immobility of workers - capitalism - declining employment; technological change - technological backwardness; security of investment - weakening of the national state; ecological awareness - national economic disadvantages; industry - world culture - exposure of local culture. He bases his arguments on the English school of cultural theory and contradicts the common notion of a McDonaldisation of the world and thus refutes the sense of a homogenization of the world. This would be the understanding of globalization as an ancient process, which, moreover, has had particular effects in recent times, resulting from the preponderance of causes that stand out.

In this sense, one speaks of a multi-causal global society on the Weberian line of theoretical pluralism, which includes both different aspects from the perspective of the workshop.

2.3.2.3 The Sociocultural Dimension

Globalization implies a contingent and dialectical movement between the global and the local in a receptive contrast between these aspects that falls within the thematic field of a sociology of globalization that defends the notion of isolated spaces as fictional. In this respect, the overcoming of borders is no longer based on the economic approach, but rather on cultural coexistence in its various meanings - economic, political, social.

On this approach makes sense to express itself in a global society represented by the set of social relations that are not integrated in the politics of the national state or that are not determined by it, but rather by other factors, namely, the global media express themselves as interactive and well interdependent communication webs to the liking of the preferred layer image of the books on globalization. Nation-states are not reserved spaces for action regulating the economic control of information societies themselves, the discussion of which rests on the first conceptual type of globalization described, but in spaces of interference in the content of information itself. The notion of a global society incorporated into the notion of a means of identification between local spheres gives rise to a social effect of shared destinies, which allows for the manifestation of phenomena that go beyond national borders to present themselves as external to national politics: transnational forms of production and competition in the labour market, global television news, transnational boycotts of buyers, transnational lifestyles, crises and wars at least perceived as a 'global', peaceful and military use of atomic energy, environmental destruction, etc.

Globalization, in this sense, means a process in which nation-states suffer from cross-interference of transnational factors in their sovereignty, identity, communication networks, in short, their opportunities for power as an irreversible process initiated from the very emergence of the nation-states. This sense is indicated as the viable sense of political interference, displacing the logic of globalism - the center of the economic question. It was the multi-dimensionality of globality understood as a moment that refuses to give in to a period of stability; that refuses to give in to a world state.

For this current, globalization is a contradictory process. All serious globalization, beyond a movement of dislocation, must be a re-localization. Adopt, including a new terminology in fact with little noise: the "glocalization", that is to say a new taking into account of the local element, since it is not in this theory conceived the idea of individual societies isolated within their respective cultural spaces. This is by nature an imminent dialectical process of globalization - a globality -. The strategy of multinationals not to build factories in all parts of the world, but to become part of each of the cultures, is expressed by the term global localization and highlights the character of the local cultural approach required in the field of globalization.

Another meaning of globalization encountered on socio-cultural parameters is in cultural globalization, which is associated with the transformation of cultures and represented, on the one hand, by an assumption of convergence of world culture, cultural symbols and forms of coexistence, as a McDonaldisation of a commodity world, unifying life styles, cultural symbols and transnational forms of coexistence.

On the other hand, the said globalization is defined by the progressive presentation of local cultures throughout the world, revealing a double path of globalization, which would recognize diversity and reciprocal openness and allow us to see the world as plural and cosmopolitan image of the other and of the self.

The presence of transnational cultures in places not shared by their traditions clearly indicates the new themes brought about by a culturally global society.

In the same context of the orientation of the discourse by the idea of a global society, one can speak of political globalization as the assertion that the decisions of a certain national state must:

- a) Solicit their society outside the territory.
- b) Temporize or react to the described in the first conceptual type.
- c) To recognize that macro-regionalism coexists with the micro-regionalisms necessary to maintain cultural identity and to defend local interests in central macro-regional institutions, since the movement of going beyond

national borders would join the regionalization and sub-regionalization movements, as in the European Union.

2.4 The Differences Between National and International News Agencies

International news agencies may have propagated the notion that they are more important, more powerful, and more interesting than national agencies or specialized and local agencies.

But both national and international agencies have played an important role in constructing a powerful image of the nation and the global media scene basically constitutes these nations. In their scramble for domestic markets, the dominant agencies found that it made economic sense to give themselves an identity that matched that of the nation as a whole. They positioned themselves at the center of national power, building trusting relationships with powerful political and economic elites, and devoted much of their content to the activities of those elites. Their lines of communication with provincial media were radial, with national agencies disseminating comprehensive national news and receiving a package of local news from local clients in return.

2.4.1 The National News Agencies: The Evolution and Functions

2.4.1.1 Evolution of National News Agencies

The first national news agencies were established in the wake of nationalism in Europe to govern the territories of nation-states in the late 19th century. The relationship between news agencies and the state has been a recurring theme in most parts of the world ever since. Whether it is the nationalization of the Spanish agency in 1927 and 1938 or the National Socialist agency in Germany in 1933, despite pointing out only the most extreme example, challenges are still the same: the state has strong interests in the transmission of information, both nationally and internationally, and these become particularly visible in times of national or international crisis that threaten the state itself. How do states and agencies behave in these circumstances, and what

implications do agencies incur in constructing and transmitting images of the state and the nation? This is not just about the relationship between the state and the national agency, for a third partner in this relationship is quite often the global agency: the choice of national partner by a global agency carries implications such as the survival of national news agencies that have been sanctioned officially, and sometimes for the survival of the states that sanctioned them.

In the 19th century, as France's Havas, Britain's Reuters, and Germany's Wolff expanded their operations beyond their country's borders, they also had to set in motion a process that would eventually ensure a strong Spanish voice in the global information system. The Spanish private agency Fabra was founded in 1866. This agency was important for at least three reasons. First, the extraordinary role of the French agency Havas, which controlled the Spanish agency for decades, is a powerful illustration of the influence global agencies possess in shaping a country's destiny. Second, the history of the Spanish national news agency is replete with instances of complex maneuvering by national agencies that at various times sought to appease, dissociate, or collaborate with the ruling political establishment. Third, EFE's eventual expansion into South America illustrates how a national agency can assume the role of a new voice in competitive global markets, in this Spanish case by developing important regional alliances around the world. in a globalized neoliberal world.

2.4.1.2 Functions of National News Agencies

National news agencies perform important functions. First, they provide national and international news services at affordable prices to national and local media. Their information services generally aim to provide comprehensive coverage of the representation and interests of the various demographics of the nation-state. Second, they are an important and privileged source of information for national, political, economic, and financial institutions. Thirdly, they serve as a conduit for the services of international news agencies to local and national media and also for local and national feedback to international news agencies that can influence the international representation of any nation-state (Boyd-Barret, 2000, 301).

The role of national news agencies has been correctly assessed, except in countries with totalitarian regimes. The traditional division of news agencies into national and international news agencies assumed that news agencies must perform national functions. But a recent globalization debate has challenged this obvious starting point. There is no reason to believe that news agencies or other media organizations should necessarily serve the interests of nation-states. However, the history of news agencies shows how the first electronic media became vehicles of nation-states in most countries. This happened because the independence of news agencies was vulnerable: they were dependent on the technology needed to receive and transmit news.

2.4.2 The Nature of the Relationship Between National and International News Agencies

By focusing on international news agencies, they may have helped to see the world as one in which international news agencies are more important, more powerful, and more interesting than national agencies or than specialized and local agencies.

Oliver Boyed-Barrett sees national news agencies as part of a global information system that overlaps with other systems. A system has interdependent parts, and that is what we find with news agencies: they use each other as sources, they sell amongst themselves, they forge alliances with each other, they sell services to media clients, and they use client media as sources of information., etc.

But there are also disturbances in this system - the global intelligence system: these disturbances have always existed; they have only changed in their nature. In the last century, we saw how a cartel operated, setting up a crude hierarchy of news outlets; it operated in an imperialistic manner, sowing the seeds of its own destruction. Today, 100 years later, we may be witnessing something equally disruptive to the functionality of the system: direct competition from international agencies in the domestic markets of national agencies that are unable to cope or, as in the case of business news, lose potential additional revenue streams to the international expansion of Reuters.

Oliver Boyed-Barrett, in much of his extensive research on news agencies, identifies some of the key challenges including ideological that some national agencies sometimes face.

In the research, among the key challenges he discusses is the now well-known problem of saturation in traditional newspaper markets. He divulges further on more serious hiccups, especially for agencies that belong exclusively to press interests, is the ever-increasing trend toward concentration within the newspaper industry.

Oliver Boyed-Barrett cites the level of concentration Canada has experienced with the de facto takeover of the entire industry by media mogul Conrad Black, or the situation in New Zealand where Terry O'Reilly and Rupert Murdoch essentially boasts a controlling share of the press. Oliver Boyed-Barrett believes this situation is not good for the media or the public. He said, "As far as news organizations are concerned, how is it beneficial that organizations that have formed cooperatives, as is the case in Canada and New Zealand, are suddenly beholden to one or two major owners, and to make matters worse, owners who are known to meddle in the news, hold strong partisan political views, and have significant cross-media business interests? What does this say about the ability of national news outlets to be impartial? Is this likely to attract potential customers in other news media? Although the capital wealth of these dominant owners seems to be an advantage, the ethics of the business can just as easily lead to investment restrictions and job cuts, as has happened with the Canadian Press.

Just as dependence on government for subsidies or even tariffs are itself a problem for news agencies which are dependency-prone, recent cuts in public subsidies or tariffs, which have become a trend throughout the world in the wake of deregulation, and in the process of political transitions, especially the transition from communism to democracy, and also in the case of Tanzania's transition from state socialism to market economy.

In Western Europe, the most notable is AFP, which still depends on the state for more than 40% of its revenue, but has managed to maintain its credibility in national and international markets. Despite regular government interference in the appointment

of managing directors and even attempts to interfere in its day-to-day operations, AFP is saved in part by the professionalism and determination of many of its executives and journalists. However, this dependence on the state has fallen by more than 60 percent in 20 years, prompting AFP to become more active in certain overseas markets, particularly in Asia. The case of EFE, which is undoubtedly a state agency and whose management is scrutinized every time there is a change in national political leadership, is perhaps not quite so trivial. But here, too, the desire for greater self-sufficiency is evident.

All in all, national and international agencies played an important role in creating a strong image of the nation and a world comprised basically of the nation-states. In their struggle to secure domestic markets, the dominant agencies found it commercially expedient to create an identity that matched that of the nation as a whole. They stood at the centre of national power, built trusting relationships with powerful political and economic elites, and devoted much of their content to the activities of those elites. Their lines of communication with the provincial media were radial, with national agencies broadcasting comprehensive national news and in return receiving a range of local news from local clients.

2.4.3 Competition With National Agencies by International Players in National Agency Markets

Political changes, such as the transition from communism to post-communism (Central and Eastern Europe), from state socialism to deregulation (Tanzania), from dictatorship to democracy (Spain), from apartheid to pluralism (South Africa), undermines old structures and philosophies. This is particularly the case when national agency is still linked to the politicians and personalities of a discredited regime or to a particular ethnic or social group whose political influence has declined. The opening up of some Eastern European countries to foreign investment, such as Poland, while liberating economically and to some extent politically, raises important questions about national sovereignty and the right of nation-states to shape their information environment, as well as about the protections that have been established in Western

Europe for many decades and whose benefits are perhaps taken a little too much for granted.

Ramifications include the takeover of local financial information markets by international players, potentially depriving local agencies of alternative revenues, and direct competition for local media clients, as in the case of Reuters in South Africa against SAPA or AP in Switzerland against ATS (from 1981, leading to the demise of DDP, which had been founded when UPI's Swiss service in Germany collapsed in 1972 after 11 years of operation).

2.4.4 News Agencies in the Era of the Internet

Although agencies initially saw the Internet as a threat rather than an opportunity, in 2008 marked a turning point as they banked on all the opportunities that arose therein. The Internet underscores the critical importance of content in the competition among information providers. Here, agencies are well-positioned in terms of their resources and brand identity in the face of emerging voices from the Internet. Better content forces agencies to acknowledge a market that is increasingly dominated by opinion journalism. While they should not move directly in that direction, they need to provide more analysis and business coverage, in what the author refers to as "points of concern", dialog with all stakeholders, and strive to provide a clearer rationale for news selection. (Oliver Boyd-Barrett, 2008: 163-169)

In theory, the Internet lowers the costs of entering the information industry, setting up a website is a relatively small part of the battle to attract customers. Evidence suggests that it is mainly the already established actors who are best placed to take advantage of the Internet, those who already possess the infrastructure for collecting information from journalists and networks with primary sources, the expertise in writing, editing, illustrating, and packaging, and boast of the hard-earned credibility that can attract customers who want to read what is provided. The real difficulty here is what can be done on the Internet that is not a threat to owner-clients or just valued traditional clients. The Press Association in the UK is an example of a national agency that has made significant strides in exploring the entrepreneurial opportunities of the internet

and has since struck a deal with owner-clients - providing traditional services at significantly reduced rates. - which will keep their fingers out of the pot, at least for now.

2.5. Theoretical Framework

2.5.1. Social Responsibility Media Theory

The media theory of social responsibility was proposed by Siebert Peterson and Schramm in 1963. This theory, which dates back to the 1949 Hutchins Commission on Freedom of the Press, holds that freedom comes with obligations and that the press, enjoying a privileged position under government, is obligated to be responsible to society for carrying out certain essential functions of mass communication in contemporary society.

According to McQuail (1987), the main principles of social responsibility theory are as follows:

- The media should assume and fulfill certain obligations to society.
- These obligations can be met through professional standards of informativeness - truth, accuracy, objectivity, and balance.
- The media should self-regulate within the framework of the law and established institutions to fulfill its obligations.
- The media should avoid anything that could lead to crime, violence, riots, or offend minority groups.
- The media should reflect the plurality of society by allowing access to different points of view and giving everyone the right to respond.

Media professionals should be accountable to society, employers, and the market. Anaeto et al. (2008, p.58) claim that social responsibility theory postulates five specific functions for the press, namely:

- To serve the political system by making information, discussion and deliberation on public affairs widely available;
- To inform the public in order to empower them to act for themselves;
- To protect individual rights by acting as a watchdog of government;
- Serve the economic system by, for example, bringing buyers and sellers together through advertising;
- To maintain financial autonomy so as not to become dependent on certain interests and influences.

Social accountability theory sees the media as the "eyes", "spokespersons" and "watchdogs" of the society, playing a special role in redressing social ills, educating the public, criticizing policies and denouncing ills in society.

Tejumaiye [2000] argues that social responsibility theory is based on a fundamental commitment to freedom of expression. However, this theory insists on the principle of responsibility to the society even when the right to freedom of expression is exercised by the media. The theory advocates the freedom to communicate and to own the means of communication. It merely disapproves of any kind of pre-publication censorship. Nevertheless, it insists that the media has a duty to promote a harmonious and fruitful society by maintaining high standards of professional performance and highlighting social conflicts to the level of national dialogue. The media is therefore expected to self-regulate through public intervention to ensure that media accountability is not discouraged. Such interventions take the form of journalism, advertising and other codes, supervisory boards, a commission of inquiry and a system of press subsidy.

2.5.2 Agenda-Setting Theory

The theory of mass media agenda setting was formulated in 1972/1973 by Maxwell McCombs and Donald L. Shaw. The main assumption of this theory is that the media sets an agenda for the public to follow.

The theory states that the news media has the ability to shift important issues from the media agenda to the public agenda. McCombs and Shaw (1972) believe that

programming results from the mass media having to select from a variety of events that they deem important to report.

The only way to influence what people think is to shape what they think (Semptam, 2011). The assumption of agenda-setting is therefore that the mass media, through selectivity, present information they deem important as an agenda for the society. The few media agendas selected by professional actors as gatekeepers lead people to perceive one or more issues as important. The importance they attach to events through the presentation of headlines, images and layout in newspapers, magazines, films, graphics or the calendar on radio and television, and the degree of conflict created by the accumulation of events and media specific effects over time (Folarin, 1998: 68).

According to McQuail and Windahl (1986), cited in Uganda (2010: 116), "the public not only learns about public affairs and other issues through the media, but it also learns the meaning attached to an issue or topic through the rhythmic emphasis of the mass media. This is consistent with Cohen's (1963) assertion that the media does not tell its audience what to think but, surprisingly, tells its readers what to think. The way the media selects, processes, and shapes content for their own purposes can have a powerful influence on how it is received and interpreted, and thus on its longer-term consequences."

2.5.3 Gatekeeping Theory

The term "gatekeeping" is often used as a metaphor to describe the process by which decisions are made in media relations, particularly the decision whether or not to let a particular news item through the "door" of an information channel.

McQueen [2005: 308] believes that gatekeeping theory is concerned with the processes and factors that influence media organizations' decisions to select or reject potentially interesting material for publication. The theory postulates that media organizations and key media professionals act as gateways for the flow of information into society at large. These gateways are open to allow a particular type of information

through for processing and publication, or they are closed to deny other types of information the opportunity to be processed and published.

Tejumaiye [2000] lists the factors that determine whether these doors are opened or closed. These factors include structure of the information industry, qualitative differences in the roles of key communicators, characteristics of the audience, type of media, and characteristics of information sources. Tejumaiye further explains that the interaction of these factors can be represented as follows: The sources select the information they present to the communication professionals who are themselves in their industry, the nature of their functions, the information value or content of the articles, and the limitations of the media. The selection of communication professionals is presented to the public, which in turn selects which elements to adopt and which to pass on to others.

In light of this study, media organizations are a critical factor in the type of information received and disseminated. Therefore, the power to receive or reject information that is beneficial or detrimental to the social culture, responsibility of the media and society, or activities happening around the country, lies with media organizations.

2.5.4 Reception Theory

The concept of reception in media audience studies indicates that we are interested in the way readers interpret media texts. In other words, when we use reception theory to investigate readers, we investigate theoretically and empirically the process interpretation (sense-making). Against this background, we can define interpretation as the result of the process of negotiation between texts (e.g. television programmes) and readers (e.g. viewers) situated within specific social and cultural contexts. When apply reception theory to the mass media, we substitute the concept “reader” for “user, audience, viewer” while texts refer to “newspapers, television programmes, radio or any other mass medium”. (Pieter Jacobus Fourie, 2001, 244)

2.6 Hypotheses of the Study

- H1. Anadolu Agency has managed to become a reliable news source for the biggest media outlets in the Arab world.
- H2. Anadolu Agency's Arabic department has achieved great success in profoundly influencing the Arab world.
- H3. Anadolu Agency's Arabic department is competing with Arabic departments of other foreign agencies in the Arab world.
- H4. The common cultural, religious and historical factors between Turkey and the Arab world have greatly facilitated Anadolu Agency's active presence in this region.

2.7 Related Studies

In this section, the research will present a number of similar studies previously done and present the various similarities and differences between them and this particular study. The research will also review the ideas, problems, and conclusions of these studies in order to benefit from them and shed light on other problems that were not addressed in these studies. The following are the basic Arab and foreign studies related to this study:

1- Ahmed Hussein, Ataq Jarallah, Saad Al-Qahtani, Mutahhar Al-Saffari, Soft Power in the Arab Region (Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran) Study in Strategies and Influence, 2021, Strategic Thought Center for Studies, Turkey.

The book first explores a period of time in antiquity when a state's ability to be influential and to impose its political agenda depended mainly on its military capabilities and material strength in presence of religious and cultural hegemony. Different strategies to resolve disputes, impose hegemony, or indirectly win public opinion include resorting to different tools that guarantee the promotion of certain political and economic beliefs and the preservation of interests in areas of influence, without resorting to military intervention or directly interfering with the interests of

countries affected by the economic blockade. That way appeared the concept of soft power in the politics, foreign relations, and crisis management.

The importance of the study lies in the fact that it deals with another aspect of the conflict; various countries and active powers have become concerned about soft power, a tool of influence. This academic study aims to explore soft power in three important countries in the Middle East: Saudi Arabia, Turkey, and Iran.

The study seeks to answer questions related to the visions and strategies that each of these three countries pursue in their usage of soft tools. The questions include;

What is every country's concept of soft power?

What sources of soft power do Saudi Arabia, Turkey and Iran rely on to manage their interests in regions under their influence?

To what extent did these countries use soft power in their foreign policy?

How coordinated and networked are these countries with local institutions in the influenced areas?

What are the strengths and weaknesses in their use of soft power?

In the Strategic Thought Centre, researchers present the book in four main chapters. The first chapter discusses soft power theoretically. It provides an overview of its historical development and impact and explores its sources and tools. It then examines the relationships between soft, hard, and smart powers and the factors that influence them, such as the revolution in information and communication, and highlights their role in foreign policy. The second chapter investigates Saudi's soft power in its Arab habitat. It provides an overview of Saudi's media and diplomatic soft power tools through its active contribution to establishing Islamic international organizations and many open media platforms. The chapter also includes an assessment of some Saudi soft power projects such as religious institutions, universities, and television channels.

the interesting thing about this book is that it devotes an entire chapter to "Tools of Turkish Soft Power in the Arab Region". This chapter discusses Turkey's soft power policy in the Arab region, examining critical changes in Turkish foreign policy, new principles, and Turkey's position in the Arab region throughout history in order to measure the effectiveness of its soft power. These include geography, geopolitics, culture and civilization, fundamental values, and public and private freedoms. The chapter also explores the main direct soft power tools in Arab countries and the indirect ones that externalize Turkey's political, economic, and legislative success to finally review the main strengths and weaknesses of Turkey's soft power. Researchers referred to a wide range of resources and references from Arabic and foreign documents and reports that were especially translated, as well as the writings of a group of thinkers, researchers, and policy makers such as Joseph Nye, Ahmet Davut Oglu, Ibrahim Kalin, Maliha Benli Altunesh, Abd al-Rahman al-Shubaili, and Mohsen Rezaei, in addition to books, recent studies, theses and dissertations, field visits, and interviews with personalities working in the field.

The chapter "Turkish Soft Power Tools in the Arab Region" can be summarized as the following:

First, Turkey's soft power is due to the new Turkish government's advantageous utilization of the country's central geostrategic location, historical heritage, and diverse demographics, as well as the economic renaissance and democratic experiences the country is undergoing. These factors create strategic opportunities and avenues that strengthen Turkey's presence in the Arab world.

Secondly, Turkey chose to use the tools of soft power and active diplomacy owing to the sensitivity of her geographic state, which can effectively lead to peace or cause conflict. The new Turkish policy follows the "win-win policy" - where and when - instead of the "zero problems with neighbors" doctrine, through which official media outlets have worked on consolidating Turkey's image as a model and a factor of coexistence and peace in order to get rid of the accusations against her which alleged her intentions to restore the Ottoman control. Accordingly, Turkey played the role of a mediator in important international dossiers like the Arab-Israeli dispute.

2- Jana Jabbour, Turkey, The Diplomacy of the Rising Power, 2019, Arab Centre for Research and Policy Studies.

This study seriously handles the concept of 'rising diplomacy'. This concept is characterized by the emergence of diplomacy as a technique used to manage competition between powers with similar ambitions. These powers often share the same regions of influence and are linked by rapprochement, alliance, or conflict. Therefore, in order to step out of the framework of traditional diplomacy (the police diplomacy used by most historical powers), "emerging powers" such as Turkey have had to assert themselves and resort to differentiated diplomacy.

The book discusses the "new" Turkish foreign policy in the first decade of the 21st century and analyzes one of its most important aspects, Turkish-Arab rapprochement, and Turkey's rise as a regional power in the Middle East. This confirms that the dynamics of Turkish engagement in the region is the most important declaration of Turkey's attainment of being an emerging power in the Mediterranean. The book aims at examining the mechanisms of the Turkish engagement in the Arab region and Turkey's motives behind it. It also shows how Ankara's successes in the Middle East are fraught with weaknesses, nay fundamental flaws, that will eventually overwhelm Turkey and cause internal tensions. Through this study, the author attempts to analyze the strengths and capabilities, as well as the limitations and obstacles, that each emerging power faces in its regional and external environment.

In an important section of her book, author Jana Jabbour emphasizes that it has become impossible for Turkey to rely on the classical concept of power, which it finds difficult to turn into action. The author acknowledges that Turkey makes better use of emerging diplomacy than China, India, or Brazil.

The author concludes in the fourth part of her book, Tools of Turkish Public Diplomacy, that the Government of Justice and Development Party (APK) conducts public diplomacy to the Arab world through two basic mechanisms:

First, the direct communication and active presence of Turkish ambassadors, consuls, and diplomats in Arab countries. These Turkish officials are encouraged to use

social media to communicate and create dialogues with the citizens of the countries they work in.

Second, the dissemination of information through the national news agency "Anadolu Agency". This agency was established in the first decade of this century, in parallelism with Turkey's diplomatic openness to the Arab world.

The book chapter that acknowledges Anadolu Agency as a tool of Turkey's public diplomacy towards the Arab world comes to the following conclusions;

Shortly after the agency established offices in 16 Arab countries with the main office being in Cairo, it managed to hold a leading position in the Arab media. The book is based on some academic studies by Arab researchers, which show that the Anadolu Agency is one of the most widespread and informative news agencies in the Middle East. It is one of the information resources of many local newspapers, magazines, and TV channels. It is known for its free "Quick News" service on mobile phones to which many Arab citizens are subscribed.

Anadolu Agency is a powerful tool of public diplomacy. The information it disseminates is formulated to convey a positive image of the country and always in line with the discourse of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) government. In this context, the author quotes a statement by the deputy director of the Beirut office, Hamza Tekin: "Turkey has a wonderful story to tell today. Our governments have formed a new view of themselves, Turkey, and the world. My job at Anadolu Agency is to communicate and spread this new view to the Arab world. I want to tell the Arab public about who Turkey is and what it wants."

Muharrem EKŞİ- Mehmet Seyfettin EROL (2018), *The Rise and Fall of Turkish Soft Power and Public Diplomacy*, kırklareli university/s Gazi University, Turkey.

This study partly presents TRD and Anadolu Agency as tools of public diplomacy.

First, the study shows that the Turkish government transformed TRT to function like CNN or BBC by establishing TRT World. According to the researchers, this was due to Turkey's aspiration to expand and harness the power of mass communication tools and new social media in world politics, especially during the 2000s. Moreover, states have increasingly inclined to utilizing media as diplomatic leverage, nay as a weapon, to secure the support of international public opinion in international relations.

Second, the study confirms the fact that world politics has turned into an intellectual and ideological war, which has led various states to restructure media. In this context, CNN in the US, BBC in the UK, Russia Today in Russia, CCTV in China, DW in Germany, and Al-Jazeera in the Arab world were already well-positioned to fight these global media wars. Therefore, Turkey got involved in international media wars through institutions like TRT World and Anadolu Agency.

In conclusion, researchers claim that both the agency and the broadcaster are tools of political communication with the world. Therefore, public diplomacy under the AKP government has come to understand that similar to what the West has done, Turkey needs global media tools to rationalize and defend its own policies. The international channels of TRT became Turkey's voice nationally and also internationally as a tool of political communication. Thus, TRT functions as a bridge that connects Turkey to the rest of the world. These international channels indicate Turkey's openness to the world and influence on public opinion. Therefore, in public diplomacy, the state used the global TV channels broadcasting in different languages to directly influence public opinion and be supported by the international community. Therefore, TRT has become an indispensable communication tool of Turkish public diplomacy and one of the most effective tools used to establish a positive perception of Turkey.

3. ANADOLU AGENCY: THE HISTORY AND EVOLUTION

3.1 Introduction

News agencies are the backbone of the press, covering national and international events and delivering them to the media. Among the agencies that have emerged internationally in recent years, as well as in the Arab world, is the Anadolu Agency. This Agency has become an international and national news source, especially for the Arab media. Moreover, its Arabic department now competes with the Arabic departments of well-known global news agencies such as Reuters.

In this chapter, the research will shed light on how the Anadolu Agency that working hard to secure its place as the leading news provider in the international arena, particularly in the Arab world. First, the researcher will discuss the history and stages of the establishment of the Anadolu Agency during the Turkish War of independence, looking at the strategy of the agency's work, its vision for the future, and the importance of its Arabic department in the Arab media scene.

3.2 The Historical Framework of the Anadolu Agency

3.2.1 The Establishment of the Anadolu Agency

Anadolu Agency was established on April 6, 1920, by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Turkish Republic. Anadolu Agency helped announce the first legislation by the Assembly that established the Turkish Republic. Anadolu Agency witnessed all stages of the National Struggle, the War of Liberation, and reforms of the Republic.

The history of the Anadolu Agency is almost identical to the history of the Turkish Republic, as this agency was established on April 6, 1920, 17 days before the Turkish Grand National Assembly convened for the first time. The Anadolu Agency

was established to declare Turkey's right to a war of independence both internally and externally.

In this context, the third President of the Turkish Republic Celal Bayar (1886-1883) stated that the decision to establish the Anadolu Agency was based on the premise that this agency would be "the voice of the Anatolia region and the revolution," adding that "in the period of the War of Independence, the Anadolu Agency was one of the greatest necessities of the revolution." In general, it can be said that the establishment of the Anadolu Agency was a "turning point" in the difficult days of the history of the national struggle.

It is worth mentioning that the story of the establishment of the Anadolu Agency began when the writer Khaleda Adib and the journalist Yunus Nadi met on March 31, 1920, during a break at the radio station "Akhisar" and, during their meeting at the train station, they decided that it was necessary to found "an agency organization" in Ankara as soon as possible. They proposed several names for the agency, of which the names "Turkish Agency", "Ankara Agency" and "Anadolu Agency" were the most frequently mentioned. After some deliberation, they agreed on "Anadolu Agency", which is still used today. At the residence of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (founder of the Turkish Republic) in Ankara, the establishment of the Agency was put on his agenda, and indeed the Agency was established on April 6, 1920. The first office of the Anadolu Agency was to be established in the "Agricultural School" where the residence of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk was located.

Among the objectives of the establishment of this agency are very important matters, such as ensuring the unity of the Turkish community after the fall of Istanbul by the British occupation and raising their spirits by highlighting the positive aspects in the news presented to serve the independence project, focusing on working to spoil foreign campaigns of distortion against the War of Independence.

It should be noted that at the beginning of its media career, the Anadolu Agency published its news in French and English, so in the following years these services were discontinued and the agency closed down.

And he has worked in the Anadolu Agency, 26 general directors since its inception until today. The first person to assume the position of Director General of Anadolu Agency was Alaeddin Bey, he began his duties on January 1, 1926, and on February 1, 1931, he transferred his duties to Mwafak Mannajioğlu. On October 19, 1944, Faik Hawzar assumed the position of Director General, and then latter handed over to Mustafa Sunal on June 1, 1946.

The following are the names of the other Anatolian directors and the period of their assumption of office:

Zia Gawhar Ateli (1948-1951) ,Naeem Nuri Uray (1951-1952), Aref Arzeq (1953-1959) Fayrouzan Fatekil (1959-1960), Jamal Aygan (1960-1961) ,Nihal Ulus (1961) Nael Mutlu Gil, who passed the torch to Munir Park in 1963.

The above director generals were succeeded in this order by Attila Onok, Ezzat Sedas, Aitken Yildiz, Gawdat Taneli, Husam Eddin Chalabi, Bahij Akshi, Jehan Baytour, Torgay Oguz, Akram Qara Ismailoglu, Muhammad Akarje, Muhammad Gueler, Helmy Bangu, Kamal Ozturk and Shnul Kazanji.

3.2.2 Ataturk's Interest in Anadolu Agency

Ataturk showed great interest in Anadolu Agency and closely followed its activities at the national level since he believed in the great importance of media propaganda in the march of the national struggle.

In the early years after the launch of Anadolu Agency, the agency's newsletters were written using a copy machine or handwritten on print paper, and this was due to the agency's inability to print large numbers of newsletters as there were only two printing presses in Ankara, and which were more than often marred by constant breakdowns.

The first Anadolu newsletter was published on April 12, 1920, and got personally reviewed by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. And in the bulletin of April 14, 1920, the agency issued a leaflet containing Ataturk's statements regarding a meeting of the

Grand National Assembly. The agency announced in its bulletin on April 18, 1920, that the Grand National Assembly would meet on April 21st. However, the assembly's inauguration was postponed until April 23rd.

Following Ataturk's keen interest in the news dissemination of Anatolian agencies, he always stressed to the postal administrations on the importance of speedy distribution of news bulletins to the civilian population throughout the country and their delivery to military units on the front lines, and availed all available means of transportation for that agenda.

On April 18, 1920, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk demanded the post office in Konya province to provide explanations as to why the agency's news bulletins could not be delivered on time, and further compelled the postal office administration to institute an investigation on negligence and laxity in the department. On the instructions of Ataturk, Anadolu Agency also worked to broadcast its bulletins from the cities of Bandırma and Mudanya to keep the residents of Istanbul informed of developments in the struggle to liberate Anatolia.

Also, Ataturk requested that news bulletins that might be important to Istanbul be printed in Bursa and sent to Istanbul on the same day that the bulletins would be sent to the command of the 14th Corps in Bursa.

3.2.3 The Anadolu Agency's Role in the Turkish War of Independence

After the opening of Parliament on April 23, 1920, the Anadolu Agency took on the task of publishing the laws then passed by Parliament. Moreover, the Anadolu Agency witnessed all stages of the National Struggle, the Liberation War and the reforms of the Republic. The Anadolu Agency played a significant role in the establishment of the Turkish Republic, as it published the news of the Mustafa Kemal Ataturk decision that it would meet in Ankara to establish the Grand National Assembly "Parliament" in all Turkish provinces, and this happened after the closure of the Ottoman Parliament, known as the Council of Envoys, following the official occupation

of Istanbul on 16 March 1920. In summary, the prominent role of Anadolu Agency can be summarized in the following points:

Orienting Turkish public opinion to defend Turkey's national interests during the Turkish War of independence and trying to prove the legitimacy of the independence project based on the leadership of the national liberation struggle and reforms.

Combating the hostile attitudes and negative ideas against the Turkish War of independence and the revolution of that time, which were promoted by some international newspapers and Istanbul newspapers were under the pressure of the occupation authorities of that time.

Anadolu Agency was supposed to be a reliable news source to serve democracy and national unity of Turkey. In this context, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk had always emphasized that "the "right news" is the basic principle of journalism in general."

The Anadolu Agency has helped to promulgate the first law of the Grand Turkish National Assembly "Turkish Parliament" and this agency has also witnessed all stages of the national struggle, the liberation war and the republican reforms.

The agency also informs the world about the news of Turkey and the Turkish soldiers on the battle fronts who are completely isolated from the outside world.

Despite the financial constraints and difficulties faced by Anadolu Agency at the beginning of its journalistic work, and in order to fulfill its duty to educate and inform the Turkish populace some internal and external authorities have said against the independence project, the agency took in journalists and editors who identified with Turkey's struggle to cleanse suspicions and doubts from both inside and outside the republic. So, the task of these journalists and editors was to defend the national struggle and to counteract the negative and false news presented by foreign newspapers or Istanbul newspapers at that time, and to this endeavour, liaison offices were opened in London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Geneva and New York. They were in constant

communication with the Agency's offices in Istanbul, Zonguldak, İnebolu, Antalya and Izmit in order to spread correct information and news about the Turkish War of independence. They also published books and brochures explaining the Turkish War of independence.

3.2.4 Anadolu Agency Company

On March 1, 1925 AD, a Turkish joint-stock company was established under the name "Anadolu Agency Company". Mustafa Kemal Atatürk commissioned a group intellectual to develop the workplan of Anadolu Agency for it to resonate with the modern standards in force in Western European countries at the time. This was aimed at having the agency enjoy more independence and objectivity and have a distinct institutional system that competes with the model of European agencies.

Mustafa Kemal Atatürk appointed MP Tawfiq Rushdi Aras to work on the process of turning the Anatolian Agency into an independent institution.

The idea of establishing of the Anadolu Agency Company" was inspired by the structure of the French agency Havas (present-day AFP), as confirmed by MP Tawfiq Rushdi Aras in his speech in 1970 marking the 50th anniversary of the Anatolian Agency :

"Let's work to turn Anadolu agency into an independent institution, taking the French agency Havas as an example," said Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.

Anadolu Agency company was launched with an estimated capital of 20,000 Turkish liras. The budget allocated to Anadolu Agency comes from a public institution, the General Directorate of Press, Publishing, and Information of the Turkish Prime Minister, where monthly allocations funds are provided to cover the salaries of employees, and although these funds are sometimes limited by budgetary cuts, the deficit is filled by the additional balance provided by the state budget at the end of the year. In addition to the above, there is a set of legal arrangements that provides for government support to Anadolu Agency, where special laws are passed at different times, giving certain privileges to the agency.

3.3 Anadolu Agency's Work Fields, Strategies, Achievements, and Plans

3.3.1 The Areas of Work of Anadolu Agency

To date the Anadolu Agency still diligently executes the same aforementioned goals and duties for which the agency was founded upon under its founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, by providing "objective news to the world in confronting smear campaigns by some foreign newspapers and parties against the Turkish Republic."

Its without doubt that the Anadolu agency reflects Turkey's policy, as no "official" national agency can write anything that contradicts the state's policy, but according to what the agency's directors confirm in their media statements that " the Agency policy doesn't contradict with the principles of credibility that the Agency had been known for decades."

Anadolu Agency provides round the clock coverage in various fields, through its network of reporters and photojournalists, which covers 100 countries. The Anadolu Agency Department boasts of the following sections:

Main News: The course of events in the Turkish arena in particular and at the global level in general, in the political and economic fields, science and technology, sports, arts, culture, and life fields is presented.

Sports: Provides news related to local and international sporting events, national teams and teams, news of leagues, mandates, qualifiers between teams, sports deals and exchange of players in all types of sports represented in football, basketball, volleyball, hand and wrestling, and news of major and local sports organizations.

Internet News: It features a group of carefully selected news by the editors of Anadolu Agency, including politics in general, health, economy, science and technology, arts, culture, and lifestyle, throughout the course of Turkish and international events.

Economy: It consists of general market news and includes economic, financial, and political developments related to the money and capital markets in Turkey and the world.

News Varieties: It is characterized by a wide variety that includes interviews, news analysis, photos, reports, research, and investigations on topics dealing with economics, world news, sports, and politics. It also includes a bunch of photos and news galleries.

Business News: It includes news released by companies regarding their activities, innovations in their sectors, and their overall contribution to the economy.

3.3.2 Anadolu Agency: External Offices, Publications, and Press Training Courses

In recent years, the importance of Anadolu Agency in media industry has emerged in the well-known Arab and international media, as its strength began to be felt in both international and regional forums, as it opened new doors to the world by putting up of offices in a number of Arab and foreign countries, wider coverage of their publications and training courses.

Anadolu Agency Offices Abroad: Anadolu Agency has offices in 41 locations around the world, representation in 100 countries, and produces an average of 1600 news per day, and the number of its employees exceeds three thousand distributed across 100 countries. The coverage area of Anadolu Agency includes a wide geographical area stretching from Asia to Europe, from the Americas to Africa and from the Middle East to the Balkans.

As part of the framework of the agency's vision of being open to the Arab world and seeking to be "the voice of the Arab world in Turkey" and "Turkey's voice for the Arab world", the agency opened offices in various Arab countries, including Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria, Iraq, Palestine and others. This ambitious project was preceded by a very important step, which was the launch of the Arab section of the Anadolu Agency from Istanbul in 2011.

But later, some offices on which Anadolu Agency built great hopes in its media career to serve the agency's goal of being the "voice of the Arab world" in Turkey and the world were subjected to campaigns of closure by the agency for either political or economic reasons. Below are some instances where such cases happened:

Anadolu Agency closes its regional office in Egypt: Anadolu Agency closed its regional office in Cairo, and in its official statement of closure, the agency did not release any information about the reasons for this sudden closure, but it is worth noting that Anadolu Agency had been subjected to restrictions in Egypt since July 3, 2013, and ministries imposed an official boycott on it in the circulation of news and statements with its correspondents. The agency was prohibited from taking photos without prior security permission.

It is noteworthy that the Turkish-Egyptian relations have witnessed a severe crisis since the events of June 30, 2013, and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan directs continuous criticism of what he describes as a "military coup" against legitimacy in Egypt.

Anadolu Agency closes its office in Morocco: The Turkish Anadolu Agency decided to permanently close its office in Rabat in November 2018. According to what was reported by the Moroccan media, the reason for closing its office was "a material reason due to the Turkish lira currency crisis." It is politically stable and does not live up to what other Arab countries are experiencing in terms of events. Therefore, the cost-effectiveness of news remains weak in Morocco. "

For reference, Anadolu Agency opened its office in Morocco on 3 July 2013, in attendance was Habib Choubani, Minister of Relations with Parliament and Moroccan Civil Society, the Turkish Deputy Minister of Defense, Hassan Kemal Yardamchi, and Igor Arinar, the ambassador of Turkey in Morocco, in addition to the advisers of a number of ministers and Moroccan media professionals, prominent and accredited journalists in Morocco.

Anadolu Agency Books and Publications: Anadolu Agency produces publications and books that benefit its journalists, as well as those new to the profession

of journalism. The agency also issues publications in which it highlights its positions on certain issues and others in which it reviews the most important issues and events that the world witnesses each year. The study will review the most prominent of these books and publications below:

The correspondent book: Anadolu Agency is considered a guide for newcomers into the profession of journalism through its two books "The Basic Book of the Journalist - Correspondent" and "The War Reporter Handbook".

Special books for important events: Annually, Anatolia publishes a book on the events of the year in Turkish, Arabic, and English languages, which is considered an important archive documenting the most prominent events of the year. Besides its books on the events of the year, Anatolia also prepares books that highlights the most important events that have had an impact during the year.

Anadolu published two books, the first titled "The Coup Attempt of the Fethullah Gülen Terrorist Organization, for the moment of Balahdah", which included a chronological sequence of news prepared by Anatolian correspondents, and pictures taken by its photographers on the sites of the event, in addition to reactions related to the failed coup attempt on July 15, 2016, and the second Entitled "How to Make Terrorist News in 10 Headlines?"

Anadolu academy: The Anatolian News Academy, which was established by the decision of the Agency's Board of Directors in 2011, provides practical and systematic lessons regarding transformations in the media, developments in social media, and the effects of the use of technology.

The Anadolu Academy aims to develop the information and skills of those wishing to work in the media sector, regarding analytical thinking in the field of journalism, finding solutions, the ability to communicate effectively, techniques for writing news, as well as how to take photographs and video clips.

The Anadolu Academy also offers courses in several journalistic fields, foremost of which is the war correspondent.

3.4 "Centennial Vision" of Anadolu Agency

The "Centennial Vision" project of Anatolia News Agency represented that the agency will be among the top 5 global agencies by 2020. Regarding this, Kamal Ozturk, Chairman of the Board of Directors of Anadolu Agency and its former General Manager, stated the following: "The news and pictures produced by our correspondents were greatly admired and respected. From different international media, which increased our aspiration to reach our goal within the centenary project, which is to enter the top five agencies in the world, within a short period. This year we added new broadcast languages, on top of which is the French language, and we came close to achieving our goal to become a global agency at the level high".

In order to achieve this goal, the agency opened regional offices in Cairo, Bosnia, Brussels, New York, the Balkans and the Caucasus, this is in addition to having offices in 42 countries around the world, and the expansion plan is still ongoing with a projection of opening offices in 80 more countries on the agency's first centenary, which is considered Among the top 10 news agencies in the world.

In addition, the number of languages in which Anadolu Agency publishes its news has reached 13 languages this year, as it boasts an audience of more than two thousand subscribers in Turkey and the world.

As a result, Anadolu Agency has become a "reliable news source" for the international and Arab media, in the languages in which it publishes its news: Turkish, Arabic, English, Russian, Bosnian, French, Kurdish (Sourani), Kurdish (Kurmanji), Albanian, Macedonian, Persian, Spanish and Indonesian.

In a related context, Kemal Öztürk expressed his belief that Anatolia will achieve its goal of becoming one of the top 5 international news agencies. Ozturk also explained that "70 percent of the news flow around the world originates from the Middle East, and that Anatolia is the most important news agency in this region."

As the agency's centenary approached, the agency announced a new vision through the launch of an ambitious document, which included many new matters from

the language of news to the formulation of news, and from diversification of news broadcasts to keeping pace with new technological developments in the news.

From this, the author will review the most important contents of the "Centennial Vision Document" of Anadolu Agency, which are as follows:

“Breaking news journalism” on a global scale: The news journalism, which has been implemented extensively in the past two years, will be moved to a global scale.

To use the Anatolian archive more effectively: the agency will publish its testimony about events that occurred on specific dates by disclosing them.

Use social media effectively: The use of social media in the new period will be more effective and interactive.

Mobile correspondent: through the "mobile correspondent" application, which aims to increase the speed of transmission of news in the new stage, so that hot developments are published seconds after their occurrence.

News language: The title, subtitle and text of the news have been modified in order to eliminate problems in the language of the news, and to obtain a simpler and perfect news language.

New videos: In the new period, special videos will continue to be produced more intensively, and events will be quickly published on video-sharing sites by preparing short clips in all languages.

Voice journalism: The agency will prepare daily podcasts, which will be completed by professional broadcasters in recording studios established for this purpose.

Interviews: In the new phase, interviews that will have global resonance will be conducted, with prominent names from Turkey and the world.

3.5 An overview of the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency

Anadolu Agency opened its first Arabic department in Istanbul in 2011. The decision to establish this department was extremely important considering that Anadolu Agency is one of the ten largest agencies in the world and represents the largest agencies in the Middle East.

The establishment of the Arab section of Anadolu Agency coincided with the political changes in the Arab world, including the revolutions and protests influenced by the Tunisian revolution that erupted on December 17, 2010 and subsequently brought about the fall of the former President Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. Among the main reasons for the outbreak of the Tunisian revolution and subsequent revolutions or what was then called "Arab Spring" was the widespread corruption and political tyranny of all manner and forms, as well as the deterioration of the economic conditions.

In the same context, the Anadolu Agency argues that "it is possible that events in the Arab world had accelerated the implementation of the project to create the Arab section of the Agency." However, it denies that "the motive for the creation of the Arab section of the Agency is political," but stresses that "the creation of this Arab section results from the Agency's desire to open up not only to the Middle East and Arab countries, but to all parts of the world."

The agency, which was founded in 1920, 3 years before the announcement of the establishment of the Turkish Republic, mainly desired to cover news from the regions within which Turkey has historical relations. And from this, the agency aspired to open up to the Arab world with the establishment of its Arab section, a move that other international agencies such as Reuters and France Press had already pioneered.

The Anadolu Agency believed that the agency's Arabic department "would be the link that connects Turkey with the Arab peoples" after many years of Turkey's news reaching them through foreign agencies and vice versa.

In this regard, its former director general, Kemal Ozturk, said in an interview with the newspaper "Asharq Al-Awsat" on January 31, 2013, in which he confirmed

that "the decision to open the Arab department had been planned for years," without denying that "the Arab revolutions and events that the region was going through may have had a role in accelerating the start of its implementation to some extent. "

It was then decided that the first regional office for the Arab division of Anadolu Agency be established in the Arab region of the State of Egypt, and it was eventually officially opened in Cairo in November 2012.

After that, an office for the Arab Department was opened in Beirut, which was considered the second most important office after the regional office in Cairo, taking into account that the Cairo office had employed a large number of journalists, editors and staff and took on the task of managing news from 23 countries of the Middle East and Africa, the most important of which were Tunisia, Lebanon, Palestine, Libya, Yemen, Saudi Arabia, Morocco and Algeria, and to forward these news to the Arab media, more so the news from these offices (Egypt office, Beirut office) are also forwarded to the agency's office in the capital Istanbul, where they are translated into Turkish and sent to the Turkish media. Surprisingly, however, Anatolia News Agency closed its regional office in the Egyptian capital, Cairo, which was responsible for publishing the agency's Arabic content. After the decision, the Arabic section was moved to Istanbul without issuing any information about the closure decision.

In this regard, the agency's staff confided to Al-Jazeera Net that the closure was "due to fear of the security situation after the authorities refused to issue work permits to journalists." They further reiterated to Al-Jazeera Net that: "The agency has been subject to restrictions since the military coup on July 3, 2013, as ministries imposed an official boycott on its correspondents in disseminating news and opinions."

Through the agency's Arab division, communication between Turkey and the Arab world became direct, without the need for an intermediary, and the division became a strong competitor for the Arab divisions of agencies with a long history, such as Reuters and France Press.

In a similar context, the former director general of Anatolian Agency, Kemal Ozturk, told the newspaper Asharq Al-Awsat: "The most important thing is that we no

longer need an intermediary between us and the Arabs to receive each other's news, and communication became direct through the Arab department of the agency, which later was renamed to the Arab voice of Turkey And after that, the news was transmitted through foreign news agencies, and certainly our work will not be limited to the Arab world, but will be a source of news from all over the world, and there is no doubt that it is natural that Anadolu Agency is in competition with the most famous and important international agencies with its website. However, our work is integrated and in line with the development of media and technology through photojournalism and social media, to which we pay equal attention."

As for the translation of Arabic news into Turkish, the former director Kemal Ozturk explained that "40 percent of the Arabic news that reaches Anadolu Agency is translated into Turkish, and the selection of these news is based on their importance, and that is decided by the specialist editor or the director in charge, they are then forwarded to the Turkish media. "

In general, the agency believes that there is a clear vision behind the launch of the Arabic section of Anadolu Agency, and it is in line with the development the agency is undergoing and its plans to be one of the five active news agencies of the world by 2020, which marks the 100th anniversary since the agency's establishment.

Moreover, the agency has always stressed that Turkey's relationship with the Arab world is a "brotherly relationship," considering that the main goal of establishing an Arab section of the agency is to reflect developments in the Arab world and present the identity and culture of the region's peoples independently without influence from western media.

In summary, the agency says its Arab section wants to be "the voice of the Arab world in Turkey" and "the voice of Turkey for the Arab world" and that it will produce news about developments in the Arab world "in an objective manner, in a different, fast-paced way that reflects the identity and culture of the peoples of the region."

3.6 The Nature of the Competition Between Anadolu Agency and International News Agencies (AFP, Reuters)

Taking into consideration the coverage area of Anadolu Agency, which encompasses a wide geographical area extending from Asia to Europe, from America to Africa and from the Middle East to the Balkans, this automatically draws competition from the rest of the news agencies operating in those regions. This competition is manifested in the exchange of written news from the ground of the field, and if viewed from a higher angle, the competition takes place in the context of who will control the global flow of news.

It must be noted that the competition in the journalistic field is proceeding in a manner compatible with the ideals, culture, beliefs, and history of different countries and their promises towards humanity. Therefore, it is possible to analyze the performance of Anadolu Agency in terms of management and journalism, success in communicating the "voice of Turkey to the world", and putting an end to Western control of the global news flow.

It is noticed that some news agencies that compete with Anatolia on the world level were founded long before Anatolia, including the agency "Havas", which was founded in France in 1835 (now AFP), the "Associated Press" established in the United States in 1846, and "Reuters" The British establishment of 1849. These agencies divide the world in a manner consistent with the colonies of their countries, and provide their news in a manner consistent with this division.

When Anadolu Agency began broadcasting in 1920, the news space was jointly controlled by the agencies "Havas" and "Reuters", as the Reuters agency, active under the authority of the British who were occupying Istanbul and adopted a policy against the war of independence. Therefore, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk took Several steps, including the establishment of the Anadolu Agency, to limit the partnership of the French and British agencies.

Balance in the news flow: At the global level, "news and communication flow" is one of the main areas when deliberating a comprehensive communication

research. In essence, information can flow in one direction. The direction of the flow of all messages produced by television, newspapers, radio, and agencies presented to the reader for consumption is from West to East.

To eliminate the possibility of misunderstanding, the direction of information produced in the East is also from West to East, because the starting point of the symbols that determine the generation of content comes from the viewpoint of Western agencies.

And from it, many countries are usually forced to receive facts that occur in their region through agencies as if it were a newly manufactured material, and fall into the captivity of strategies manufactured outside the borders of their countries.

In conferences organized by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization for media departments in the seventies and eighties, reports were published confirming the imbalance in the flow of news, and results were presented further validating that the flow of news was one-way; from West to East.

Western media produces news content while eastern media consumes this content, as it was reaffirmed by one of the pioneers of communications science Marshall McLuhan. There is only one experience in the world of globalization, which is the experience of the West (through international media).

In addition, there are some exceptions to the rule of news flow from West to East, and there is no doubt that Anadolu Agency is one of these few exceptions, which has made a leap in parallel with the rise of Turkey's renaissance.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The methodology is the structured, theoretical analysis of the methods used in a field. It includes principles related to the field and theoretical analysis of the corpus of methods. Regularly, it includes terms such as theoretical model, phases, paradigm, and qualitative or quantitative techniques (Benrazek, 2022: 109).

In this regard, a number of data and information have been collected, processed, classified, analyzed and research processes based on the study topic; news agencies in the context of globalization: Anadolu Agency: a case study.

4.2 The concept of Quantitative and Qualitative Approach

In the Social Sciences, the debate has long focused on the characteristics of quantitative and qualitative approaches to research. This debate has its roots in fundamental philosophical assumptions about how people and societies work. (Brayman, 1988).

Social Sciences can be divided into two main branches in connection with Quantitative and Qualitative approaches: (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2005). They are the positivists who use the quantitative approach in their research and the hermeneutics who use the qualitative approach.

In addition, some researchers have used mixed methods (combining quantitative and qualitative methods) to accommodate realism scientific knowledge (ontology), interpretive scientific knowledge (epistemology), or pragmatism. (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010).

The existence of genuine scientific knowledge (ontology) and theory of knowledge (epistemology) help us define research methods and methodology. However, it is always a good idea to know the precise distinction between ontology and

epistemology before embarking on any research project. While the science of ontology deals with the structure of reality, epistemology deals with the basis of this reality, including various ways of acquiring knowledge. This is the key difference between ontology and epistemology.

However, each method has a separate place in Social Sciences. Each method is considered to have strengths that limit, constrain, or protect its movement. In order to use any method, it is necessary to know how appropriate which method is before starting the study and research.

4.2.1 Quantitative Approach

Generally, in Social Sciences, a scientific and objective approach prevails. It is an approach that emerged from the idea of methods and scientific results that are or should be affected by certain opinions and personal interests. This method uses quantitative research methods, keeping in mind the phenomenon of "social reality" that emerges from a predicted idea or perception to establish a causal relationship.

Albeit Burns supports the objectivity of quantitative research. Because the researcher participates in the selection of the problem objectively, analyzes and interprets the results.

Quantitative studies are likely to use a deductive approach to test accepted theory (Saunders et al., 2012). Quantitative research also relies on examining the relationship between variables in data collected in the form of numbers and then analyzing it using various statistical tools.

Quantitative research has the feature of deeply refuting or confirming the working hypothesis of a research. Analysis and interpretation of quantitative research results is easy and simple.

Saunders (2012) and Burns (2000) emphasized the importance of the communication process in the quantitative method. This communication process can be

in the form of a questionnaire and structured interview to avoid any confusion that could falsely affect the outcome.

Survey research is one of the quantitative research methods. It does this by asking questions to a specific group through electronic voting, polls, e-polls, social media tools, website. This is the first step in collecting data for any research. Structured interviews, on the other hand, are based on the use of questionnaires based on getting answers to a set of pre-prepared questions.

Finally, numerical data help the researcher answer questions in his study. However, as Black (1999) stated, "In research, it is not possible to reach the right information only by quantitative method. In addition, this method must be used with scientific rigor."

4.2.2 Qualitative Approach

Many researchers avoid using the qualitative approach as a scientific method in social sciences. (Downey et al., 1979).

Qualitative research is used to make sense of one's own experiences in a natural setting (Saunders et al., 2012). Therefore, qualitative approaches consider individual awareness to create a social reality (Burns, 2000). In addition, qualitative approaches often use the inductive approach to develop a new or advanced theory of the phenomenon being studied.

The inductive approach is the opposite of the deductive approach. Because while the inductive approach provides extensive information about certain information, the situation is the opposite in the deductive approach. Despite such a difference between the two approaches, there is a persistent interaction between them. While the inductive approach is based on observations, the deductive approach is based on theoretical principles. For a person who wants to reach the truth, both approaches are cooperative.

Human complications, unpredictability, and social issues can only be better understood through active communication. Because this is how individuals acquire information about researchers and their lives (Hughes, 2006). In addition, the researcher's presence in the research area and his relationship with the people participating in the research sheds light on the identification of other issues that may have been overlooked due to their positive comments (Burns, 2000). Because, referring to Hammersley (2008), the research aims not only to produce knowledge but also to make the world beautiful with it.

Therefore, qualitative features explain possible relationships and dynamic processes in research. However, qualitative research results need to be limited to one context due to the subjective nature of the data. As a result, traditional standards of reliability, reproducibility, and generalization may not be applicable for this approach. (Hughes, 2008).

Despite all the strengths available in qualitative research, time is an important constraint. Qualitative methods are the most difficult and stressful and take more time compared to other research methods. As with all phases of qualitative research, the researcher needs sufficient time to start collecting data. Because analysis and interpretation take a long time.

4.2.3 Quantitative and Qualitative Methods in Social Sciences

According to the numerical data included in the research, the difference between the quantitative and qualitative approaches is "narrow" and "problematic". (Saunders et al. 2012). The "narrow" distinction between them is due to philosophical assumptions in method selection and research problems. Because many commercial research models are able to combine the basic elements of the two approaches (Saunders, et al., 2012).

According to the American philosopher Thomas Samuel Kuhn, many observers consider it inappropriate to combine the two methods, considering that there are two different models in the same field. However, many other scientists also say that the

researcher will identify different ways in which he can use more than one approach in his research. A few methods can basically be classified in two ways:

First: A very technological method based on a quantitative or qualitative design in conjunction with many data collection techniques and analysis procedures.

Second: A mixed-method in research design in which quantitative and qualitative methods are combined in different ways. (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2010). In addition, the results of one research method and the results of another research method can be compared using the triangle method.

In the social sciences, the use of the triangle method is for understanding how to examine different methods, and their validity or accuracy. The idea is to provide an understanding of social phenomena from different perspectives (methods and researchers). Thus, it will be understood how different data analyses reach the same result. (Denzin, 1970).

However, the last three decades have seen a leap forward in the use of mixed methods (both quantitative and qualitative approaches) in business and managerial research. Briemann (2006) refers to the use of mixed methods as overcoming the weaknesses that exist in using a single method.

4.3 Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis Methods in the Study

The methodology used in this study combines various media studies research techniques. It relies on the following;

The historical approach: it allows us to establish the general framework of the news agencies' evolution ever since its emergence.

The comparative approach: it allows us to compare different agencies in terms of their national and international roles by focusing on the agenda of the major news agencies as well as some national agencies.

Quantitative and qualitative analysis: this is one of the most important methods used in media studies.

Quantitative Analysis: We will count Anadolu Agency's news published in different Arabic media; the quantity reflects the importance of Anadolu Agency's coverage in the Arab world.

As for the mechanism of quantitative analysis, three criteria will be applied: geographical distribution criterion and news production criterion.

Geographical distribution criterion: We will select the study samples from Arab media according to the geographical distribution in order to determine how present Anadolu Agency is in most parts of the Arab world. The samples can be identified as follows:

The Arabian Gulf region: We focus on media outlets that target the Arab world, such as “Al-Jazeera Net” and “Al-Quds Al-Arabi” newspaper.

The Maghreb region: We choose the two most popular newspapers in the Maghreb region; the Moroccan newspaper “Akhbar Al-Youm”, the Algerian newspaper “El-Djazair” and the Tunisian newspaper “Al Sourouk”.

The Middle East region: we select the Qatari newspaper “Al-Watan”.

News production criterion: We monitor the news produced by Anadolu Agency during crises and major events in the Arab world. The Algerian crisis and the Sudanese crisis are selected as examples.

Qualitative Analysis: We will start by outlining the substantial definition of qualitative analysis by Kenneth Plummer, K., Documents of Life, which comes from the need to observe what the media discourse of the studied platform contributes to the human values and the philosophical principles that control it. We bear in mind that each media platform is an emissary in the dissemination of a certain culture in a given society, and that it must adhere to the professional principles of ethics and communication. The qualitative analysis of the discourse of a particular media platform

is one of great importance when it is a transnational platform such as, in this case, the Arabic department of the Turkish News Agency, which targets hundreds of millions of Arabs.

The mechanisms of qualitative analysis are diverse and are often determined by the researcher. In this research study, the author observes the mechanisms of quantitative analysis at five levels:

The first level: Measuring the extent of the agency's Arabic department compliance with communication ethics through monitoring and analyzing some topics that constitute the core agenda of the Arabic department of Anadolu agency.

Media is the most important tool through which public opinion can be formed or influenced. In this research study, the researcher will analyze the influence of the Anadolu Agency on Arab public opinion. The study will work on the different news that Anadolu Agency publishes about in its Arabic department to spot the selected topics that form the core of the media agenda main of the Arabic department of Anadolu agency.

The second level: The capacity of the Arabic-speaking Turkish media to find a place for itself in the Arab world.

It became clear that the Arab public has gained a positive image of Turkey through the dissemination of Turkish television drama in the Arab world since 2010. Turkish television drama has played an important role in presenting the Turkish culture and promoting tourism to the Arab region. For example, the results of a 2020 opinion poll in the global media platform Netflix showed that those who watch Turkish movies and series around the world are more willing to visit Turkey as tourists than those who do not watch. Saudis were the third on the list of foreigners who decided to visit Turkey after watching Turkish visual art on Netflix.

Turkey had been relying on "soft power" in its policies and later began to use Arabic-speaking Turkish media to improve its image in the Arab world and win Arab public opinion. In truth, Turkish Arabic-speaking media platforms are ultimately meant

to defend Turkey's image and interests and to spread its policies in the Arab world. Therefore, after the pioneering role that Turkish television drama has played as a "soft power" in the conquest of the Arab world, it elicits the following core questions:

To what extent has the Turkish Arabic-speaking media succeeded in penetrating in the Arab world despite the intense competition between the Arabic departments of international news agencies like Reuters and France Press? How has Turkey been able to improve its image among the Arab public?

The third level: The general image of Turkey and Turkish politicians in the minds of Arab populations.

In this level, we will rely on opinion polls prepared by various academic institutes to explore Arab public opinion. For example, the Moroccan Arab Barometer network, the largest publicly available data collection on citizens' opinions in the Arab countries, is an independent research network that has been conducting high-quality and reliable opinion polls in the Middle East and North Africa since 2006.

We will track opinion polls on Turkey's cultural, political, social, economic image and prominent Turkish politicians. For example, the Arab public sympathizes with the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan primarily for religious reasons. He is a Muslim president in a secular country with a majority of Muslim population. The Arab public holds a positive view of Erdogan, believing that he is a man who stands against Israel and the West and who has achieved prosperity in his country.

Despite the performance of the Turkish economy, which has stumbled badly in the last two years, President Recep Tayyip Erdogan's personality still stands at the top of the list of the most popular and influential figures in the Arab world, according to many opinion polls.

The fourth level: The spread of Turkish culture in the Arab world.

For a long time, Arab-Turkish relations were marked by doubts and conflicts, but with the Justice and Development Party (AKP) taking power, this relationship became characterized by closeness as Turkey applies the "zero-problem method with its

neighbors". Turkey relied on the soft power model to win Arab public opinion in a way that served the goals of Turkish foreign policy and contributed to the spread of Turkish culture in the Arab world. Soft power is a political term coined by American Joseph Nye of Harvard College to describe "the ability to achieve preferred outcomes through attraction rather than coercion or force."

This model was first adopted by exporting Turkish TV series to the Arab world, where within a few years, these series achieved overwhelming popularity in the Arab world. Turkey still applies this model successfully as it tends to create a new mechanism of communication with the Arab world in their native language. One of the most important Turkish Arabic-speaking media outlets is the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency, which has succeeded socially, culturally, and economically in reaching out to Arab citizens and winning their sympathy for its internal and external causes.

Within the framework of the direct influence theory, this study will observe the extent to which the Arabic-speaking media, especially the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency, has contributed, as a form of soft power, to the spread of Turkish culture in the Arab world and to the winning of Arab public opinion.

Hence, long articles and reports published by Anadolu Agency's Arabic department are tracked and observed to determine the type of media discourse (ideas, topics covered, treatment methods) the agency uses to promote the Turkish culture to Arab readers.

The Fifth level: The interest of Arab media in Anadolu Agency.

The study will observe the extent of Arab media's dependence on Anadolu Agency by counting the agency's news published by the most popular Arab media; Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper, Rai Al-Youm digital newspaper, and Al-Jazeera official website are the main examples.

As for the indicator "The extent of Arab media's reliance on Anadolu Agency", we assume that media's high usage frequency of a particular media outlet, - that is citing

articles as reliable references-, is an indication that this media outlet is credible based on how other media agencies rely on it.

In relation to the indicator "The extent of Arab media's reliance on Anadolu Agency", we will start from the general media perspective - the quantitative perspective - that the high reliance of a large number of media outlets on a particular media outlet - That is, quoting entire articles or relying on them as a primary reference for news - is an indication that this media outlet is credible in the eyes of other media outlets that strongly rely on it.

4.4 Data Collection Technique

Data collection techniques are known as "the various tools used by the researcher to gather the information and data sought in the research" (Benrazek, 2022: 111).

This study relies on collecting data from the online archives of Arabic newspapers to investigate the level of Anadolu Agency's presence in the Arabic press. In addition, the study collects data from the online archives of Anatolu Agency during the most important crises in the Arab world in 2019.

4.5 Interviews

The Interviews were conducted with some Arab journalists and researchers to find out why most Arab media outlets rely on Anadolu Agency as a news source.

The interviews in this study included six questions, in each question the researcher formulated a set of questions in accordance with the study objectives, and problem statement.

5. DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the data from a number of media archives are analyzed using quantitative and qualitative analysis techniques. In addition, some interviews are conducted with Arab journalists.

The researcher will count the news published by Anadolu Agency in different Arab media; the number reflects the importance of Anadolu Agency's coverage in the Arab world. As for the mechanism of quantitative analysis, three criteria will be applied: the criterion of geographical distribution, the criterion of quantity, and the criterion of news production. The mechanisms of qualitative analysis are diverse and are often determined by the researcher. In this study, the researcher relies on the mechanisms of quantitative analysis at five levels.

5.2 Analytical Study of the Level and Nature of Anadolu Agency's Media Presence in the Arab World

5.2.1 Quantitative Analysis: Media Presence of Anadolu Agency in the Arab Press

5.2.1.1 Anadolu Agency's Coverage of the Main Crises in the Arab World (2019)

Anadolu Agency's coverage of Algerian crisis: The Algerian crisis erupted after the Algerian President Abdelaziz Bouteflika announced on February 10, 2019, that he would officially run for a fifth term in the presidential elections scheduled for April 18.

The first spark of the protests erupted on February 18th, when limited-spread marches took place in Algeria against Bouteflika's candidacy for a fifth term, followed

by appeals from activists on social media to another demonstration on Friday, February 22.

Bouteflika's rule had been witnessed by widespread corruption, more than a billion dollars in oil revenues have been spent without an economy renaissance. The string of popular protests and rallies escalated on February 22, when the largest marches were organized, which were majorly peaceful but strongly rejected Bouteflika's candidacy for a fifth term.

On April 2, Bouteflika resigned from his post in response to weeks of sustained public pressure. Despite the announcement of Bouteflika's resignation, however, hundreds of thousands of Algerians returned to demonstrate their opposition to the participation of the symbols of the regime of resigned President Abdelaziz Bouteflika in the administration of the transition period.

Despite the announcement of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika's resignation, the popular movement that began on February 22 had maintained its momentum for the seventh consecutive week. Opposition figures and parties continued to call for the formation of a presidential body composed of honest figures accepted by the Algerian people to oversee the transition period following Bouteflika's resignation.

On April 9, the Algerian Parliament declared Abdelkader Bensalah (Speaker of the National Assembly) interim president for a period of 90 days following Bouteflika's resignation. But as a result, thousands of students demonstrated in the Algerian capital and several cities to reject his appointment. The demonstrators, who had gathered by their hundreds of thousands in all parts of the country on every Friday for more than a month, rejected the idea that the people close to Bouteflika, particularly Abdel Qadeer Bensalah, should lead the transition.

Protesters rejected the appointment of Abdelkader Bensalah for more than a month. The demonstrators intensified their demands and called for the resignation of all supporters of the Bouteflika regime. On September 15, Algerian interim President Abdelkader Bensalah set December 12 as the date for holding presidential elections to elect a successor to Bouteflika, who had been toppled by a popular uprising several months prior.

Quantitative analysis of Anadolu Agency's coverage on the Algerian crisis:

February: On February 10, President Bouteflika announced his candidacy for a fifth term in the presidential election, although his health was critical because he was on a wheelchair and could not even speak to his people. On the same day, Anadolu Agency published 5 news items on the matter (see Table 1).

March: In the week following the announcement of Bouteflika's candidacy for the presidential elections, protests and popular demonstrations erupted in Algeria against this decision. The author notes that Anadolu Agency published a big amount of news and events on the Algerian crisis during the period between the beginning of the mass rallies against President Bouteflika's candidacy on February 22 until his resignation on April 2, about 5 weeks.

Here the author tracks the volume of Anadolu Agency's weekly news on the Algerian crisis, which are as follows:

The first week of March: 50 news items.

The second week of March: 50 news items.

The third week of March: 28 news items.

The last week of March: 49 news items.

In the first and second week of March, there was more coverage of the crisis in Algeria. This was due to the mass demonstrations rejecting Bouteflika's candidacy, as the popular movement had the support of all the professional unions in Algeria - the unions of education, health, and industry - as well as the sit-ins organized by thousands of lawyers and religious scholars. In the third week of the same month, the pace of news

published decreased significantly to 28 news items, only to return to the rapid pace of publication in the last week, with 49 news. This increase in the frequency of news dissemination was due to the accelerated events of the Algerian crisis, the most prominent and important of which were:

In light of the continued popular movement against the extension of Bouteflika's rule, several initiatives had been proposed to emerge from the crisis. These initiatives had been proposed by both the main Islamist party and the opposition, each separately.

After mass demonstrations in which hundreds of thousands of protesters demanded the departure of Bouteflika and the symbols of his regime, the army abandoned Bouteflika.

Decrees were issued prohibiting high-ranking personalities and businessmen from leaving the country.

March 3rd is the day when the Anadolu Agency had published the most amount of news items, which was 13.

Table 1
The amount of daily news for Anadolu Agency on the Algerian crisis
(February - May)

February	Number of news	March	Number of news	April	Number of news	May	Number of news
10-Feb	5 news	1-Mar	3 news	1-Apr	3 news	1-May	4 news
11-Feb	3 news	2-Mar	9 news	2-Apr	14 news	2-May	0 news
12-Feb	1 news	3-Mar	13 news	3-Apr	7 news	3-May	1 news
13-Feb	0 news	4-Mar	7 news	4-Apr	3 news	4-May	1 news
14-Feb	0 news	5-Mar	3 news	5-Apr	8 news	5-May	3 news
15-Feb	0 news	6-Mar	9 news	6-Apr	4 news	6-May	0 news
16-Feb	0 news	7-Mar	6 news	7-Apr	5 news	7-May	0 news
17-Feb	1 news	8-Mar	4 news	8-Apr	2 news	8-May	1 news
18-Feb	3 news	9-Mar	5 news	9-Apr	10 news	9-May	2 news
19-Feb	1 news	10-Mar	6 news	10-Apr	8 news	10-May	2 news
20-Feb	2 news	11-Mar	12 news	11-Apr	6 news	11-May	2 news
21-Feb	3 news	12-Mar	10 news	12-Apr	3 news	12-May	0 news
22-Feb	1 news	13-Mar	9 news	13-Apr	2 news	13-May	1 news
23-Feb	2 news	14-Mar	4 news	14-Apr	3 news	14-May	2 news
24-Feb	3 news	15-Mar	3 news	15-Apr	3 news	15-May	0 news
25-Feb	1 news	16-Mar	3 news	16-Apr	8 news	16-May	2 news
26-Feb	2 news	17-Mar	3 news	17-Apr	3 news	17-May	3 news
27-Feb	0 news	18-Mar	7 news	18-Apr	4 news	18-May	1 news
28-Feb	0 news	19-Mar	7 news	19-Apr	1 news	19-May	4 news
		20-Mar	2 news	20-Apr	4 news	20-May	3 news
		21-Mar	3 news	21-Apr	1 news	21-May	3 news
		22-Mar	6 news	22-Apr	4 news	22-May	4 news
		23-Mar	3 news	23-Apr	5 news	23-May	1 news
		24-Mar	4 news	24-Apr	5 news	24-May	2 news
		25-Mar	3 news	25-Apr	2 news	25-May	1 news
		26-Mar	5 news	26-Apr	3 news	26-May	3 news
		27-Mar	7 news	27-Apr	7 news	27-May	0 news
		28-Mar	3 news	28-Apr	2 news	28-May	2 news
		29-Mar	10 news	29-Apr	3 news	29-May	3 news
		30-Mar	5 news	30-Apr	7 news	30-May	1 news
		31-Mar	3 news			31-May	1 news

Events post-resignation of the president: On April 2nd, President Bouteflika resigned, a historic victory for the Algerian people, and on that day Anadolu Agency published 14 news items. In the first week of April, the publication of news related to

the Algerian crisis accelerated, as the number of news reached 44 news items. In the remaining weeks of the same month, the number of news published decreased significantly and then increased again in the last week of the same month. Based on this, we track the number of weekly news of this agency as follows:

The second week in April: 34 news items.

The third week in April: 24 news items.

Last week: 38 news items.

Through above observations for the period from the resignation of President Bouteflika in early April to the first signs of a breakthrough in the crisis on September 15 — after Algerian interim President Abdelkader Bensalah announced on December 12th the date for the presidential election to choose the successor to the resigned President Abdelaziz Bouteflika— it appears to the study that the pace of news publication had decreased significantly, as the number of news items published ranged from 140 to 30 news items per month (see Table2).

The table shows the number of news published monthly from the beginning of the Algerian crisis until the announcement of the date of the Algerian presidential election on September 15, 2019. (See table 2)

Table 2
The amount of daily news for Anadolu Agency on the Algerian crisis
(June - September)

June	Number of news	July	Number of news	August	Number of news	September	Number of news
1-Jun	0 news	1-Jul	1 news	1-Aug	2 news	1-Sep	1 news
2-Jun	3 news	2-Jul	3 news	2-Aug	1 news	2-Sep	2 news
3-Jun	1 news	3-Jul	2 news	3-Aug	0 news	3-Sep	2 news
4-Jun	1 news	4-Jul	2 news	4-Aug	1 news	4-Sep	1 news
5-Jun	0 news	5-Jul	2 news	5-Aug	2 news	5-Sep	1 news
6-Jun	3 news	6-Jul	2 news	6-Aug	1 news	6-Sep	1 news
7-Jun	2 news	7-Jul	1 news	7-Aug	1 news	7-Sep	1 news
8-Jun	0 news	8-Jul	3 news	8-Aug	1 news	8-Sep	2 news
9-Jun	1 news	9-Jul	0 news	9-Aug	1 news	9-Sep	1 news
10-Jun	3 news	10-Jul	4 news	10-Aug	0 news	10-Sep	2 news
11-Jun	2 news	11-Jul	3 news	11-Aug	1 news	11-Sep	2 news
12-Jun	4 news	12-Jul	0 news	12-Aug	0 news	12-Sep	1 news
13-Jun	4 news	13-Jul	0 news	13-Aug	1 news	13-Sep	2 news
14-Jun	4 news	14-Jul	2 news	14-Aug	0 news	14-Sep	1 news
15-Jun	1 news	15-Jul	0 news	15-Aug	1 news	15-Sep	2 news
16-Jun	2 news	16-Jul	2 news	16-Aug	1 news		
17-Jun	4 news	17-Jul	0 news	17-Aug	1 news		
18-Jun	3 news	18-Jul	3 news	18-Aug	0 news		
19-Jun	4 news	19-Jul	1 news	19-Aug	0 news		
20-Jun	0 news	20-Jul	0 news	20-Aug	3 news		
21-Jun	5 news	21-Jul	1 news	21-Aug	1 news		
22-Jun	0 news	22-Jul	1 news	22-Aug	2 news		
23-Jun	2 news	23-Jul	1 news	23-Aug	1 news		
24-Jun	0 news	24-Jul	1 news	24-Aug	1 news		
25-Jun	1 news	25-Jul	2 news	25-Aug	3 news		
26-Jun	1 news	26-Jul	4 news	26-Aug	2 news		
27-Jun	2 news	27-Jul	1 news	27-Aug	1 news		
28-Jun	0 news	28-Jul	2 news	28-Aug	0 news		
29-Jun	0 news	29-Jul	1 news	29-Aug	0 news		
30-Jun	2 news	30-Jul	2 news	30-Aug	1 news		
		31-Jul	4 news	31-Aug	0 news		

In summary, March and April were the months in which the Anadolu Agency published the largest number of news items on the Algerian crisis. The most important events were the escalation of the demonstrations against Bouteflika's candidacy for a

fifth term in March and the resignation of President Abdelaziz Bouteflika after twenty years in office in early April.

Based on the author's examination of Anadolu News Agency's digital archive, it emerged that the total number of daily news items on the Algerian crisis and its aftermath from the announcement of the presidential candidacy on February 10th to Bouteflika's official resignation on April 2nd (52 days) is 222 news items, which is considered to be significant coverage of the Algerian crisis by Anadolu Agency.

Such a large number (222) of news items in the above period - that is, from the beginning of the Algerian crisis to the resignation of the President Abdelaziz Bouteflika - proves the following facts to researchers and journalists:

First, journalists routinely rely on news agencies, which led the Anadolu Agency to provide significant coverage of events and news updates on the Algerian crisis.

Second, Anadolu Agency produced the largest volume of news regarding the protest marches against the Algerian president Abdelaziz Bouteflika. And thus, poised to be the main source of news for local and regional media, as much as it provided little information or breaking news, in the first critical hours from the beginning of the Algerian crisis.

Table 3
The quantity of monthly news for Anadolu Agency on the Algerian crisis.

Months	Number of monthly news
February	28
March	177
April	140
May	53
June	55
July	51
August	30
September	22

Anadolu Agency's coverage of Sudanese crisis: The protests in Sudan began after demonstrations in the Sudanese city of "Atbara" denouncing economic conditions mainly lack of bread and fuel.

These demonstrations began on December 19, 2018, when the government decided to triple the price of bread. This decision reignited tensions, even though bread had already been in short supply for several weeks. Demands had evolved as the movement continued, particularly to demand the resignation of Omar al-Bashir, the former President of Sudan.

The protesters then gathered outside army headquarters in Khartoum to call on soldiers to join the movement against the country's government. Unlike the security forces, the army did not participate in suppressing the demonstrators at that time.

Omar al-Bashir had been in power in Sudan for 30 years having come to power in a coup in 1989. He was even close to completing a constitutional reform that would allow him to remain in office for life. A few months after the protests began, he was finally overthrown by the army, which took power unilaterally.

When the military taking power in April 2019, protesters remained outside the Sudanese Army Headquarters, insisting that it hands over power to a civilian administration.

Talks between the ruling generals and protesters had been synchronized and came together under the umbrella group Forces of Freedom and Change (FFC) which had initially showed little progress, but on August 4, 2019, they finally agreed on the need for joint action for Sudan's security and stability.

Quantitative analysis of Anadolu Agency news on the Sudanese crisis:

December 2018

Since the declaration of a state of emergency in Sudan due to the so-called "Bread Revolution" on December 19, Anadolu Agency raced to publish Sudan's news and the latest developments in the country.

From December 19, the date of the beginning of the crisis in Sudan to the end in December, the number of news items published ranged between 3 to 10 items per day (see Table 2), which is an important number for news, given that any news agency the size of Anadolu Agency is working to raise the pace of publishing news in case of any crisis, political turmoil or natural disaster. As an example, on December 31, the agency published 10 news items on the Sudanese crisis, which is a very important number, indicating the agency's keenness to track the most prominent news events and following up on developments of the crisis.

The total number of news items published from the beginning of the crisis on December 19 to the end of the same month reached 77, which is an important number in proportion to the total news that a global agency may publish during the beginning of any crisis or political turmoil.

January 2019

During the month of January, the number of news items regarding the Sudanese crisis ranged from one to eight per day. From the author's careful observations on the frequency of publishing news in the said month, it was observed that the last week of January witnessed a clear increase in the frequency of publishing news related to the Sudanese crisis compared to the preceding weeks of the same month, as the number of news published during the last week ranged between 5 to 8 news per day. And as for the total news items published by the agency in the last week, it was 57 news, which is an important number compared to the last three weeks of the same month (first week: 24 news, second week: 23 news, last week: 36 news). The increase in the production of news in the preceding month was due to the continued expansion of the circle of protests in a number of Sudanese cities despite it been nearly a month since the first breakout of the popular protests in Algeria.

January 29 was the day when Anadolu Agency published an important number of news items on the Sudanese crisis, which was 8.

February 2019

During the month of February, the number of news items published by the Anadolu Agency ranged from one piece to 8 pieces per day. As for the number of news published on a weekly basis last February, the study monitored them as follows:

First week: 21 news items.

Second week: 26 news items.

Third week: 25 news items.

Last week: 29 news items.

The frequency of publishing news in February was much lower than the preceding period - that is, both January and the second half of December - and the reason for the decline in the pace of news reporting on the Sudanese crisis that month was that, the protests had entered its third month without achieving any clear path on amicable resolution, as demonstrations continued with the same social and economic demands, and as for the Sudanese government, it escalated its rhetoric towards the protests, and continued to accuse the opposition parties for seeking to destabilize Sudan.

March 2019: During March, the number of news published by the Anadolu Agency ranged from 0 to 5 news items per day (see Table 4). As for the number of news published weekly during the same month, the study monitored them as follows:

First week: 13 news items.

Second week: 17 news items.

Third week: 14 news items.

Last week: 11 news items.

These weekly numbers represent a significant decrease in the pace of publishing news related to the Sudanese crisis compared to February. The reason for this was the decline in the pace of events and developments regarding the Sudanese crisis.

Table 4
The amount of daily news for Anadolu Agency on the Sudanese crisis
(December - March)

December	Number of news	January	Number of news	February	Number of news	March	Number of news
19-Dec	2 news	1-Jan	3 news	1-Feb	0 news	1-Mar	1 news
20-Dec	6 news	2-Jan	4 news	2-Feb	3 news	2-Mar	4 news
21-Dec	6 news	3-Jan	5 news	3-Feb	1 news	3-Mar	3 news
22-Dec	7 news	4-Jan	2 news	4-Feb	4 news	4-Mar	0 news
23-Dec	4 news	5-Jan	3 news	5-Feb	6 news	5-Mar	3 news
24-Dec	8 news	6-Jan	4 news	6-Feb	2 news	6-Mar	0 news
25-Dec	5 news	7-Jan	3 news	7-Feb	5 news	7-Mar	2 news
26-Dec	6 news	8-Jan	3 news	8-Feb	2 news	8-Mar	5 news
27-Dec	6 news	9-Jan	6 news	9-Feb	6 news	9-Mar	0 news
28-Dec	9 news	10-Jan	3 news	10-Feb	5 news	10-Mar	1 news
29-Dec	3 news	11-Jan	2 news	11-Feb	4 news	11-Mar	0 news
30-Dec	5 news	12-Jan	1 news	12-Feb	3 news	12-Mar	4 news
31-Dec	10 news	13-Jan	4 news	13-Feb	3 news	13-Mar	4 news
		14-Jan	4 news	14-Feb	3 news	14-Mar	3 news
		15-Jan	2 news	15-Feb	3 news	15-Mar	1 news
		16-Jan	5 news	16-Feb	3 news	16-Mar	3 news
		17-Jan	5 news	17-Feb	1 news	17-Mar	2 news
		18-Jan	5 news	18-Feb	7 news	18-Mar	1 news
		19-Jan	5 news	19-Feb	0 news	19-Mar	0 news
		20-Jan	8 news	20-Feb	5 news	20-Mar	2 news
		21-Jan	6 news	21-Feb	6 news	21-Mar	5 news
		22-Jan	4 news	22-Feb	2 news	22-Mar	2 news
		23-Jan	5 news	23-Feb	8 news	23-Mar	2 news
		24-Jan	5 news	24-Feb	4 news	24-Mar	1 news
		25-Jan	6 news	25-Feb	4 news	25-Mar	1 news
		26-Jan	8 news	26-Feb	4 news	26-Mar	1 news
		27-Jan	8 news	27-Feb	6 news	27-Mar	1 news
		28-Jan	1 news	28-Feb	1 news	28-Mar	1 news
		29-Jan	8 news			29-Mar	0 news
		30-Jan	5 news			30-Mar	0 news
		31-Jan	7 news			31-Mar	2 news

April 2019

During the month of April, the number of news published by the Anadolu Agency ranged from 0 to 49 news per day. As for the number of news published on a weekly basis during the same month, the study monitored them as follows:

First week: 16 news items.

Second week: 129 news items.

Third week: 93 news items.

Last week: 70 news items.

Based on these weekly numbers, the study observed a significant increase in the frequency of publishing news related to the Sudanese crisis (see Table 5).

The reason for the acceleration of producing news during this period - that is, the last three weeks of April - was due to the fast acceleration of events in the Sudanese crisis, as the capital Khartoum and other cities witnessed mass protests during that month that ended with the removal of Sudanese president Omar Al-Bashir from the presidency.

Despite the president's dismissal, the demonstrations continued, as did a sit-in by thousands of Sudanese in Khartoum, demanding the military council hand over power to civilians.

May 2019

In May, the number of news published by the agency regarding the Sudanese crisis generally ranged from one piece to 12 news per day. The study also observed a gradual increase in the frequency of news published relating to the Sudanese crisis during that month (see Table 5), especially during the last week of the same month, when the number of news items published surpassed 65 news items.. The reason for this gradual increase in the frequency of news disseminated was due to the positive progress that the country had undertaken in resolving the crisis as the resumption of negotiations between the Military Council and the forces of the "Declaration of Freedom and

Change," but after a short period, the negotiation process between the two parties hit a snag as professionals also joined in on the demonstration in most sectors.

June 2019

During the month of June, the number of news items published daily by the Anadolu Agency ranged from 3 to 42 per day. The first week of June witnessed a significant increase in news related to the Sudanese crisis compared to the remaining three weeks of the same month (see Table 5). The number of news items published by the agency during the first week only reached 92. This huge amount of news that was published during the first week of June is attributed to the dangerous juncture in the Sudanese crisis marred with intense violence in the dispersal of sit-ins in the capital, Khartoum, and consequently resulted in the killing of 14 people and wounding of 116 others. This increased the anger of the protesters and incited them continue to blocking of the main roads.

July 2019

As of July, the number of news items published generally fluctuated between 3 and 18 news items. This high number of published news on the Sudanese crisis was due to the acceleration of events and the numerous political developments that Sudan had experienced on that month, particularly the achievement of a power-sharing agreement between military rulers and the Forces of Freedom and Change (FFC).

Anadolu Agency also tracked the warm reception of this agreement by Western and Arab countries and continued to monitor the reactions of both civilian forces and rebel movements in the country between welcoming and rejecting the agreement.

The last week of July witnessed a significant amount of news published, reaching 90 news items during the same week (see Table 5). This was mainly due to serious unrest in July, which came to be known as the El-Obeid ‘massacre’ during which a number of school students were killed by security forces.

August 2019

As for August, the number of news published by the agency regarding the Sudanese crisis generally ranged from one news item to 13 per day (see Table 5). The study also noticed a significant increase in the frequency of published news relating to the Sudanese protests during the first and third week of August, as the amount of news published during the first week of August reached 49 news and in the third week of the same month 51 news. This was due to the important events surrounding the Sudanese crisis, and the agency was keen to follow it up moment by moment.

The most prominent of these events was the hearing of the trial of ousted President Omar al-Bashir for "corruption and illicit enrichment" and for the "killing of demonstrators" during the protests that brought him down on April 11. This significant turning point in the Sudanese crisis prompted Anadolu Agency to publish news on a large scale and at an accelerated pace during that month. A total of 153 news items about the Sudanese crisis were published in August.

Table 5
The amount of daily news for Anadolu Agency on the Sudanese crisis
(April - August)

April	Number of news	May	Number of news	June	Number of news	July	Number of news	August	Number of news
1-Apr	3 news	1-May	8 news	1-Jun	7 news	1-Jul	7 news	1-Aug	13 news
2-Apr	2 news	2-May	6 news	2-Jun	3 news	2-Jul	11 news	2-Aug	7 news
3-Apr	0 news	3-May	2 news	3-Jun	42 news	3-Jul	12 news	3-Aug	7 news
4-Apr	0 news	4-May	3 news	4-Jun	9 news	4-Jul	9 news	4-Aug	9 news
5-Apr	1 news	5-May	4 news	5-Jun	8 news	5-Jul	15 news	5-Aug	8 news
6-Apr	3 news	6-May	2 news	6-Jun	13 news	6-Jul	8 news	6-Aug	2 news
7-Apr	7 news	7-May	4 news	7-Jun	10 news	7-Jul	4 news	7-Aug	3 news
8-Apr	8 news	8-May	6 news	8-Jun	6 news	8-Jul	10 news	8-Aug	7 news
9-Apr	12 news	9-May	2 news	9-Jun	7 news	9-Jul	9 news	9-Aug	0 news
10-Apr	5 news	10-May	1 news	10-Jun	11 news	10-Jul	3 news	10-Aug	1 news
11-Apr	52 news	11-May	2 news	11-Jun	4 news	11-Jul	7 news	11-Aug	3 news
12-Apr	26 news	12-May	7 news	12-Jun	6 news	12-Jul	6 news	12-Aug	0 news
13-Apr	16 news	13-May	12 news	13-Jun	8 news	13-Jul	8 news	13-Aug	2 news
14-Apr	13 news	14-May	7 news	14-Jun	7 news	14-Jul	9 news	14-Aug	3 news
15-Apr	15 news	15-May	8 news	15-Jun	7 news	15-Jul	7 news	15-Aug	11 news
16-Apr	11 news	16-May	4 news	16-Jun	10 news	16-Jul	7 news	16-Aug	6 news
17-Apr	17 news	17-May	4 news	17-Jun	8 news	17-Jul	14 news	17-Aug	6 news
18-Apr	13 news	18-May	5 news	18-Jun	9 news	18-Jul	10 news	18-Aug	4 news
19-Apr	9 news	19-May	4 news	19-Jun	10 news	19-Jul	4 news	19-Aug	8 news
20-Apr	15 news	20-May	2 news	20-Jun	6 news	20-Jul	5 news	20-Aug	7 news
21-Apr	13 news	21-May	8 news	21-Jun	8 news	21-Jul	8 news	21-Aug	9 news
22-Apr	11 news	22-May	4 news	22-Jun	5 news	22-Jul	5 news	22-Aug	9 news
23-Apr	8 news	23-May	8 news	23-Jun	5 news	23-Jul	6 news	23-Aug	1 news
24-Apr	7 news	24-May	5 news	24-Jun	10 news	24-Jul	9 news	24-Aug	3 news
25-Apr	10 news	25-May	2 news	25-Jun	8 news	25-Jul	11 news	25-Aug	6 news
26-Apr	6 news	26-May	8 news	26-Jun	6 news	26-Jul	5 news	26-Aug	1 news
27-Apr	6 news	27-May	9 news	27-Jun	10 news	27-Jul	9 news	27-Aug	5 news
28-Apr	8 news	28-May	9 news	28-Jun	4 news	28-Jul	9 news	28-Aug	5 news
29-Apr	8 news	29-May	6 news	29-Jun	3 news	29-Jul	18 news	29-Aug	0 news
30-Apr	6 news	30-May	9 news	30-Jun	8 news	30-Jul	10 news	30-Aug	3 news
		31-May	5 news			31-Jul	8 news	31-Aug	4 news

In summary, due to the significance of the political events and developments in Sudan, Anadolu Agency increased the pace of publishing news on the Sudanese crisis.

As for the rapid or gradual decline in the pace of publishing news on the Sudanese crisis, it is related to the lack of events or the absence of any developments to get out of the Sudanese crisis.

In general, since the outbreak of the crisis, the agency had covered very extensively the Sudanese crisis, for example, the total news published from the beginning of the crisis on December 19 to the end of the crisis in August reached 77 news items, which is a significant amount of news, and commensurate with the total news items that a global agency may publish during the onset of any crisis or political turmoil.

Table 6
The amount of monthly news items Anadolu Agency published on the Sudanese crisis.

Months	Number of monthly news
December	75
January	140
February	101
March	55
April	311
May	166
June	258
July	263
August	153

5.2.1.2 The Press of Arab Maghreb and the Arabian Gulf

Here, the level of media presence of the Anadolu Agency in each of the newspapers in the Maghreb Arab region, the Arabian Gulf, and the Arab press in the West will be examined. In the aforementioned geographical samples, the most popular newspapers will be selected. Then, the study will examine the digital archive for each Arab newspaper separately, depending on the keyword "Anadolu Agency".

Moroccan newspaper: "Akhbar al-Youm" newspaper: The Moroccan newspaper " Akhbar al-Youm" is the most popular and most widely read newspaper in Morocco. Its editor is the well-known Moroccan journalist Youssef Maskin.

The research took a look at the digital archive of "Akhbar al-Youm" newspaper, and it was found that there are very few news items that were quoted from Anadolu news Agency and published in this newspaper. Moreover, the quoted articles from this agency are 3 to 4 news items per week and these quoted articles were published from time to time.

However, the news edited by the newspaper's correspondents mostly relied on Anadolu Agency as a news source, especially on the crises and unrest in the Middle East and events related to foreign and international issues. This shows us that the Moroccan newspaper "Akhbar al-Youm" considers Anadolu Agency a reliable news source and believes that it is an important and sometimes even the main source in editing its international news.

The articles in Akhbar Al Youm newspaper, whether they are quoted from Anadolu Agency or their own articles relying on the agency as a news source, are news articles, not analysis articles or news reports. Akhbar Al Youm's articles, which rely on Anadolu Agency as a news source, generally address issues of migration, diplomatic relations, and trade exchanges between Morocco and Turkey. Also, these articles may also report on political unrest and crises in the Arab region, particularly in the Middle East.

Algerian press: “El-Djazair Newspaper”: “El-Djazair” newspaper is one of the most popular newspapers in Algeria. After browsing the digital archive of Algeria Newspaper, the study notices that there is no quoted news from Anadolu Agency news. On the other hand, the study found that “El-Djazair” newspaper usually relies on Anadolu Agency as a news source to edit their daily news.

The fact that the Algerian newspaper relies on Anadolu Agency as a news source proves that this agency is an important and reliable news source for this newspaper.

During author’s research in the archives of Algeria newspaper, it was found that the newspaper relies on Anadolu Agency as a news source for topics related to international issues, events and crises in the Middle East, and Turkish affairs.

Tunisian newspaper: “Al Shorouk” Newspaper: “Al Shorouk” Newspaper is a Tunisian daily newspaper. It was founded in 1984 by the late Salahaddin al-Amiri. Al Shorouk Newspaper is the first newspaper published in Tunisia and is open to all professional ideas.

During author’s research into the digital archives of “Al Shorouk” Newspaper, it was found that there are very few news items quoted from the Anadolu Agency. Moreover, this newspaper mainly relies on Anadolu Agency as a news source for international issues and Turkey news.

The fact that “Al-Shorouk” Newspaper relies on Anadolu Agency to edit its international news is an indication that the agency is an important and reliable news source for editing its news articles on international issues.

A Qatari newspaper: “Al-Watan” newspaper: “Al-Watan” Newspaper is a political daily newspaper founded in 1995 and published by Dar Al-Watan for Printing, and Publishing. Al-Watan Newspaper is the oldest and most prestigious newspaper in Qatar. Currently, Al-Watan Newspaper is distributed in the Qatari market and via the Internet, and has followers in all countries around the world, from the Middle East to Africa.

During the authors research into the digital archive of Al-Watan Newspaper, it was found that this newspaper relies very little on Anadolu Agency (whether as a news source or by quoting news from this agency). Most of the news quoted from the Agency is limited to some news related to Turkish affairs, news, and events related to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, which can generally be between two or three news items per month.

5.2.1.3 Arab Newspapers in the Western world

Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper: Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper is an Arab daily, one of the most widespread newspapers in the Arab world. It was founded in 1989 and is currently headed by Sana Al-Aloul - since July 10, 2013. The newspaper is printed in

London, New York, Frankfurt, Amman, and Rome, and it is distributed in the Middle East, North Africa, Europe, and America.

After the newspaper was founded in 1989 in London, the famous journalist Abd al-Bari Atwan (a Palestinian journalist who has been a professional in the profession of journalism for more than 35 years) became its editor-in-chief.

The newspaper is a diverse media platform that believes in pluralism and publishes accurate news. It also adheres to professional and objective standards through its coverage of events and providing in-depth analysis of Arab and international issues, which made it the most widespread newspaper in the Arab world.

During the 10 months (from the last of January to the last of October of the same year), the author counted the number of news items from Anadolu Agency that Al-Quds Al-Arabi cited daily from the agency, and it was found that the number of news items cited by the agency ranged from 10 to 28 news items (see Table 7). This number of news items cited for the newspaper is considered very important, and if this indicates anything, it shows the strong presence of the agency in the daily news process of the Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper. It also confirms that this newspaper, which is known for its high professionalism in the Arab world, considers the agency as a reliable source of news.

The digital newspaper "Rai al-Youm": Rai al-Youm is an independent online newspaper founded in 2013 and currently read in more than 200 countries around the world. The newspaper was founded by a well-known journalist Abdel Bari Atwan, who is considered one of the serious Arab journalists advocating for the issues of the Arab nation. He is also the founder of the newspaper Al-Quds Al-Arabi (the largest circulation newspaper in the Arab world), and also its former editor-in-chief.

The "Rai Al-Youm" newspaper stands out for its independent politics at a time when the press and media are often polarized. The newspaper also ranks highly in professionalism and credibility in its reporting and writing of its analytical articles. This electronic newspaper is subscribed to around the clock and follows world events

moment by moment, within a collective framework that believes in the Arab and Islamic Renaissance project.

During 10 months (from last January to last October) the author counted the number of daily Anadolu Agency news items published in the newspaper "Rai Al-Youm". From this, the study found that the number of Anadolu Agency news published by the newspaper on its official website varied from 11 to 45 news per day (see Table 7).

This trend of daily news is considered very important, and indicates the strong presence of the agency in the daily news process of the newspaper "Rai Al-Youm", the most widely read and distributed newspaper in the Arab world.

Table 7
The daily news amount for Arab newspapers from Anadolu Agency

	1-Jan-19	2-Jan-19	3-Jan-19	4-Jan-19	5-Jan-19	6-Jan-19	7-Jan-19
Alquds Alarabi Newspaper	19 news	15 news	19 news	25 news	23 news	21 news	13 news
Rai al-Youm Newspaper	19 news	18 news	21 news	27 news	24 news	26 news	20 news
Al Jazeera canal	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news

	1-Feb-19	2-Feb-19	3-Feb-19	4-Feb-19	5-Feb-19	6-Feb-19	7-Feb-19
Alquds Alarabi Newspaper	27 news	21 news	22 news	18 news	15 news	19 news	17 news
Rai al-Youm Newspaper	37 news	36 news	29 news	45 news	42 news	40 news	37 news
Al Jazeera canal	1 news	1 news	3 news	2 news	2 news	1 news	1 news

	1-Mar-19	2-Mar-19	3-Mar-19	4-Mar-19	5-Mar-19	6-Mar-19	7-Mar-19
Alquds Alarabi Newspaper	19 news	26 news	21 news	17 news	23 news	19 news	13 news
Rai al-Youm Newspaper	21 news	23 news	30 news	26 news	30 news	27 news	21 news
Al Jazeera canal	1 news	1 news	1 news	3 news	3 news	1 news	2 news

	1-Apr-19	2-Apr-19	3-Apr-19	4-Apr-19	5-Apr-19	6-Apr-19	7-Apr-19
Alquds Alarabi Newspaper	23 news	21 news	26 news	20 news	17 news	15 news	18 news
Rai al-Youm Newspaper	27 news	21 news	26 news	19 news	30 news	22 news	22 news
Al Jazeera canal	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news

	1-May-19	2-May-19	3-May-19	4-May-19	5-May-19	6-May-19	7-May-19
Alquds Alarabi Newspaper	21 news	19 news	21 news	17 news	26 news	28 news	18 news
Rai al-Youm Newspaper	36 news	26 news	33 news	21 news	18 news	18 news	24 news
Al Jazeera canal	2 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news

	1-Jun-19	2-Jun-19	3-Jun-19	4-Jun-19	5-Jun-19	6-Jun-19	7-Jun-19
Alquds Alarabi Newspaper	21 news	22 news	21 news	15 news	10 news	13 news	18 news
Rai al-Youm Newspaper	20 news	19 news	13 news	24 news	13 news	14 news	18 news
Al Jazeera canal	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	15 news	1 news

	1-Jul-19	2-Jul-19	3-Jul-19	4-Jul-19	5-Jul-19	6-Jul-19	7-Jul-19
Alquds Alarabi Newspaper	25 news	27 news	27 news	26 news	15 news	23 news	23 news
Rai al-Youm Newspaper	27 news	34 news	24 news	22 news	20 news	17 news	11 news
Al Jazeera canal	1 news	1 news	1 news	1 news	2 news	1 news	1 news

	1-Aug-19	2-Aug-19	3-Aug-19	4-Aug-19	5-Aug-19	6-Aug-19	7-Aug-19
Alquds Alarabi Newspaper	26 news	19 news	21 news	29 news	22 news	25 news	19 news
Rai al-Youm Newspaper	25 news	21 news	23 news	20 news	23 news	24 news	33 news
Al Jazeera canal	1 news	1 news	1 news	2 news	1 news	1 news	1 news

5.2.1.4 The Level of Anadolu Agency's Media Presence in the Qatari "Al-Jazeera Net"

"Al-Jazeera" is a satellite news channel that was launched in 1996 and has been successful both in the Arab world and the western world. "Al-Jazeera" has a wide Arab and Western following. Its position in the global media scene was strengthened by its outstanding coverage of the American war on Afghanistan in 2001 and the American invasion of Iraq in 2003 with unprecedented success. Al Jazeera has numerous bureaus and a wide network of correspondents in various countries around the world. Thus, for the first time, the channel became a real competitor to international broadcasters such as the BBC and CNN. And soon the broadcaster took the initiative to establish "Al-Jazeera Net" to keep pace with developments in the media sector and the increasing importance of the Internet and its distribution. And with the overwhelming success, the station achieved thanks to its exclusive coverage of topics that had been "taboo" and not allowed to be discussed in the Arab world for decades.

First, the researcher calculated the number of Anadolu Agency news published by "Al-Jazeera Net" in the 10 months of 2019 (from January to the end of May). From this, the study calculated the number of news items by taking the first week of each month to determine the number of news items that "Al-Jazeera Net" quoted per day from Anadolu Agency (see Table 3). In general, the study concluded that the number of Anadolu Agency news quoted by "Al-Jazeera Net" per day is very limited, ranging from 1 to 3 news items per day (see Table 3).

It should be noted that media outlets with a global character do not rely on quoting news in large quantities from a particular news agency. So, the number of Anadolu Agency's news that "Al-Jazeera Net" published per day was between 1 and 3 news. The reason for this is that "Al-Jazeera Net" has a wide network of correspondents in different parts of the world to gather news. Therefore, quoting one or two articles per day from Anadolu Agency is an important achievement and reflects the important presence of Anadolu Agency in Al-Jazeera's daily news production process.

5.2.2 Qualitative Analysis

The mechanisms of qualitative analysis are diverse and are often related to those chosen by the researcher. In this study, the researcher observes the mechanisms of qualitative analysis at five levels:

5.2.2.1 The First Level: Measuring the Extent of the Agency's Arabic Department Compliance With Communication Ethics Through Monitoring and Analyzing Some Topics that Constitute the Core Agenda of the Arabic Department of Anadolu Agency

As for Anadolu Agency's media coverage in the Arab world, there are a number of topics that form its core media agenda. As illustrated in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, the political crisis in Sudan, the conflicts in Syria, Yemen, and Libya, Turkish-Arab relations, the fight against Islamophobia, etc.

Anadolu Agency's Arabic division dedicates a separate department under the title "Arab countries", which reports on the most important events and developments in the Arab world, including agreements, sporting or cultural events, and political crises in the Arab world.

To examine the extent to which Anadolu Agency adheres to professional ethics, the study selected some topics that form the core media agenda of Anadolu Agency's Arabic department. These are the conflict in Yemen, Turkish-Qatari relations, and the fight against Islamophobia.

The conflict in Yemen: The agency continues its media role by publishing news that monitors the progress of the conflict in Yemen and the heavy material and human losses that this war has caused. It should be noted that Turkey has been very keen in playing an active role in the stability of Yemen in recent years, especially after its support for the legitimate government in Yemen.

To ensure that the conflict in Yemen is one of the most important topics on Anadolu Agency's media agenda, the study used the keyword "Yemen" to monitor the

number of news items published on the Yemen crisis. From this, the study observed that Anadolu Agency's Arabic department publishes about 3 to 5 news items every day, which is a clear indication that the agency is constantly following the developments of the crisis in Yemen.

What makes the conflict in Yemen one of the priority topics on Anadolu Agency's news desk is not only that the agency publishes the latest news or breaking news on the situation in Yemen, but also that it consistently publishes in-depth reports on the situation in Yemen. The researcher finds, for example, a long report by a Yemeni writer and journalist Muhammad Al Sami, dated May 18, 2021, under the title "Military Escalation and Diplomatic Stumbling. Where is the Yemen Crisis Headed?" in which he analyzes the resurgence of military escalation in Yemen after international diplomatic efforts to end the war stalled.

Turkish-Qatari relations: Anadolu Agency continues to publish news about the strength and prosperity of Turkish-Qatari relations at all levels. The agency reports extensively on the signing of joint agreements between the two countries in various fields and discusses bilateral relations between both countries and the development of the regional socio-economic environment. Most of the articles, about 20 in number, reflect the transition of Qatari-Turkish relations from the phase of cooperation to the phase of deep strategic partnership.

It should be noted that Qatari-Turkish relations have developed rapidly in various fields over the past two decades, especially in economic, political, and military, more so since the Justice and Development Party took over the government of Turkey in 2002. Relations between the two countries are characterized by a unique convergence of views on many regional and international issues. The last twenty years have witnessed remarkable milestones in the development of Qatari-Turkish relations, marking a milestone in the increase of interdependence between the two countries.

To ensure that Turkish-Qatari relations are one of the most important topics in Anadolu Agency's media agenda, we used the keyword "Turkey and Qatar" to monitor the number of news items published about Turkish-Qatari relations. From this, the study

observed that the Anadolu Agency's Arabic department publishes about 3 to 5 news items every day, which indicates that the agency directly and consistently follows the developments in Turkish-Qatari relations.

In this context, the study also notes that Anadolu Agency is an agency of the Turkish state. So, it is only natural that it focuses on Turkish activities with Qatar or another Arab country. Take, for example, the French news agency "Agence France-Presse": it focuses on French activities, especially diplomatic activities.

The fight against Islamophobia: The Agency attaches the same importance to the fight against Islamophobia as to other problems in the world. For example, the agency recently highlights the double standard with which European countries deal with refugees who flee from Ukraine on one hand and from Islamic countries on the other.

In this context, the Anadolu Agency articles describe the contradiction between the opening of Europe to Ukrainians who were forced to leave their country due to the war and the racist attitude towards refugees from Syria, Afghanistan, and Africa. For example, the researcher finds an Anadolu Agency article titled "Luxembourg criticizes discrimination between Ukrainian and Syrian refugees" dated March 15, 2022, in which Luxembourg ministry of Foreign Affairs Jean Asselborn criticizes discrimination between Ukrainian refugees and their Syrian counterparts. The minister made these statements to Anadolu Agency on the sidelines of his participation in the 2nd Antalya Diplomacy Forum in 2022.

The Russian military operation in Ukraine has resulted in millions of Ukrainian refugees and foreigners residing in Ukraine fleeing to neighboring countries, which have also been reported to have tendencies of discrimination between Ukrainian refugees and those of other nationalities.

As far as the professional ethics of journalism are concerned, the media discourse of the Anadolu Agency is very close to the reality of the Arab world, its aspirations, and issues, as it is characterized in some way by objectivity, credibility, and professionalism. (Majdoubi Bahida, Interview 2010)

Indeed, Anatolia Agency did not fall into dry propaganda like the other national news agencies of some Arab countries, which rely on a media discourse steeped in propaganda that lacks objectivity and credibility. Anadolu Agency was also able to break the dominance of all international news agencies that present their news from a single point of view. (Majdoubi Bahida, Interview 2021)

On the other hand, the Arab media lack opinion leaders and think tanks. Therefore, the Arab media is no longer able to formulate a balanced discourse that advances the nation's agenda and defends its policies. Instead, most Arab news agencies are used for peddling derogatory remarks and hostile critiques toward perceived enemies.

Arab researchers and journalists believe that the most significant milestone attributed to Anadolu Agency is the launch of the Arabic version of the agency in 2012. They also observed that Anadolu Agency can now broadcast news under a special equation of each Arab country separately.

5.2.2.2 The Second Level: The Capacity of the Arabic-speaking Turkish Media to Find a Place for Itself in the Arab World

The attention to the Arabic-language Turkish media started after the counter-revolution in the Arab countries, especially in Egypt. This interest was due to internal and other external reasons. The external reasons were Turkey's official and political stance in support of the revolutions of the Arab peoples and its refusal to deal with the coup regimes. As for the internal reasons, a number of factors had contributed to the emergence of the Turkish Arabic-language media, namely as the following:

It is estimated that Turkey became a semi-permanent residence for nearly 4 million Arabs from different groups of society, as many Arabs sought refuge in Turkey due to the political conditions in their countries. As a result, the Arab community in Turkey grew rapidly, and as such presented a gap in news delivery, which prompted the establishment of a Turkish Arabic language media.

The establishment of the Arabic departments in some Turkish media firms comes within the framework of the political transformation that Turkey has experienced in the last decade. Recognizing the importance of communicating with the Arab public through the press, Turkey had launched a number of initiatives, including the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency and TRT Arabic.

The factor of political stability in Turkey during the 16-year rule of the Justice and Development Party (AKP), the party's Islamic background, and its cultural heritage from the Arab Orient -Unlike European countries, which differ from the East in terms of customs and culture - are among key factors that contributed to the Turkish Arabic-language media winning over the Arab audience.

The results of the quantitative analysis show that Anadolu Agency's Arabic department was able to secure its media presence as an important news source for Arab audiences despite strong competition from the Arabic departments of global news agencies such as Reuters and France Press. The success of Anadolu Agency's Arabic department can be attributed to two main reasons, namely:

First, Anadolu Agency was able to spread in the Arab media arena, which was confirmed by the results of the quantitative analysis. These results confirmed the dependence of well-known Arab media outlets on the Anadolu Agency as their main news source, as well as some other Arab media outlets that quoted Anadolu Agency articles in full. This confirms the widespread presence of the Agency in the Arab world.

Additionally typing in “Anadolu Agency in Arabic” into search engines such as "Google" and "Bing" is sufficient enough to determine the extent of the Agency's prevalence in the Arab media landscape.

Second, Anadolu Agency was able to influence Arab public opinion. Thanks to the spread of this agency among the Arab media, the Arab citizen has become eager to see Turkey through the eyes of the Turks and not through the French or British. At the same time, Turkey's importance in the international and regional arena increased due to its growing influence in the world, especially in the Arab world, and the Arabic department is working to keep pace with this process.

In this context, a group of Arab journalists and analysts discuss in their articles that “The Arab world, yearning for freedom and democracy, looks to Turkey as a role model. Moreover, President Erdogan's popularity in the Arab world ensures that Arab audiences constantly follow news from Turkey with interest”. And this has also contributed to the spread of the Anadolu Agency's Arabic department into the Arab world. The professionalism of Anadolu Agency's Arabic department and its avoidance of dry propaganda has made the Arabic department one of the most important Arabic-language Turkish media outlets, capable of winning the Arab public opinion and improving Turkey's image in various fields.

In general, it can be noted that the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency has succeeded in becoming an important media window for the Arabic media. Moreover, this Arabic department has spread widely in the Arab world, especially in the Mediterranean region.

The Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency has succeeded in improving Turkey's image in the Arab world and winning over the Arab public. Indeed, the Turkish Arabic-language media has ultimately served to defend Turkey's image and interests and disseminated its policies in the Arab world.

5.2.2.3 The Third Level: The general image of Turkey and the Image of Recep Tayyip Erdogan in the minds of the Arab Populace.

At this level, the study will rely on opinion polls conducted by various academic institutions to explore Arab public opinion. For example, the Moroccan Arab Barometer network, the largest publicly available data collection on citizens' opinions in the Arab countries, is an independent research network that has been conducting high-quality and reliable opinion polls in the Middle East and North Africa since 2006.

The study will track opinion polls on Turkey's cultural, political, social, and economic image and prominent Turkish politicians. For example, the Arab public sympathizes with the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan primarily for religious reasons. He is a Muslim president in a secular country with a majority of the Muslim

population. The Arab public holds a positive view of Erdogan, believing that he is a man who stands against Israel and the West and who has achieved prosperity in his country.

Turkey's economic image in the eyes of the Arab public: Turkey's economic development between 2002 and 2010 is an important factor in its popularity in the Arab world. While the views and analysis of Arab political elites have also praised that the economic development has improved Arab perceptions of Turkey. The current ruling party under President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has achieved numerous successes during its presidency, which is due to end in mid-2023. Among the most important of these achievements are the opening of Istanbul airport, a significant increase in Turkish goods exports, the discovery of natural gas wells in the Black Sea region, Turkey's willingness to defend its rights in light of the rules of international law, the development of the defense industry, the establishment of automobile factories and the increase in Turkey's tourism revenues. In addition, the main achievements of the current Turkish government are highlighted by its positive performance in the COVID-19 crisis, as it has provided free health care to all those affected by the pandemic and supported the economic activity of the sectors affected by the COVID-19 crisis. All these achievements compelled the Arab public to view the economic and social experience of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey with a kind of positivity and admiration, considering that most Arab countries, especially the Maghreb countries, lack this kind of development record.

It should be noted that since 2013, Turkey has taken political and military positions that made it a target from regional and international powers. Turkey's supportive position towards the Arab Spring revolutions and its embrace of the opponents of the counter-revolutions from the Arab countries and even from the region made Turkey a political and economic target.

Moreover, due to external pressures, Turkey faces a number of economic challenges in the post-2018 period, including high-interest rates, the devaluation of the national currency TL, and high inflation rates.

Based on an analysis of many opinions from Arab political elites and news sources, there are a number of political and economic challenges facing Turkey that have negatively impacted its regional image, but on the other hand, there are still a number of variables that attribute to building a positive image for Turkey, the most prominent of which are: "The Islamic orientation of the government" "Erdogan's influence," "The influence of TV Turkish series" and "The development record of the Justice and Development Party". These four variables have an effective impact on Arab public opinion. These changes also lead Arab public opinion to continue to admire modern Turkey, sympathize with the current ruling party, and cultivate a positive image of Turkey.

Strong Turkish positions in foreign policy: Observers and researchers in the field of Turkish politics believe that the new trend of Turkish regional policy is attracting a positive Arab public opinion. moreover, the Turkish positions on many Arab issues and affairs excite a popular enthusiasm among the Arab public which sometimes elicits worrisome concerns among the Arab regimes. From here, the study considers some of the positions in Turkish foreign policy in which Turkey was able to draw a positive image and win Arab public opinion, as follows:

Turkey's support for the Palestinian cause and Turkish politicians' criticism of Israeli policies: The Palestinian cause is a central issue in the political life of the Arab world. This cause is of great importance in the minds of the Arab community, especially since the independence of the Arab countries and the establishment of the State of Israel. Turkey's position on the Palestinian cause and the impact of its regional policy on the Arab-Israeli conflict constituted a milestone for the changes in Arab-Turkish relations and for the improvement of Turkey's image in the Arab minds.

In 2004, the assassination of Sheikh Ahmed Yassin (Hamas founder) by an Israeli missile prompted Turkish Prime Minister Erdogan to declare that Israel was engaging in "state terrorism."

This accusation was repeated in the spring of 2010 during the Israeli attack on the "Mavi Marmara" flotilla carrying humanitarian aid to Gaza. Erdogan also strongly criticized Israel during the 2006 war against Lebanon. At the time, demonstrations in support of the Lebanese people were held in several Turkish cities.

Erdogan's wrath in Davos: At the beginning of 2009, Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan, at the backdrop of the World Economic Forum in Davos, attacked the Israeli policy towards the Palestinians and denounced the unbridled war against Gaza. Erdogan's stance won support throughout the Arab world. Arab public opinion considered the president's statements and his withdrawal from the Davos conference as a very courageous position, in light of the silence of Arab presidents and leaders regarding the attacks taking place in the Palestinian territories. Also, a number of opinion articles by Arab writers indicated that this position by Erdogan and his withdrawal from Davos was a heroic position and is still firmly established in the memory of Arab citizens.

The freedom flotilla "Mavi Marmara": In 2010, Turkey condemned the Israeli attack on the humanitarian flotilla "Mavi Marmara" headed for Gaza, in which 10 Turks were killed. The goal of the flotilla was to "break the Israeli land and sea blockade of the Gaza Strip". The siege of Gaza and the Turkish government's work to support and rescue Palestinian civilians increased the popularity of the Turkish prime minister, whom the Arab press used to call the "leader of the Arabs."

Turkey's refusal to get involved in the war on Iraq: Turkey refused to engage in the war against Iraq, which was fronted by observers and researchers in the political affairs, on the one hand, to Turkey's conviction that the war would have led to the fragmentation of Iraq and possibly destabilization of the entire region. On the other hand, the belief that the consolidation of the autonomous state of Kurdistan in northern Iraq would contagiously stimulate Kurdish nationalism in Turkey itself, which would pose a threat to the country's stability and security.

In any case, this departure from US policy, while cementing Turkey's credibility as an independent power, has had an important role in improving Turkey's image in the Arab world.

Also, the role that Turkey played thereafter in Iraq after Saddam Hussein's demise, by supporting the building of the new Iraqi state politically and economically, supporting the reconciliation of the Sunni community with the Shiite power, and persuading the Sunnis to participate in it, was welcomed and appreciated by the Arab community as it balanced the increasing influence of Iran in the Arab world.

Balanced position of Turkey in the Ukraine crisis: Turkey's most critical relations at present are undoubtedly with Kiev and Moscow, with Turkey's political and geographic position accelerating Erdogan's influence on the broader region and vis-a-vis the West. (Paul Benjamin Osterlund, 2022)

Ankara's main goal now seems to be regional stability, knowing that any other outcome could mean further financial difficulties. Turkey has not participated in the sanctions because it knows that these sanctions are likely to hurt Turkey as much as Russia. So, Turkey wants to continue to take a balanced position and will continue to do so for as long as possible.

This balanced position is a continuation of a policy that has led to a rapprochement over the past year with various countries in the region with which Turkey had strained or nonexistent relations. Ankara's diplomatic initiatives included efforts to mend ties with adversaries such as Armenia, Israel, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia.

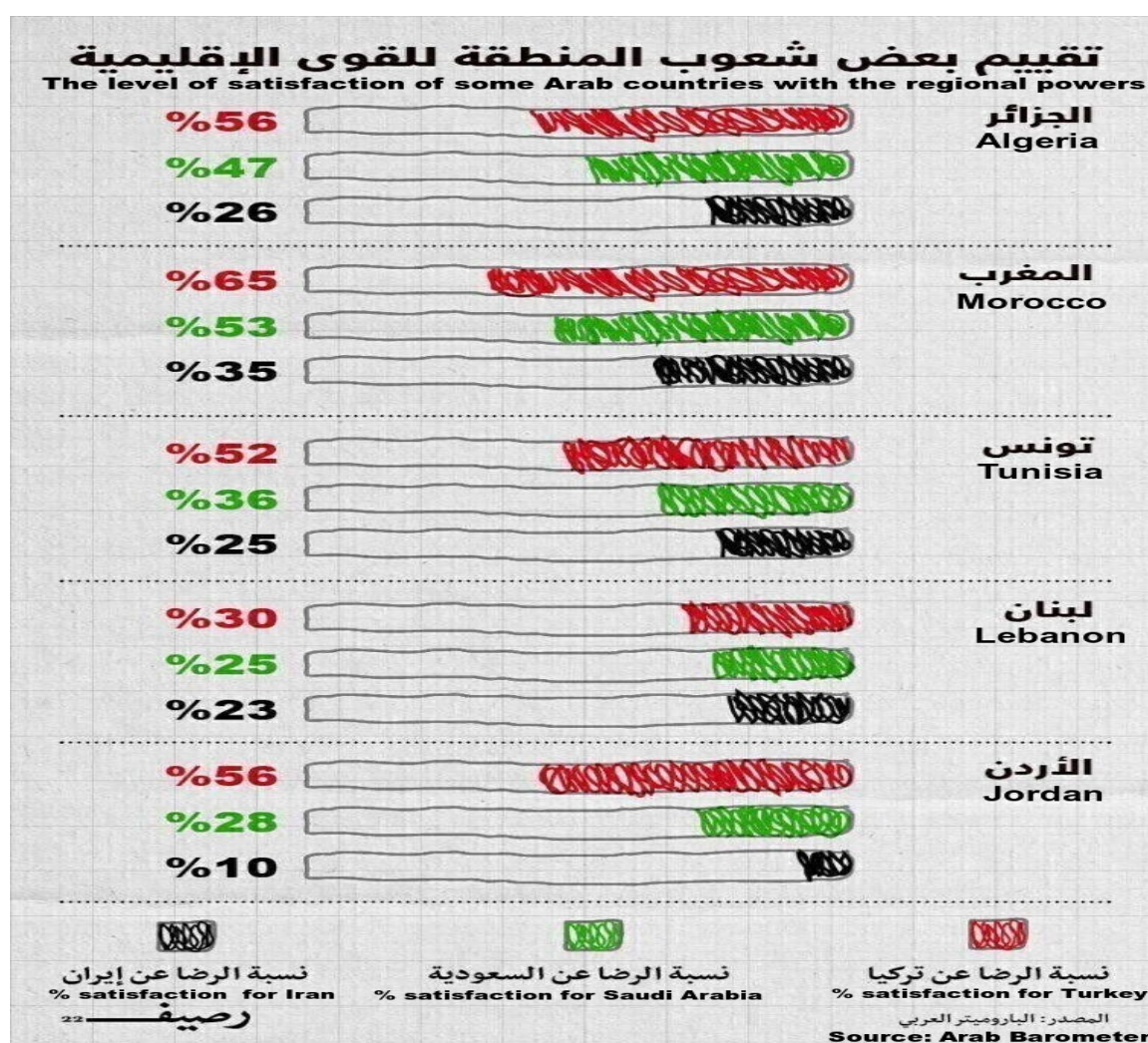


Figure 1: The level of satisfaction of some Arab countries with the regional powers

In March 2021, the Arab Barometer Research Center conducted a survey asking some people in the region (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon, and Jordan) about their satisfaction with the regional powers. These regional powers are represented by Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Iran.

The graph above shows the results of the survey presented by the Arab Barometer Research Center. The red color represents the percentage of satisfaction with Turkey, the green color represents the percentage of satisfaction with Saudi Arabia, and the black color represents the percentage of satisfaction with Iran.

The results of the above study show that of the five countries that participated in the survey, only four countries had a positive image of Turkey, namely Morocco,

Algeria, Tunisia, and Jordan. Satisfaction with Turkey was highest in Morocco (65 %), followed by Jordan and Algeria (56 % in both countries) and Tunisia (52 %). In Lebanon, the percentage of satisfaction with Turkey was low compared to the other Arab countries at 30 %.

As a conclusion, many Arab analysts and journalists believe that the increasing commercial, cultural, and tourist openness between Turkey and Arab countries, as well as Arab sympathy for the current government, which has an Islamic orientation, are among the most important reasons why the percentage of satisfaction with Turkey is high for the four previously mentioned countries.

Only Lebanon has a low percentage of satisfaction with Turkey. This is mainly due to the phenomenon of religious pluralism or diversity and sectarianism or confessionalism, which is the most complex phenomenon in Lebanon.

Erdogan is one of the most influential Turkish political figures in the Arab world: The Islamist orientation of the AKP government and "Erdogan's influence" are among the important factors that have led to Turkey's popularity in the Arab world.

Erdogan's political and economic success inspired many Arab thinkers and politicians (with Islamic orientation) in 2002 to continue the struggle against dictators and their tyrannical regimes in Arab countries.

Many Islamists, including the Ennahda party in Tunisia and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, viewed Turkey as a model. Although the AKP did not emphasize Islam in its party propaganda and described itself as a conservative democratic party. As is well known in both Turkey and the Arab world, the AKP's founders grew up in the Islamist Welfare Party and actively participated in politics in the 1990s.

The success of the Islamic party AKP in a secular system, as well as the ruling party's attempts to make Turkey a member of the European Union, have helped to draw a modern and positive image of Turkey in the minds of both Arab liberals and Islamists.

The fact that Arab researchers and journalists refer to "Erdogan's influence" on Arab public opinion" is among the most important ingredient that has contributed to the

building of a positive image of Turkey among Arabs. In this context, the study has followed a number of opinion polls on the popularity of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan in the Arab world, as well as some analytical articles, which are presented below:

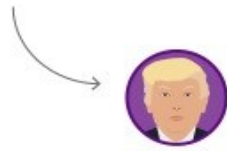
The Arab Barometer Network's 2019 Most Popular Head of State in the Arab World poll: According to a June 2019 poll on the most popular head of state in the Arab world, Erdogan leads by a wide margin in seven countries. The results of the poll, conducted by the Arab Barometer Network for BBC Arabic, show that the results are positive for Erdogan's supporters.

This poll confirms that despite the weakening position of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey, after its political defeat in the mayoral elections in Istanbul. There are also conflicting opinions in Turkey about the personality and image of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, although the image of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan has become much more positive due to the rising popularity of the Turkish president in the Arab world. The survey includes a question about the extent to which participants view the presidents of the United States, Russia, and Turkey positively.

The results showed that U.S. President Trump was the worst performer, while Russian President Putin was second. It is worth noting that the presidents of the United States and Russia together have only a small percentage of the popularity that President Erdogan enjoys in the Arab world as a whole. In 7 of the 11 countries where the survey was conducted, more than half of the respondent's expressed satisfaction with Erdogan. Many Arab journalists believe that it is natural for the Arab population to sympathize with the Turkish president, especially since he, like them, is a Muslim and lives in a region where the majority of the population is Muslim.

ترامب يخسر أمام بوتين، وأردوغان يتفوق عليهما نسبة الذين لديهم انطباع ايجابي عن...

المعدل للمنطقة بأسرها



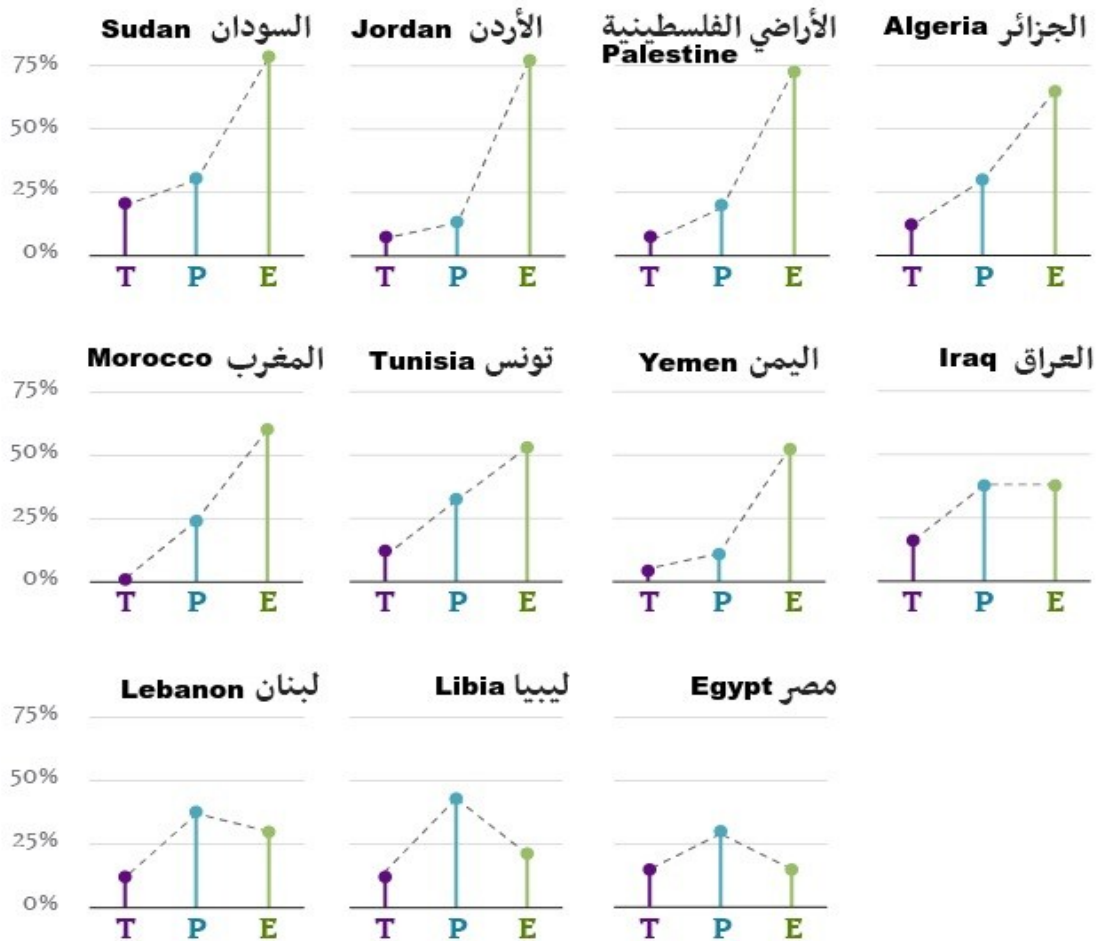
T - دونالد ترامب
Donald Trump
12%



P - فلاديمير بوتين
Vladimir Putin
28%



E - رجب طيب أردوغان
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan
51%



BBC

Source: Arab Barometer

المصدر: البارومتر العربي

Figure 2: Data from the sixth session of the Arab Barometer on the most popular regional leader in the Arab world

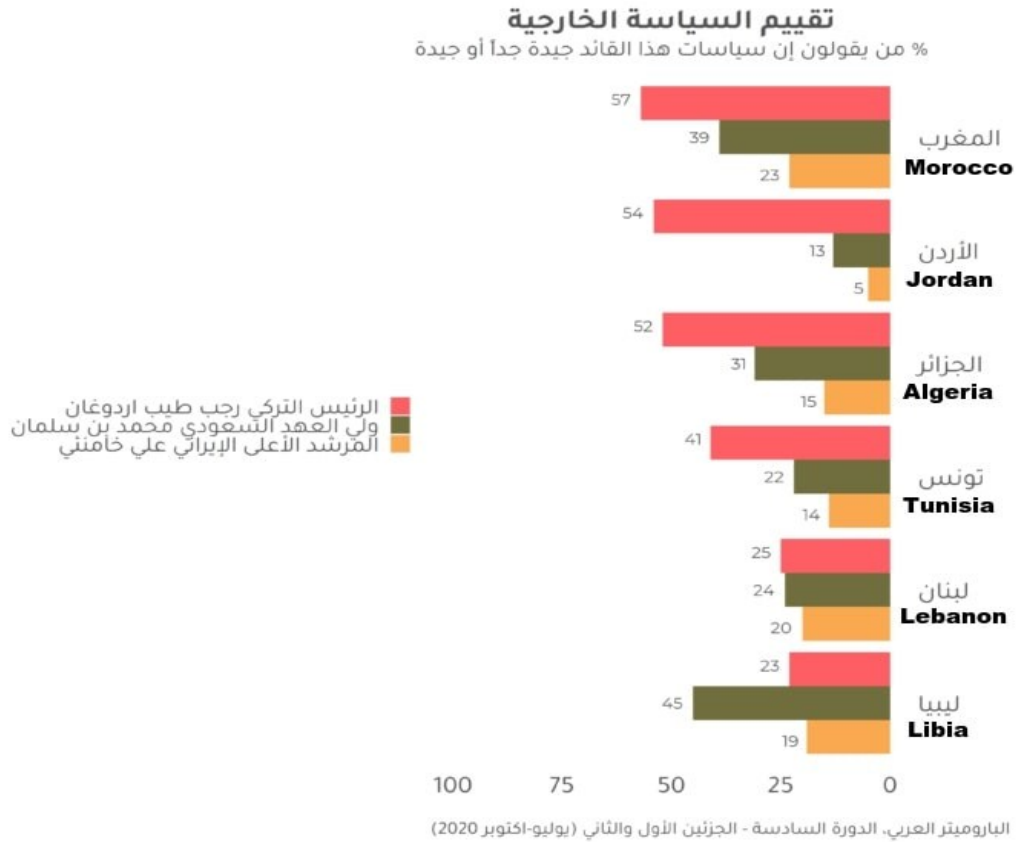
States are not the only ones vying for regional strategic dominance and popularity to increase their influence in Arab countries. Regional leaders, for their part, seek to represent and promote the foreign policies of the countries they lead and to

increase their public presence in the region. Some of them have a notable and multilingual presence on various social media platforms to manage and promote their public image, such as Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan, who has a prominent presence on the Twitter platform.

According to the data from the sixth edition of the Arab Barometer, the most popular regional leader in the countries participating in the survey remains Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan. When respondents were asked of their opinion of his foreign policy, a significant minority - about four in 10 (42 percent) - said it was either very good or good. This category includes majorities in Morocco (57 percent), Jordan (54 percent), Algeria (52 percent), and a large minority in Tunisia (41 percent). Only in Lebanon (25 percent) and Libya (23 percent) has the percentage dropped, where a quarter or fewer of respondents think Erdogan's foreign policy is very good or good.

Saudi Crown Prince (and de facto ruler) Mohammed bin Salman ranked second in popularity. Finally, Iranian Supreme Leader Ali Khamenei landed in last place on the popularity scale of regional leaders, despite his prominent presence on social media platforms.

An Assessment of the Foreign Policies of Three Presidents



Source: Arab Barometer

Red color: Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan
Green color: Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman
Orange color: Iranian President Ali Khamenei

Figure 3: An Assessment of the Foreign Policies of Three Presidents

There are several factors that can explain Erdogan's relatively high popularity in the countries studied compared to bin Salman and Khamenei. First, Erdogan enjoys electoral legitimacy that cannot be overlooked. Erdogan has consistently won elections that have generally been free and fair, and voter turnout is among the highest in the world. It goes without saying that neither bin Salman nor Khamenei have this electoral legitimacy. (Dr. Abdel Wahab Kayyali, 2021)

The second factor is the openness of Turkey led by Erdogan to the Arab world. In the late 2000s, the Turkish government under Erdogan lifted entry visas for most Middle Eastern and North African citizens, including Morocco, Tunisia, Jordan,

Lebanon, and Libya - These are the five countries included in the study of the Arab Barometer.

Despite the return of Turkish entry visas from war-torn countries such as Libya, Syria, and Yemen - making entry to Turkey was nearly impossible for citizens of these countries - Turkey, therefore, remains one of the few countries in the world open to Arab citizens.

The Erdogan government's continuous efforts to open up to the Arab world are manifested in the increasing trade, cultural, and tourism exchange between Turkey and the Arab countries. (Dr. Abdel Wahab Kayyali, 2021)

Finally, under Erdogan's leadership, Turkey has invested in cultural production to revive its cultural heritage, and as a result, it has attracted the interest and admiration of Arabs.

Moreover, given the worsening and ongoing leadership crisis in the Arab world, Arabs see Erdogan as a source of inspiration for dictatorial Arab leaders.

The Arab Barometer study for the year 2020 regarding the look of the ordinary Arab citizen to the countries that have carried out military intervention in the Middle East and North Africa.

With the decline of US influence across the Middle East and North Africa in recent years, several regional players have attempted to fill this gap, increasing their military presence in the region. Russia has re-emerged as an important military player in the region, while Turkey has strengthened not only its military presence but also its cultural and economic presence. Meanwhile, the rivalry between Saudi Arabia and Iran for regional influence continues. Amidst these competing powers, the Arab Barometer examined how the average citizen viewed these states in late 2020. Evidence shows that the strong military hand of regional powers usually has a strong impact on the perceptions of the population in the states affected by interventions and in their immediate neighborhood. (Dr. Michael Robbins, 2021)

Among these four powers, popular support for Turkey is highest in the Middle East and North Africa compared to the other countries. It was found that most citizens in four of the six countries studied have a positive attitude toward Turkey. Support is highest in Morocco (65 percent), Jordan and Algeria (56 percent in both countries), and Tunisia (52 percent).

However, support for Turkey is not uniform. In Lebanon, where opinions are tied to religious affiliation, 45 percent of Sunnis favor Turkey, compared with 35 percent of Christians and only 11 percent of Shiites. At the same time, residents of eastern Libya, whose areas are under the control of the Libyan National Army (LNA) forces, are rated as less favorable toward Turkey compared to residents of other parts of the country. This can be explained by Turkey's intervention against Libyan National Army troops. More specifically, 41 percent of Libyans in Tripoli have a favorable opinion of Turkey, compared to 17 percent who live in Benghazi. (Dr. Michael Robbins, 2021)

For Russia, which has also intervened militarily in Libya, it is less favorable than Turkey. In Algeria alone, at least half (52 percent) have a favorable opinion of Russia. Support for Russia is moderate in Tunisia (44 percent) and Morocco (43 percent), while nearly a third (36 percent) have a favorable opinion of Lebanon. Finally, support for Russia is relatively low in Libya (26 percent) and lowest in Jordan (15 percent). In Lebanon, Shiites (60 percent) favor Russia more than Sunnis (3%), while 48 percent of Christians and 37 percent of Druze have a favorable view of Russia. These significant differences are likely a result of Russia's military support for the Assad regime in Syria. In Libya, however, the differences in opinion about Russia do not follow the same degree of division by region. Those living in Tripoli (36 percent) favor Russia as much as those living in Benghazi (32 percent). These results indicate that Russia's military intervention in Libya has had a relatively bad effect on Russia's image in the eyes of those living in Libya's two main rival Libyan districts. It is likely that the low level of support for Russia in Jordan reflects the Jordanian public opinion towards the Russian military intervention in Syria. (Dr. Michael Robbins, 2021)

Overall, these findings paint a mixed picture of regional powers. Support for Turkey is highest across the region, but this support is generally lower in countries directly or indirectly affected by Turkish military interventions. As for Russia, those who live in Lebanon, Libya, and Jordan are less supportive of Russia's role in the region.

An article by David Gardner in the Financial Times titled "Erdogan as Arab people's choice reveals weakness of region's leaders" (April 27, 2021): The article reveals the weaknesses of the region's leaders and the writer ultimately acknowledges that Erdogan is the most popular leader in the Arab world. The author states that there may be a contradiction in this matter, as many believed that a Turkish president could not enjoy such a level of appreciation on the part of the Arabs.

The author adds that the institution that conducted the poll, Arab Barometer, constantly reveals that Erdogan has the highest percentage, and has polled more than 20,000 people to prove this. The author says that his main regional rivals, crown prince and de facto ruler of Saudi Arabia Mohammed bin Salman and Iran's supreme leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, trail way behind him.

The author argues that Arab citizens, disenfranchised by their autocratic rulers, have always shown weakness before populist heroes. He cites the example of Gamal Abdel Nasser, the legendary Egyptian leader who some say fascinated the Arab world with the dream of Arab nationalism in the period following his nationalization of the Suez Canal in 1956.

According to the author, "Pugnacious rows with the US and the EU, as well as the Turkish president's enmity with the autocratic rulers of Saudi Arabia, Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, and the Assad dictatorship in Syria, do little harm to a man who has legitimacy in many Arab eyes as the victor of more than a dozen elections."

In this context, the Journalist and Middle East analyst Fehim Taştekin says, "The Arab world still admires Erdogan and appreciates him because Arabs cannot find another Muslim leader to inspire their dreams of democracy and a better future. Most of them are still clinging to Erdogan, which I consider an expression of desperation."

In conclusion, going by all previous opinion polls, the most recent of which was the Arab Research Center poll in March 2021, the study gathered that Turkish President Erdogan is the most popular leader in the Arab world.

5.2.2.4 The Fourth Level: The Spread of Turkish Culture in the Arab World

Turkish culture has spread widely in recent years as Turkey has opened up to the Arab world culturally and in terms of knowledge. Thus, Turkish series and movies have spread through which the Arab audience learns about the Turkish people, their customs, and traditions. On the other hand, Turkey is an important regional power thanks to its strategic location between the continents of Asia and Europe. It also has important sea and land borders, which makes it a country rich in different cultures. This increases the importance of Turkish culture and increases the curiosity of Arabs to learn more about Turkish culture, especially the desire to learn the Turkish language.

Turkish television drama: Turkey has become the second-largest exporter of dramas globally, and these works have become the source of knowledge of Turkish culture, attracting the attention of hundreds of millions of viewers.

Turkish drama has thus triggered a cultural revolution, becoming an ambassador of Turkish culture and language, dispensing Turkish history and present, and attracting the attention of tourists and investors from all over the world.

Several factors have contributed to the marketing of the Turkish series, especially in the Arab world. On top of the list are the major dubbing companies that translate Turkish dramas in Arab countries into the popular and easy-to-understand Syrian dialect.

Dramas are effectively used as a means of so-called "cultural diplomacy." Turkey has cultural, historical, heritage, geographical, and natural elements on which Turkish series are based and which help to introduce Turkish culture, language, history, and present.

In this context, the term "soft power" best expresses the importance of Turkish drama in presenting Turkish cultural heritage and ultimately depicting the details of daily life in the lives of Turks.

The Turkish drama also entices viewers to learn more about Turkey, learn the Turkish language, and even take a tourist trip or participate in the cultural and educational activities and programs of the Yunus Emre Institute, which has cultural centers around the world.

According to Myriam Berg, a German researcher at Northwestern College's Department of Media, "The Turkish government has realized that Turkish cultural products are very effective platforms to introduce Turkey, its culture, and its people to Arab audiences."

The German researcher, who conducted a study with 100 Arab young men and women at the college's Qatar field office in 2018, spoke about her research in an interview with the Turkish newspaper Haber Turk, saying, "The importance of cultural elements to attract Arab audiences. Although Turkish drama bears the character of Western life, the details of the conservative Eastern dynasty go hand in hand with civilized progress."

The researcher gave examples of the appearance of Oriental Islamic elements in soap operas, such as mosques, the veil, and some conservative Eastern Islamic customs, which aroused the admiration of the respondents and made them want to know more about Turkey.

The researcher argues that the spread of Turkish dramas, especially in the Arab world, "helped change the preconceptions in the Arab world about Turkey" and this also gave Turkey a good reputation in different parts of the world and attracted the attention of tourists and investors from all sides.

The results of a 2020 survey conducted by the platform "Netflix" also showed that those who follow Turkish movies and series around the world are more willing to visit Turkey as tourists than people who have not followed these works of art.

The opinion poll, conducted in 8 countries with a population of more than two billion people, found that the role of Turkish movies and series shown on "Netflix" encourages their viewers to visit Turkey. Australians top the list of foreigners who decided to visit Turkey after watching their artworks on Netflix, followed by Americans, Saudis, and Indians.

In the past, Arabs knew little about Turkish culture, but with the development of technology and media in general, Arab citizens have learned much about Turkish culture. This has aroused the interest of many Arabs to learn a lot about this country, which has become a very popular tourist destination.

In conclusion, the Turkish series TV has played an important role in improving Turkey's image in the Arab world.

Turkish cultural centers: In September 2011, former President of the Republic of Turkey Abdullah Gul said, "If the great countries exist today, it is thanks to their diplomacy, but also and above all thanks to their cultural heritage, we must revive and spread our language."

In order to consolidate Turkey's position in the Middle East, the Turkish government sought to spread Turkish culture in general but focused primarily on teaching the Turkish language in order to find a common language that would link the Arab world with Turkey.

Thus, the Yunus Emre Institution was established in May 2007. It is a cultural and scientific institution whose aim is to bring Turkey's rich history, language, and culture closer to the world by teaching the Turkish language and promoting cultural exchange between Turkey and its neighboring countries.

In 2009, the Yunus Emre Institutes and Cultural Centers (Yunus Emre Enstitüsü) emerged, which, according to President Erdogan, will play the role of soft power in the region: These centers will provide great services to our country by making Turkey known in the world... Many countries in the world, especially the developed countries, have established these types of centers for a long time and use them to

introduce themselves better and spread their culture. These centers will be Turkey's window to the world [...] and will enable the spread of the Turkish language, culture, civilization, and art abroad.

The cultural centers of Yunus Emre cannot be separated from Turkey's foreign policy and its ambition to build a regional power. These centers, which are now located in Egypt, Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and other Arab countries, are working to spread the Turkish language and amass a huge following of Turkish language speakers, and also establish cooperation with these neighboring countries in the educational, cultural, social, technological, commercial and economic fields.

In the survey, the study was able to distinguish four categories of people learning Turkish at the Yunus Emre centers:

- (a) high school or college students who are learning Turkish to continue their studies in Turkey.
- (b) Traders who want to do business with Turkey.
- (c) Graduates who want to find a job in Turkey.
- (d) Housewives who have been influenced by Turkish soap operas.

In this way, soft power elements are reinforced, as watching Turkish television series motivates viewers to learn the Turkish language and apply for scholarships to study in Turkey. Turkey's economic dynamism is also an additional incentive to learn the language for those who want to enter the Turkish market.

There are two activities of the Yunus Emre Institute that contribute to building Turkey's regional power: the Summer School (Yaz Okulları) and the Charters of Turkish Studies.

It can be concluded that the establishment of the Yunus Emre Institute was not only for cultural purposes but that its activities and the initiatives it launched were aimed at promoting Turkey's regional rise and serving its geopolitical ambitions. This was confirmed by former President Abdullah Gul, who said that "these centers are the

invisible hand of Turkey", while the Minister of Culture emphasized that "these centers are the civilian pillar of Turkey's foreign policy."

Research and Translation: Interest in the Turkish issue has led to the publication of numerous studies and books on Turkey and the emergence of political and academic experts in the Arab world who specialize in the affairs of this country. Moreover, the renewed interest in Turkey was reflected in the translation of numerous books from Turkish into Arabic by Arab publishers.

5.2.2.5 The Fifth Level: The Interest of Arab Media in the Anadolu Agency

The study examines the Arab media's interest in Anadolu Agency based on the following mechanisms:

The study shows that the interest of the Arab media in the Anadolu Agency has increased despite the strong competition from the Arab departments of other global agencies. This is evidenced by the results of the study's earlier quantitative analysis, as the most widely read Arab Media in the Arab world use Anadolu Agency's Arabic department as their main news source. For example, Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper (the most widely read newspaper in the Arab world) takes entire news articles from Anadolu Agency, i.e. between 3 and 4 news items per day. Aljazeera Net also relies on Anadolu Agency as the main news source for editing its daily news articles.

The media industry largely relies on the perspective that quantity leads to quality. From a general perspective, high demand for a particular media outlet is an indication that that media outlet is credible in the eyes of the other media outlets that rely heavily on it, either as a news source or by citing news articles.

This is evident in this study, where the close connection between the quantitative and the qualitative is evident. On the quantitative level, we can say that the news or reports published by the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency are widely disseminated in the Arab world. Therefore, we can conclude that the Arab department of the Agency provides the Arab media with a media product of quality and credibility. If we assume that the Turkish news product is not of good quality and credibility for the

Arab media, the Arab media would not have relied on it as an important source for editing their daily news.

For example, we mentioned that although Iranian culture is intertwined with Arab culture and Iranian history is intertwined with Arab history, it is obvious that the Iranian Arabic-language media does command a large turnout from the Arab media nor Arab readers. There are two main reasons for this:

First, the Arab public's interest in Iranian affairs is low, and are not interested in following what is happening in Iran.

Second, the Iranian media in Arabic has not succeeded in finding its place in the Arab world. This is partly due to the sharp divisions that cloud Iran's image in the world, and partly due to the lack of quality and credible Iranian media products.

Thus, we can say that Iran is not using the Iranian Arabic-language media with the necessary seriousness and discipline to improve its image in the Arab world.

On the other hand, many media researchers believe that the popularity of journalistic work is always a goal that any media organization, be it a news agency, a TV channel, or a newspaper, should strive for. Therefore, the researcher can conclude that the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency is very popular because the Turkish media product is of high quality and credibility.

The interest of Arab readers in news from Turkey: The factor of political stability in Turkey during the 16-year rule of the Justice and Development Party, the Islamic background of its founders and former leadership, and the proximity of Turkey's geographical location and cultural heritage to the Arab world, as opposed to European countries whose customs and cultures are different from those of the Arabs, were the main factors that attract the interest of the Arab public in all news from Turkey.

The interest of Arab peoples in the Turkish language and culture, in general, has increased in recent years due to the economic renaissance that Turkey has achieved under the leadership of Turkish President Erdogan and the change in Ankara's foreign policy in dealing with the problems of the Arab world.

Moreover, after the Arab Spring, many Arab citizens, especially Syrians, Iraqis, and Yemenis, see Turkey as a place where they can settle permanently or study and invest.

The Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency presents the "Turkey Supplement" for the Arab world. This supplement contains topics that introduce Arab readers to Turkish culture and art, Turkish civilization, archeology, tourism, and social life in Turkey. Anadolu Agency provides this supplement free of charge to Arab newspapers in order to strengthen relations between Turkey and the Arab world, to bring the Arab and Turkish people closer together, and to introduce Turkey and its main historical, tourist, and natural attractions to Arab tourists.

In a related context, Arab public opinion gained a positive outlook on Turkey due to the spread of Turkish drama in the Arab region. Since 2010, Turkey has been playing a leading role in promoting Turkish culture in the Arab region. Thus, the TV Turkish series succeeded in presenting Turkish history, civilization, and architecture. The successes of a group of Turkish dramas have contributed significantly to the tourism, cultural and intellectual promotion of Turkey in the Arab world.

This leads the study to the important conclusion that the penetration of Turkish drama in the Arab world has facilitated the penetration of Turkish Arabic-language media in the Arab world, as evidenced by several studies and opinion polls. Turkey's effective strategy of opening up to the Arab world has thus contributed to the Arab public's awareness of Turkish latest issues culture and politics and can view the world through the Turkish perspective.

5.2.2.6 Interviews

Interview with Mohamed El Mouden, a Moroccan journalist and university professor at the University of Cadiz in Spain.

- ***Question:*** The establishment of the Anadolu Agency's Arabic department in 2012 coincided with the outbreak of a wave of protests and revolutions in several Arab countries. What is your viewpoint on this particular

occurrence? Is it a coincidence or a project to skew public opinion on a specific issue and control the Arab region through the media?

- **Answer:** The establishment of the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency coincided with Turkey's growing role in the Middle East and the strengthening of its presence in a vital and strategic region such as the Middle East and even the Maghreb, as is the case now. Consolidating this role requires the ability to build a public opinion that accepts Turkey and understands its role. Turkey's positioning during the Arab Spring with the forces of change has made it aware of the need to become a source of information that competes with the Arab countries of the Middle East, especially with her geopolitical adversaries. This also comes in light of the transformation in communication and information systems with the emergence of media channels and social networks.
- **Question:** Regarding the reasons for the establishment of the Arabic section of Anadolu Agency, there are two versions: First there are journalists who reckon that the launch of the Arabic department of the Agency was a natural development aimed at the expansion of the agency with purely media goals, and the introduction of a new language in the Agency, namely Arabic, to address the Arab world in its native language Arabic. Others believe that the establishment of Anadolu Agency's Arabic department was purely driven by political reasons, what are your thoughts on this?
- **Answer:** I think that the establishment of the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency reflects the importance of Arab public opinion for Turkey because she wants to strengthen her position and role on the Arab map after the Arab Spring. Its public knowledge that news agencies are capable of shaping public opinion. Hence, the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency aids in the justification of Turkey's geopolitical positions, influence on Arab readers, and interpretation of events whether they pertain to Turkey herself, her partners, or adversaries. It may also be among the tasks

of the Anadolu Agency's Arabic department to compete with other global news agencies to shape Arab public opinion.

- **Question:** There is a great deal of international competition for entry into the Arab media space. Has Anadolu Agency succeeded in finding a position for itself?
- **Answer:** Yes, the Arabic section of the Anadolu Agency has managed to establish itself as an important news source for the Arab public, as previously done by many foreign media outlets. Turkey has become a regional powerhouse and much of the Arab public is allied to it, whether because of its stance on the Arab Spring or its support for political forces such as political Islam, which is one of the largest political forces in Arab countries. In the same breath, it should also be noted that political Islam did not have public political participation in the Arab world due to the attitude of Arab governments, which hampered the strengthening of political Islam in the Arab world. Consequently, some Arab regimes have suppressed political Islam, its leaders and parties.

Moreover, the vision of the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency also coincided with Turkey's interest in becoming a superpower in the Arab world, both economically and politically, and in becoming geopolitical power in the Arab region. Turkey has been able to provide a news source that competes with the media angle for dealing with events in the Arab region, which is provided by international media in the Arab region, such as "France 24", "Deutsche Welle", "Russia Today", and others.

- **Question:** What has attributed to the success of the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency in the Arab world despite intense competition from the Arabic departments of global news agencies like "France Press", which has been operating since the early 1970s?
- **Answer:** The success of the Arabic Department of the Anadolu Agency, as i said earlier, is due to the model of an economically, politically, strategically, and militarily developed country that Turkey embodies in relation to the Arab public. The Anadolu Agency was closer to the

prevailing Arab public mood, especially regarding political Islam, the Arab Spring, and other issues, which brought the Agency into clear and strong conflict with some Arab countries that were perceived by the Arab public as the countries that supported the counter-revolution against the Arab Spring.

- **Question:** From a professional point of view, do you think the Anadolu Agency has an advantage that contributes to its success and spread?
- **Answer:** Certainly, relying on a stable and professional media structure, along with continuity, are inevitably the most important components for the success of any media outlet. And in the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency, all these components are aligned together.
- **Question:** News agencies, as stipulated, have national service, and, in the case of the Anadolu Agency, foreign language departments are established in Arabic, French, and English, and the agenda is also a political one, namely to defend the country's interests abroad and expand its influence. Do you think Anadolu Agency has been successful in this endeavor?
- **Answer:** The success of the Turkish Anadolu Agency's foreign services depends on how well its discourse matches the target audience of that discourse, because addressing French, English, or Spanish public opinion is not the same as addressing Arab public opinion. What is certain is that Anadolu Agency has established itself as a media source for Arab public opinion. And the fact that it has numerous departments in different languages has at least facilitated the dissemination of the Turkish vision in the world. These departments also eliminate the need for an intermediary (global news agencies) to convey Turkish discourse in the Arab world.

An interview with El Houssine Majdoubi, Journalist and academic researcher at the University of Malaga in Spain.

- **Question:** The establishment of the Anadolu Agency's Arabic department in 2012 coincided with the outbreak of a wave of protests and revolutions in several Arab countries. What is your viewpoint on this particular

occurrence? Is it a coincidence or a project to skew public opinion on a specific issue and control the Arab region through the media?

- **Answer:** Since 2000, the world has witnessed a new geopolitical map, marked by the emergence of global powers such as China or the reinstatement of Russia to the position it occupied before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, as well as the emergence of regional powers, such as Brazil, Turkey, and South Africa. A number of countries have taken the gamble of embracing communication with an international audience, especially given the development of communication tools offered by the Internet. Turkey wanted to strengthen its presence in the Mediterranean as a country with an important historical legacy (the Ottoman legacy). Thus, Ankara recognized the importance of communicating with Arab audiences through the press and launched a number of initiatives, including the Arabic division of Turkey's Anadolu Agency news agency.
- **Question:** Regarding the reasons for the establishment of the Arabic section of Anadolu Agency, there are two versions: First there are journalists who reckon that the launch of the Arabic department of the Agency was a natural development aimed at the expansion of the agency with purely media goals, and the introduction of a new language in the Agency, namely Arabic, to address the Arab world in its native language Arabic. Others believe that the establishment of Anadolu Agency's Arabic department was purely driven by political reasons, what are your thoughts on this?
- **Answer:** it is not possible to separate the two, and both narratives can be accepted. On the one hand, there is the desire to communicate with the other, especially for a large country like Turkey, which is seeking dominance in the international community, especially in the Mediterranean region, and on the other hand, different agencies seek to have departments in multiple languages, which is the case for many countries, and not just for medium-sized ones like Morocco and Algeria, but even small countries have a main department in the local language and one or two departments

in international languages like English and French. We live in a world where communication is key, and that's why news agencies play an important role.

- **Question:** There is a great deal of international competition for entry into the Arab media space. Has Anadolu Agency succeeded in finding a position for itself?
- **Answer:** The establishment of the Arab department of Anadolu Turkish Agency dates back to 2012, which means that it's a relatively young department established at a time when the industry is experiencing a strong presence of national or international agencies. Each Arab country has its own news agency, and some agencies have a strong presence, such as the Egyptian, Algerian, Emirati, and Moroccan news agencies. At the same time, we are witnessing the domination of the Arab divisions of the major international agencies: the Arab division of AFP dominates political news in the Arab world, especially in the Mediterranean region, while the Arab division of Reuters remains the quintessential source of economic information. Despite all this competition, Anadolu Agency's Arabic department has managed to find its place in the Arab media landscape. There were attempts by international agencies such as the Spanish agency Effie, which established an Arabic department in the mid-1990s, but this failed due to a lack of strategic vision.
- **Question:** What has attributed to the success of the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency in the Arab world despite intense competition from the Arabic departments of global news agencies like "France Press", which has been operating since the early 1970s?
- **Answer:** The success of any media is manifested by its circulation and then by its influence. In this regard, dozens of Arab media outlets have become dependent on Anadolu Agency for certain information. There are media outlets with an international reputation, such as Al-Jazeera, which relies on Anadolu to formulate its news and sometimes publishes entire articles, which is sometimes picked up by international newspapers the size of Al-

Quds Al-Arabi, published in London, as well as media outlets in Morocco, Tunisia, Qatar and Libya, and perhaps more. It should be noted that some countries, such as the United Arab Emirates, no longer trusts Anadolu Agency on issues such as on Libya because of the regional conflict between Turkey and the United Arab Emirates. One only needs to type “Anadolu Agency in Arabic” into search engines such as Google and Bing to determine the extent of the agency's reach in the Arab media arena.

- **Question:** From a professional point of view, do you think the Anadolu Agency has an advantage that contributes to its success and spread?
- **Answer:** Anadolu Agency is characterized by the fact that it relies not only on Turkish journalists in the countries where it has offices but also on many local journalists. The second characteristic is that the Arabic department does not rely only on publishing news articles, but on long reports that are considered analytical articles, as is the case with the major international newspapers, and this reminds me personally of the way the Arabic department of the United Press International worked in the past. Anadolu Agency's articles become like newspaper correspondents' articles. Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper—the most popular newspaper in the Arab world — used to publish articles on the Arab Maghreb region that belong to the Anadolu Agency.
- **Question:** News agencies, as stipulated, have national service, and, in the case of the Anadolu Agency, foreign language departments are established in Arabic, French, and English, and the agenda is also a political one, namely to defend the country's interests abroad and expand its influence. Do you think Anadolu Agency has been successful in this endeavor?
- **Answer:** The biggest attribute to the success of Anadolu Agency is that the news articles about Turkey are disseminated through Turkish media and with respect to a purely Turkish point of view, while in the past the opposite was true, as all news was disseminated through other agencies, such as France Presse and Reuters, where other criteria determine the formulation of news and especially the selection. Countries strive to present

a certain image of themselves to the international public, and in view of this, Anatolia has succeeded in this task, thanks to her broadcast through this agency, the Arab citizen now sees Turkey as it is presented by the Turks and not through the eyes of France and Britain. At the same time, Turkey's importance on the international stage is growing owing to its soaring influence in the Arab world, especially in North Africa, and the Anadolu Agency is maintaining this growth, not through any kind of propaganda, but by defending the country's interests, which is the role that all news agencies should play, including in the Arab world. Overall, the agency has fulfilled its role, as it has become a media showcase for the Arab world about Turkey and the rest of the world, especially the Mediterranean region.

6. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Conclusion and Evaluation

The aim of this study was first to determine the level and nature of Anadolu Agency's media presence in the Arab media and to find out how Anadolu Agency's Arabic department could become a reliable news source for the largest media outlets in the Arab world.

The starting point of the study was a series of observations that showed that the most widely read Arabic Newspapers in the Arab world rely on the Anadolu Agency as a news source and often quote entire news articles from this agency. Therefore, this study aimed to find out whether the Anadolu Agency's Arabic department successfully influences the Arab media or not.

Moreover, the study aimed to investigate the factors that contributed to the dissemination of the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency and its influence on the Arab public, as several Arab media outlets frequently relied on Anadolu Agency news. In addition, this study also sought to identify the common cultural, religious, and historical factors between Turkey and the Arab world and their role in promoting Anadolu Agency's active presence in the Arab region.

The study first sought to find out the reasons for the establishment of the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency. In this regard, the study showed that the establishment of this Arabic department coincided with Turkey's growing role in the Middle East and strengthening its presence in important and strategic regions such as the Middle East and the Arab Maghreb. Therefore, to consolidate this role, Turkey needs to build an Arab public opinion that accepts Turkey as a regional power and understands its role in the Arab region. Turkey's positioning during the Arab Spring with the forces of change has made it aware of the need to become a source of information that competes with the Arab countries of the Middle East, especially with their geopolitical adversaries. This also comes in light of the transformation in

communication and information systems with the emergence of media channels and social networks (Mouden, 2022).

The largest amount of news items produced by news agencies, whether regional or global, is produced during times of crises and wars. Therefore, the aim of this study is to examine the quantitative level of the Anadolu Agency's media presence in the Arab world during times of crises and political tensions. To this end, the study collected data on the amount of news produced by the Anadolu Agency during the Algerian crisis and the Sudanese crisis, which the researcher selected as samples for the study.

The research findings showed Anadolu Agency greatly increased the pace of news dissemination during the crises and political tensions in some Arab countries.

An examination of the archive of the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency in connection with the Algerian crisis and the Sudanese crisis revealed the following:

- Anadolu Agency's Arabic department published nearly 556 news articles during the Algerian crisis, which lasted 8 months (from February to September).
- Anadolu Agency's Arabic department published nearly 1522 news articles during the Sudanese crisis, which lasted 9 months (from December to August).

These findings demonstrate that indeed the Anadolu Agency provided important coverage of events and news during both the Sudanese and Algerian crises. And more so reflected the agency's commitment to penetrate the Arab world, and to be relied on by the Arab media as a news source, especially during times of conflicts and political crises.

Regarding the number of news items published by this agency during the Algerian and Sudanese crises, the study found the following:

First, Arab journalists constantly relied on foreign news agencies, which resulted in the Anadolu Agency providing a significant amount of news items and news updates during the two crises.

Second, Anadolu Agency produced the largest amount of news items during both crises, making it a significant news source for local and regional media. The Anadolu Agency continues to be an important news source for the Arab media, even if it provided few news items or breaking news to the Arab media outlets at the beginning of the outbreak of the two crises.

As for the three newspapers from the Arab Maghreb region that were selected for the study, namely the Moroccan newspaper “Akhbar al-Youm”, the Algerian newspaper “El-Djazair”, and the Tunisian newspaper “Al Shorouk”, the study results showed that these three newspapers quoted very few news items from the Anadolu Agency.

After conducting a search in the digital archives of the Arab Maghreb newspapers selected for this study, the study found that the quoted articles from Anadolu Agency by those newspapers included 3 to 4 news items per week and these quoted articles were published from time to time.

However, the news articles edited by the correspondents of the Arab Maghreb newspapers mostly relied on Anadolu Agency as a news source, especially for topics related to international issues, events, and crises in the Middle East and Turkish affairs. By analyzing the digital archives of these three newspapers from the Arab Maghreb, the study concluded that these newspapers consider Anadolu Agency a reliable news source because they rely heavily on Anadolu Agency as an important news source in producing their international news. This proves the first hypothesis of this study, which states that the Anadolu Agency has succeeded in becoming a reliable news source for the largest media outlets in the Arab world.

The study also examined the two most widely read and distributed newspapers in the Arab world, namely Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper and Rai Al-Youm digital newspaper. For Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper, the study found that the number of news

items quoted by this newspaper from the Anadolu Agency ranged from 10 to 28 news items per day. For digital newspaper Rai al-Youm, the study found that the number of news items quoted by this newspaper from the Anadolu Agency ranged from 10 to 28 news items per day.

The number of news items quoted by those two newspapers from the Anadolu Agency is considered very important, and if this indicates anything, it shows the strong presence of the Anadolu Agency in the daily news process of both newspapers. It also confirms that these two newspapers, which are known for their high levels of professionalism in the Arab world, consider the agency a reliable source of news. This strongly confirms the first hypothesis of this study, which states that the Anadolu Agency has succeeded in becoming a reliable news source for the largest media outlets in the Arab world.

The study also showed that the number of daily news quoted by "Al-Jazeera Net" from the Anadolu Agency is very low, ranging from one to three news per day. On the other hand, the study showed that the news articles of Al-Jazeera Net depend on Anadolu Agency as a news source in editing their daily articles, especially for news articles about Turkish and international affairs.

Comparing the number of news published by "Al-Jazeera Net" with the number of news published by Al-Quds Al-Arabi and Rai Al-Youm newspapers, the study showed that the two newspapers cannot be compared to "Al-Jazeera Net". The reason is that Al-Jazeera Net has a wide network of correspondents in different parts of the world to gather and report news, so the recourse to Anadolu Agency is weak in terms of the number of news quoted. And it is natural that the total number of quoted news for a global news organ like Al Jazeera is small compared to that of the two newspapers. In any case, even if the news website "Al Jazeera Net" relied on Anadolu Agency news only to a small extent, i.e., one or two news items per day, this must be lauded as a success for this agency and an explicit recognition on the part of "Al Jazeera Net" that Anadolu Agency is a reliable news source for "Al Jazeera Net" news.

In summary, the results of a quantitative analysis conducted on a group of Arab media outlets proved that Anadolu Agency has a significant presence in most of the popular Arab media outlets in the Arab world. This significant presence can be summarized on the following two levels:

First, is the reliance of top Arab media outlets on quoting complete articles from the Anadolu Agency, such as Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper and Rai Al-Youm newspaper.

Second, many other Arab media outlets rely on the Anadolu Agency as a primary or sometimes secondary source in editing their daily news articles.

The study proved that the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency which was established in 2012 came at a time when the media arena is experiencing an important presence of national or international agencies. Each Arab country has its own news agency, and some agencies have a strong presence, such as the Egyptian, Algerian, Emirati, and Moroccan news agencies. At the same time, we are witnessing the domination of the Arab divisions of the major international agencies: the Arab division of AFP dominates political news in the Arab world, especially in the Mediterranean region, while the Arab division of Reuters remains the quintessential source of economic information. Despite all this competition, Anadolu Agency's Arabic department has managed to find its place in the Arab media landscape. There were attempts by international agencies such as the Spanish agency Effie, which established an Arabic department in the mid-1990s, but this failed due to a lack of strategic vision (Houssine, 2022).

The success of any media outlet is reflected in its spread. In this regard, the study showed that the previously selected Arab media outlets relied heavily on Anadolu Agency as a news source or quoted full articles from Anadolu Agency. The results of the quantitative analysis also showed that the significant presence of the Anadolu Agency in the Arab media is a clear indication that the Arab media consider this Agency a reliable news source. In conclusion, the results of this quantitative analysis

also confirmed the second hypothesis, which states that the Arab department of the Anadolu Agency has achieved great success in profoundly influencing the Arab world.

On the other hand, for the qualitative analysis, the study relied on a number of mechanisms aimed at analyzing the extent of circulation of the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency in the Arab world, and the extent of its influence on the Arab public.

First of all, the choice of language in social and political contexts by the media when dealing with news is considered one of the most complex processes for news agencies, and from this, the study aimed to study and analyze some news topics that constitute the core of the news process of Anadolu Agency. In this context, the study concluded that the media discourse of the Anadolu Agency is very close to the reality of the Arab world, its aspirations, and issues, as it is characterized in some way by objectivity, credibility, and professionalism. Hence, the study showed that Anadolu Agency did not fall into dry propaganda like the other national news agencies of some Arab countries, which rely on a media discourse steeped in propaganda that lacks objectivity and credibility. Anadolu Agency has also been able to break the dominance of all international news agencies that present their news from a single point of view.

Moreover, after studying a group of analytical articles on the opinions of Arab researchers and academics on the Anadolu Agency, the study concluded that the Arab media lack's the input opinion leaders and professional journalists. As a result, the Arab media is no longer able to formulate a balanced discourse that advances the nation and defends its issues. Whilst, most Arab news agencies are used for narrow-minded, seditious, and hostile purposes toward others, these are factors that have also helped the spread of the Anadolu Agency in the Arab world.

The study also concluded that a group of Arab journalists and analysts discussed in their articles the idea that "The Arab world, yearning for freedom and democracy, looks to Turkey as a role model. Moreover, President Erdogan's popularity in the Arab world ensures that Arab audiences constantly follow news from Turkey with interest". This has also contributed to the spread of the Anadolu Agency's Arabic department in the Arab world. The professionalism of Anadolu Agency's Arabic

department and its avoidance of dry propaganda, as we find in the official Arabic news agencies, have made this Arabic department one of the most important Arabic-language Turkish media outlets, capable of winning Arab public opinion and improving Turkey's image in various fields.

In general, it can be said that the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency has succeeded in becoming an important media window for the Arabic media. Moreover, this Arabic department has spread widely in the Arab world, especially in the Mediterranean region.

The Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency has succeeded in improving Turkey's image in the Arab world and winning over the Arab public. Indeed, the Turkish Arabic-language media ultimately serves to defend Turkey's image and interests and disseminate its policies in the Arab world.

The study also attempted to analyze the general image of Turkey as well as the image of President Erdogan in the minds of Arab peoples, as they are influential factors in the spread of the Arabic section of the Anadolu Agency. Thus, the study operated on analyzing previous Arab studies and opinion polls about Turkey's cultural, political, social, and economic image and the image of the current President Erdogan in the Arab world.

Here, the previous studies concluded Turkey's economic development between 2002 and 2010 is an important variable in its popularity in the Arab world. While the views and analysis of Arab political elites have also praised that Turkey's economic development has improved Arab perceptions of Turkey. During the foregoing period, a collection of academic studies by Arab researchers have proven that the developmental achievements made by the former Justice and Development government prompted the Arab public to look at the economic and social experience of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey with a kind of positivity and admiration, considering that most Arab countries, especially the Maghreb countries, lack this kind of development experiences in their economies.

Moreover, due to external pressures, Turkey faces a number of economic challenges in the post 2018 period, including high-interest rates, the devaluation of the national currency TL, and high inflation rates. In this context, the previous studies proved that despite the number of political and economic challenges facing Turkey that have negatively impacted its regional image, there are still some other variables that control the growth of a positive image of Turkey, the most prominent of which are: "The Islamic orientation of the government" "Erdogan's influence," "The influence of TV Turkish series" and "The developmental track record of the Justice and Development Party". According to a number of previous studies, these four variables have had an effective impact on Arab public opinion. These changes also catalyzed Arab public opinion to increase admiration for modern Turkey, sympathize with the current ruling party, and cultivate a positive image of Turkey.

The study monitored the results of a previous survey conducted by the Institute for quantitative research on the Middle East "Arab Barometer" (March, 2021). The results of the survey showed that Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan is "the most popular regional leader" in the Arab world, ahead of Saudi Crown Prince Mohammed bin Salman and Supreme Leader of the Iranian Revolution Ali Khamenei.

The study proved that the Arab public sympathizes with the Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdogan primarily for religious reasons. He is a Muslim president in a secular country with a majority of the Muslim population. Moreover, the Arab public holds a positive view of Erdogan, believing that he is a man who stands against Israel and the West and who has achieved prosperity for his country. The study also demonstrated the factor that Arab researchers and journalists refer to as "Erdogan's influence on Arab public opinion" is among the most important factors that have contributed to creating a positive image of Turkey among Arabs as far as they are concerned.

In addition, the Arab Barometer Research Center conducted a survey in 2021, asking some people in the region (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Lebanon, and Jordan) about their satisfaction with the regional powers. These regional powers are represented by Turkey, Saudi Arabia, and Iran.

The results of the survey showed that of the five countries that participated in the survey, four countries have a positive image of Turkey, namely Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, and Jordan. Satisfaction with Turkey was highest in Morocco (65 %), followed by Jordan and Algeria (56 % each) and Tunisia (52 %). In Lebanon, the percentage of satisfaction with Turkey was low compared to the other Arab countries at 30 %.

The study concluded that the increasing commercial, cultural, and tourist openness between Turkey and Arab countries, as well as Arab sympathy for the current government, which has an Islamic orientation, are among the most important reasons propelling the percentage of satisfaction with Turkey as the highest for the four previously mentioned countries.

Based on the analysis of some other previous Arab studies, The study proved that the Turkish positions on many Arab issues and affairs are fueling Arab public opinion in a state of overflowing popular enthusiasm for Turkey which sometimes raises the concern of the Arab regimes themselves. It is worth mentioning here that some of the previous positions in Turkish foreign policy are still firmly rooted in the Arab's minds, through which it enabled the Justice and Development Party to win Arab opinion, most notably, Erdogan's withdrawal from the Davos conference, the “Mavi Marmara” incident, Turkey's refusal to get involved in the war on Iraq, and lately the Balanced position of Turkey in the Ukraine crisis.

Many studies in the Arab world revealed that the Turkish TV series has also played an important role in improving the image of Turkey in the Arab world.

For instance, a study titled "Turkish drama serials as a tool for Soft Power" conducted by German researcher Miriam Berg at Northwestern University in Qatar found that the spread of Turkish dramas, especially in the Arab world, helped change the preconceptions in the Arab world about Turkey and also gave Turkey a good reputation in different parts of the world and attracted the attention of tourists and investors from all around the globe.

The results of a 2020 survey conducted by the platform "Netflix" also showed that those who follow Turkish movies and series around the world are more willing to visit Turkey as tourists than people who have not followed these works of art.

In this study, the results of the quantitative analysis proved significant interest for the news of the Anadolu Agency. From this, the study concluded that what aroused Arabs' constant interest in following Turkish news was their great interest in watching Turkish series and movies. From this, the study concluded that the Arabs' interest in following up on works in Turkish series and films is a factor among many that contributed to the rapid spread of the Anadolu Agency in the Arab world.

The study also noted the interest of the Arab media in the Anadolu agency, despite the strong competition among Arab departments for global agencies.

Based on the results of the study's earlier quantitative analysis; the author concluded that the most widely read Arab Media in the Arab world rely on the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency as their main news source. For example, Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper (the most widely read newspaper in the Arab world) quotes entire news articles from Anadolu Agency, between 3 and 4 news items per day. Aljazeera Net also relies on Anadolu Agency as its main news source for editing its daily news articles.

The media largely relies on the perspective that quantity leads to quality. From a general perspective, high demand for a particular media outlet is an indication that that media outlet is credible in the eyes of the media outlets that rely heavily on it, either as a news source or by quoting full articles.

The study showed that at the level of qualitative analysis there is a close relationship between the quantitative and the qualitative. At the quantitative level, the study showed that the news or reports published by the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency are widely spread in the Arab world.

Therefore, the hypothesis "Turkish news product is not a reliable and credible news source for Arab media" is not true. In fact, the study results showed that most

Arab media mainly rely on Anadolu Agency as an important news source to produce their daily news, which ultimately confirms that Arab media considers Anadolu Agency a reliable news source. Assuming that Anadolu Agency news is not a reliable source for Arab media, Arab media would not rely heavily on it as an important source to produce their daily news.

Five mechanisms were used in the qualitative analysis to study the level of Anadolu Agency's presence in the Arab world: Anadolu Agency's communication ethics, The capacity of the Arabic-speaking Turkish media to find a place for itself in the Arab world, the general image of Turkey (including the image of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan) in the minds of the Arab populace, the spread of Turkish culture in the Arab world, and finally the interest of the Arab media in Anadolu Agency. In relation to these five mechanisms, the study also showed that the religious, cultural, and historical ties between Turkey and the Arab world compelled the Arab public to be interested in the news from Turkey and therefore follow the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency to learn all the information and news about Turkey, and this was also confirmed by the previous results of the quantitative analysis. Therefore, the author can conclude that the results of the qualitative analysis have confirmed the fourth hypothesis of the study, which is that the common cultural, religious, and historical factors between Turkey and the Arab world have greatly facilitated the active presence of the Anadolu Agency in the Arab region.

The interviews that the researcher has done with some Arab researchers and journalists confirmed that the Anadolu Agency has an important media presence in the Arab media and that it indeed succeeded in penetrating the Arab media outlets despite the fierce competition of Arab departments of international agencies such as France Press. In these interviews, the most important question that the researcher asked the Interviewed journalists was: has Anadolu Agency succeeded in finding a place for itself in the Arab world? If the answer is yes, are there specific features of the Anadolu Agency that contributed to its success and spread in the Arab world?

In this context, interviewed journalists agreed that the Anadolu Agency, despite all this competition, succeeded in finding a place for itself in the Arab media space. For

example, the Moroccan researcher and journalist Mohamed El Mouden confirmed that "the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency has managed to establish itself as an important news source for the Arab public, as previously done by many foreign media outlets. Turkey has become a regional powerhouse and much of the Arab public is allied to it, whether because of its stance on the Arab Spring or its support for political forces such as political Islam, which is one of the largest political forces in Arab countries. In the same breath, it should also be noted that political Islam did not have public political participation in the Arab world due to the attitude of Arab governments, which hampered the strengthening of political Islam in the Arab world. Consequently, some Arab regimes have suppressed political Islam, its leaders, and parties. In addition, the vision of the Arabic department married with Turkey's interests to transform into a superpower in the eyes of the Arab public, both economically and politically, and to also attain geopolitical muscle in the Arab region. Turkey has been able to provide a news source that competes with the media angle for dealing with events in the Arab region, which is provided by international media in the Arab region, such as "France 24", and "Deutsche Welle", "Russia Today", and others". According to the interviews conducted previously, it can be said that the hypothesis that the Arab department of Anadolu Agency competes with the Arab departments of other foreign agencies in the Arab world is true and has been proven by Arab academic researchers and journalists.

In a related context, from a professional point of view, the interviewed journalists confirmed that there are two factors that contributed to the success and the spread of the Anadolu agency in the Arab world, which are the following:

The first factor is that the Anadolu Agency's media presence is strengthened on the basis that it relies not only on Turkish journalists in the Arab countries where it has offices but also on many local journalists.

The second factor is that the Arabic department does not rely only on publishing news articles, but on long reports that are considered analytical articles, as is the case with the major international newspapers. In this context, the journalist El Houssine Majdoubi said: "The way Anadolu Agency work personally reminds me of the way the Arabic department of the American United Press International worked in the

past". Anadolu Agency's articles became like newspaper correspondents' articles. Al-Quds Al-Arabi newspaper—the most popular newspaper in the Arab world — used to publish articles on the Arab Maghreb region that belong to the Anadolu Agency.

In summary, it is well known that the success of a media outlet is reflected in its circulation and influence on public opinion. In this regard, the study showed that the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency was able to spread in the Arabic media landscape, which was confirmed by the results of the quantitative analysis. These results confirmed that well-known Arab media outlets rely on Anadolu Agency as their main news source and that some other Arab media outlets quote Anadolu Agency articles in full. This confirms the significant presence of Anadolu Agency in the Arab media.

As for the qualitative analysis, the study found that Anadolu Agency is able to influence public opinion in the Arab world. Thanks to the spread of this agency in the Arab media, Arab citizens have become eager to see Turkey as it is portrayed by the Turks and not through the eyes of the French and British. In this context, a number of Arab studies, particularly those conducted by the Arab Barometer research network, have shown that the Arab world, which yearns for freedom and democracy, sees Turkey as a role model. Moreover, President Erdogan's popularity in the Arab world and the spread of Turkish drama ensure that Arab audiences constantly follow news from Turkey with interest. This has contributed to the spread of the Arabic department of Anadolu Agency in the Arab world.

In conclusion, the quantitative and qualitative research, as well as the interviews with researchers and Arab journalists, showed that Anadolu Agency has a significant presence in the Arab world and that the Arab department of this agency has achieved significant success in establishing its place among the Arab and foreign media in the Arab world. All the mechanisms and data used for this study also showed that the previous hypotheses of this study were confirmed quantitatively and qualitatively.

6.2 Recommendations of the Study

- One of the most important recommendations the researcher drew from this study is that Arab news agencies, especially news agencies in the Arab Maghreb, need to improve their agencies until they are able to rely on themselves as a news source to edit their daily news.
- Turkey has also realized the importance of communicating with the Arab public and has established the Arabic department of the Anadolu Agency. Arab countries must take the same step and establish a Turkish department in these agencies to address the Turkish public. The study has shown that this kind of initiative is effective in defining the countries' policies and presenting their positions on many issues, thus improving the image of the state in the eyes of the target audiences.

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