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DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS AND PUBLICITY

THE REFLECTIONS OF PRIVIALIZATION POLICIES IN TURKISH
NEWSPAPERS : THE CASE OF TÜRK TELEKOM

Master Thesis

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Istanbul - 2023

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ABSTRACT

Basically, this study, which deals with the ideological construction process carried out to create a common sense against privatization policies by using media tools, consists of four parts. In this context, in the first part, the emergence of capitalism, which forms the basis of neoliberal ideology, which is the intellectual infrastructure of privatization policies, and its transformation in the historical process are mentioned.

The second part of the study is organized under two main headings. Under the first heading, the emergence of the concept of ideology and the perspectives of scientists with different worldviews on the concept are discussed. Under the second heading, the media phenomenon is examined and the position of the media as a means of producing social consent within the capitalist hegemony is mentioned by discussing the intellectual differences regarding the media.

In the third section, where the concept of privatization is discussed in detail, firstly, what the concept of privatization means, how it emerged, what its objectives are and the privatization methods used are examined. In this chapter, the development process of neoliberalism in the world and in Turkey, which forms the basis of the concept of privatization, is discussed in detail, and the relationship between privatization policies and neoliberal ideology is discussed and the privatization process of Türk Telekom is examined in detail.

In the fourth and final chapter, which also constitutes the practical dimension of the study, the industrialization process of media organizations in the world and in Turkey is first mentioned. Then, in the last part, where the relationship between media and reality is examined, the effective role of the media in producing social consent for privatization is revealed through the analysis of the news in the print media.

Keywords: Privatization, Türk Telekom, Media, Generating Social Consent, Ideological Construction

ÖZET

Temel olarak, medya araçları kullanılarak özelleştirme politikalarına karşı ortak bir duyu yaratmak için yürütülen ideolojik inşa sürecini ele alan bu çalışma dört bölümden oluşmaktadır. Bu bağlamda birinci bölümde, özelleştirme politikalarının fikri altyapısı konumundaki neoliberal ideolojinin temelini oluşturan kapitalizmin ortaya çıkışı ve tarihsel süreç içerisindeki dönüşümünden bahsedilmiştir.

Çalışmanın ikinci bölümü iki ana başlık altında toplanmıştır. İlk başlık altında ideoloji kavramının ortaya çıkışı ve farklı dünya görüşüne sahip bilim insanlarının kavrama yönelik bakış açıları ele alınmıştır. İkinci başlık altında ise medya olgusu incelenmiş ve medyaya ilişkin düşünsel farklılıklar ele alınarak medyanın kapitalist hegemonya içindeki toplumsal rıza üretme aracı olma konumundan bahsedilmiştir.

Özelleştirme kavramının detaylı bir şekilde ele alındığı üçüncü bölümde, ilk olarak özelleştirme kavramının ne anlama geldiği, nasıl ortaya çıktığı, amaçlarının neler olduğu ve kullanılan özelleştirme yöntemleri incelenmiştir. Özelleştirme kavramının temelini oluşturan neoliberalizmin dünya ve Türkiye’deki gelişim sürecinin de ayrıntılı bir şekilde ele alındığı bu bölümde esas olarak özelleştirme politikaları ve neoliberal ideoloji arasındaki ilişki ele alınmış ve Türk Telekom’un özelleştirilmesi süreci detaylı bir şekilde incelenmiştir.

Çalışmanın uygulama boyutunu da oluşturan dördüncü ve son bölümde ise; ilk olarak dünyadaki ve Türkiye’deki medya kuruluşlarının endüstrileşme sürecinden bahsedilmiştir. Daha sonra, temel olarak medya ve gerçeklik arasındaki ilişkinin incelendiği son bölümde medyanın özelleştirme anlayışına yönelik toplumsal rıza üretmedeki etkin rolü yazılı basında yer alan haberlerin incelenmesi vasıtasıyla ortaya konmuştur.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Özelleştirme, Türk Telekom, Medya, Toplumsal Rıza Üretme, İdeolojik İnşa

PREFACE

Privatization, which roughly means the transfer of state-owned assets to the private sector, has been an indispensable part of world political and economic life since the emergence of neoliberalism in the mid-1970s. Privatizations have been seen as the most useful instruments for "minimizing the effectiveness of the state in the economic sphere", one of the most important principles of neoliberal ideology. However, there have been political and social reactions in many countries to these privatization practices, in which institutions that are the product of the state's gains over many years are sold to large capital groups. In fact, in some countries, many privatization practices were postponed or canceled due to the reactions.

Therefore, in order for privatization practices to be carried out, it has become an important element to generate social consent for these practices. The most appropriate tool to be used at this point is the media. Thanks to its information power, the media is able to manipulate and persuade the masses in the way it wants. As a matter of fact, a similar process was carried out to build social consent for privatization practices and a positive perception of privatization practices was created in the society through the news in the media. The news in the media during the privatization process of Türk Telekom, one of the largest privatization practices in Turkey, is one of the most typical examples of this situation.

Bekir Çakmak

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my esteemed advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Kaan Taşbaşı for his valuable knowledge and experience in the completion of this study, and my esteemed wife Halide Çakmak and my daughter Birce Nur Çakmak, who faced all the difficulties with me during the study and supported me at every stage of my life.



Bekir Çakmak

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA : Anadolu Agency

AKP : Justice and Development Party

ANAP : Motherland Party

ANKA : Anka News Agency

BRSA : Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency

CA : Competition Authority

CC: Constitutional Court

CMB : Capital Markets Board

CHP : Republican People's Party

DHA :Doğan News Agency

DP : Democrat Party

DPC : Dogan Print Center

DSP : Democratic Left Party

DYP : True Path Party

EU : European Union

GP : Young Party

GNAT : Grand National Assembly of Turkey

HP : Populist Party

IHA : Ihlas News Agency

IMF : International Monetary Fund/International Monetary Fund

INETD : Internet Technologies Association

ISA : Ideological State Apparatus

MESS : Metal Industrialists Union

MHP : Nationalist Movement Party

OYAK : Army Assistance Organization

PA : Privatization Administration

PTT : Post and Telegraph Organization

RSA : Repressive State Apparatus

RTSC : Radio and Television Supreme Council

SAB : Supreme Audit Board

SEE : State Economic Enterprise

SDIF : Savings Deposit Insurance Fund

SP : Felicity Party

SPT : State Planning Organization

TA : Telecommunication Authority

TCC : Turkish Civil Code

TEC : Turkish Electricity Corporation

TELKODER : Telecommunication Operators Association

TIA : All Internet Association

TLA : Turkish Language Association

TT : Turk Telekom

USA: United States of America

YASED : Foreign Investment Association

WB : World Bank

INTRODUCTION

Following the 1973 Arab-Israeli War, a major oil crisis erupted in the world. In this period, the production power in developed countries, which had shaped their industrial structure according to cheap oil, came to a standstill and thus the capitalist system faced a major crisis. As a matter of fact, as a result of the strategies produced to exit this crisis, Keynesian economic policies, which argued that the state should be effective in the economic sphere, were gradually abandoned and replaced by neoliberal economic policies. With the coming to power of M. Thatcher in the UK and R. Reagan in the US, this process accelerated and neoliberalism soon became the dominant political and economic system in the world.

This wind of transformation, which meant the restructuring of the capitalist system in line with neoliberal principles, soon took Turkey under its influence. As a matter of fact, with the economic decisions taken on January 24, 1980, Turkey abandoned protectionist economic policies and adopted a new economic model dominated by the rules of free market economy. Thanks to these decisions, which consisted of articles prepared within the framework of neoliberal principles such as liberalization of imports, leaving foreign exchange and other price formations to market forces, state-centered economic policies were abandoned and a market-centered model was adopted. (Atağenç, 2017, p. 80) However, as a result of these decisions taken with the aim of minimizing state intervention in the economy and integrating Turkey into the global market in line with the rules of free market economy, the economic system was dominated by large capital groups. This economic system, which completely eliminated the effectiveness of the state in the economic sphere, led to the unilateral, unlimited and uncontrolled opening of the market in the country to global capital groups. (Öztürk, Nas, & İçöz, 2008, p. 16) In other words, as a result of the January 24th Decisions, Turkey has been integrated into the neoliberalization process in the world in the worst way. (Timur, 2004, p. 75)

As Turkey entered the neoliberalization process, privatization practices have become one of the most important actors of political and economic life in the country. As a matter of fact, privatization practices have become an indispensable part of Turkey's political and economic life, especially with the economic policies

implemented during the Özal era. Indeed, one of the most dominant principles of neoliberalism, which is the elimination of the state's efficiency in the economic sphere and the opening of the market in the country to foreign capital groups, was tried to be implemented through privatization practices. In fact, privatization practices have been the most important agenda item in the economic policies of all governments that have come to power in Turkey since the Özal era. In this context, a major wave of privatization was launched in sectors of strategic importance such as mining, energy and communications. (Akbaş, 2019, p. 22)

In addition to these, the media has been the area in which this process of change and transformation in Turkey since 1980 has been felt the most. Especially in the 1990s, when the media left the dominance of the state and became a conglomerate, the media understanding in Turkey changed completely and a boss-centered media order was established. Of course, this situation has led to a change in the content and quality of the news in media outlets. In fact, since the early 1990s, the media sector in Turkey has become the biggest advocate and supporter of neoliberal economic policies and privatization practices, the most important argument of these policies. In fact, when the privatization practices carried out or planned to be carried out in Turkey in the 1990s are examined, it is seen that some companies operating in the media sector have been the buyers in these privatization practices. This, of course, led the media to become a direct party to the privatization practices in Turkey and to openly support these privatizations.

On the other hand, one of the most controversial privatization practices, which is the most important instrument of the neoliberalization process that started in Turkey after 1980, is undoubtedly the privatization of Türk Telekom (TT). The sale of Türk Telekom, one of Turkey's most strategic enterprises and one of the most profitable state-owned enterprises (SEE), to a foreign-owned corporation led to a number of political and social reactions. However, Türk Telekom was privatized and sold to the Saudi-based Oger Telecom Group as part of the strict privatization policies implemented during the Justice and Development Party (AKP) period, when neoliberalism was on the rise again in Turkey (Kalaycı, 2018, p. 5).

As can be seen from the above, despite some reactions to the privatization of Türk Telekom, the privatization process was not halted; on the contrary, the process continued unabated. The main reason for such a situation is the attitude of the media towards the privatization process. This is because almost all of the media organs broadcasting during the privatization of Türk Telekom supported this privatization either directly or indirectly and succeeded in producing social consent for this privatization through their broadcasts. In fact, thanks to the publications of media outlets, a very positive understanding of the privatization of Türk Telekom prevailed in the society. As a result of this situation, which is a typical example of the process of generating consent through the media, no major social reactions were encountered against this privatization practice despite its many strategic and economic drawbacks.

Theoretical Framework

As is known, one of the most important problems of those in power has been social legitimacy since the emergence of the phenomenon of power. So much so that even before the emergence of modern states, those in power needed social legitimacy in order to protect and maintain their power. As a matter of fact, the powers before the modern state based their legitimacy on some irrational religious, traditional and mythological grounds (Çetin H. , 2003, p. 73). (Çetin H. , 2003, p. 73) Because it is almost impossible for the power holders who do not seek a certain source of legitimacy for their power, who do not base the regulatory and implementing power of the power on any law or principle, to maintain their existence. Moreover, unless those in power create a certain social consent for their actions and discourses, they represent a necessity and tyranny. For this reason, the most important problem of all governments throughout the history of political thought has been the search for individual approval and social consent. (Çetin H. , 2003, p. 62)

As a matter of fact, with the emergence of modern states, there have been great changes in the practices of power holders in governing the people. In the pre-modern period, the powers that based their source of legitimacy on religious and mythological grounds were replaced by powers that derived their legitimacy from society. Thus, it has become imperative for the people or institutions that hold the power to obtain the consent of the majority of the society in order to establish and

maintain their power. (Öztekin & Öztekin, 2020, p. 2929) In this context, Lippmann stated that the easiest way for governments to control the changing political, social and economic structure with the emergence of modern states is the "production of social consent". So much so that, according to Lippmann, in modern states, the "professional" manipulation of the minds of the masses at the point of gaining the approval of the people and establishing domination without relying on force and oppression, that is, the production of social consent, is the most important issue in terms of the continuity of the powers. (Lippmann, 1998, cited in Öztekin & Öztekin, 2020, p. 2931)

In this context, the most effective tool for influencing and directing public opinion in line with the ideologies of the ruling classes has been the media organs. While the production of social consent through media organs was initially carried out directly and visibly, today, with the emergence of new communication techniques, this situation has gained a more implicit but much more effective appearance. As a matter of fact, all forms of power today utilize all media organs, traditional or new, to manipulate and persuade the masses and ultimately to produce consent. Moreover, Herman and Chomsky see today's mass media as a space where the interests of the ruling classes are represented and social consent is produced in line with these interests. (Öztekin & Öztekin, 2020, p. 2934) According to Chomsky, the ruling classes in modern societies find the opportunity to easily convey their messages to the society by using mass media. However, these owners of wealth and power decide what will be reported in the media, what will be highlighted and what will be ignored through certain methods. Therefore, this situation shows that today's media has gone beyond its purpose of informing and educating the public and its main purpose is to instill in the public the political, social and economic agendas of the privileged groups that dominate society and the state. (Herman & Chomsky, 1999; Chomsky, 2010, p. 36)

In this study, the coverage of privatization practices, which are the most important tool of neoliberal economic policies, in the Turkish print media will be examined within the framework of the political economy approach within the framework of critical media theories.

Hypothesis of the Study

The post-1980 economic, political and social developments in the world have also greatly affected Turkey. In particular, the military junta that took over the country as a result of the coup d'état on September 12, 1980 completely changed the economic structure in Turkey and tried to integrate the country into the global system within the scope of neoliberal economic policies. This, of course, led to a complete change in Turkey's political, economic and social structure that had been in place for years. The sector where this change has been felt the most has been the media sector.

As a matter of fact, in parallel with the economic and political developments after 1980, the media sector in Turkey started to industrialize and conglomerate at a great pace. This, of course, led to the media sector in Turkey coming under the control of the ruling classes and capital owners. In fact, after this period, media organs in Turkey became the direct or indirect "spokespersons" of the companies/individuals they are affiliated with. This is because media outlets that came under the control of capital owners operating in different fields started to broadcast in line with the economic, political and social interests of these capital owners. The area where this situation is most clearly seen has undoubtedly been privatization. As a matter of fact, when the privatizations in Turkey after 1980 are examined, it is seen that companies operating in the media sector were effective in the vast majority of these privatizations. This has led the media sector to become the biggest advocate and supporter of privatization policies in Turkey. Therefore, based on the above-mentioned reasons, the hypothesis of the study is formulated as follows.

- 1) Despite having different political views and capital structures, newspapers operating in Turkey have reported similar news about the privatization of Türk Telekom and supported this privatization practice.

Purpose and Importance of the Study

The importance of privatization practices in the development and spread of neoliberal economic policies is well known. The waves of privatization that started in countries that adopted neoliberalism are clear evidence of this situation. As a matter

of fact, a similar process took place in Turkey, which adopted the neoliberal economic model with the adoption of the January 24th Decisions, and since then privatization practices have become an indispensable part of the economic policies implemented in Turkey. Of course, this situation has brought along the need for public acceptance and support of privatization practices. In this context, the media has been seen as an important tool and the production of social consent for privatization practices has begun with the news in the media. In fact, privatization practices were presented as the most important tool of economic development and progress in the news in the relevant media organs. In this context, this study aims to reveal this effective role of the media in the production of social consent for privatization practices by examining the news on the privatization of Türk Telekom.

In addition, based on the example of the privatization of Türk Telekom, this study, in which the process of generating social consent through the media is discussed in all its dimensions, will provide significant theoretical and practical benefits in terms of illuminating the relationship between the media and privatizations. On the other hand, this study aims to question the "positive" perception created by the media towards privatization practices. This is because this positive atmosphere created through the media organs towards privatization practices in Turkey prevents the Turkish public from seeing the real nature of privatization policies and directs the public opinion in line with the interests of capital owners. Therefore, this study is very important for the public to understand the ideological background of privatization practices and the attitude of the media organs in Turkey towards privatization policies in detail.

Methodology of the Study

As can be understood from the above-mentioned points, the theoretical basis of this study is based on critical news research. In this context, many news items were analyzed in this study and these news items were analyzed within the scope of framing theory. In these analyses, the elements of analysis proposed by J.W. Tankard were used. As a matter of fact, Tankard mentions 11 analysis elements for analyzing the frames that are effective in the production stage of news texts. Accordingly, in order to analyze the frame used in the production of a news story, news elements such

as titles, subtitles, photographs, introductory and concluding paragraphs, logos, graphics and statistics should be analyzed in detail. From this point of view, the 11 elements of analysis proposed by J.W. Tankard were used to analyze the news items analyzed in this study.

Moreover, the news items analyzed by using Tankard's analysis elements were determined by using the "purposive sampling technique". Accordingly, a total of 308 news items about the privatization of Türk Telekom in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers published between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 were analyzed. Then, out of these 308 news items, 19 news items, which were considered to be representative of the research population and typical examples of this population, were analyzed by using purposive sampling technique.

In this context, in this study, the news items about the privatization of Türk Telekom, which were identified using the purposive sampling technique, will be analyzed using the "framing analysis method" and the effects of these news items on the process of producing social consent regarding privatization practices will be explained.

Scope and Limitations

In this study, privatization news in the issues of Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers published between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 were analyzed. In the said period, these newspapers covered the privatization of Türk Telekom the most. Accordingly, a total of 562 privatization news items, 308 of which were related to Türk Telekom, were encountered in these newspapers during the said period. Moreover, Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak were among the newspapers with the highest circulation during the privatization of Türk Telekom. In addition, when the news published on this privatization practice were examined, it was seen that the news in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak were the most appropriate news for the hypothesis put forward in the thesis.

Moreover, as mentioned above, the news items analyzed in this thesis were limited to the period between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005. This is because

after the AKP came to power in November 2002, the privatization process of SEEs in Turkey accelerated. In this context, the privatization process of Türk Telekom was put back on the agenda with the principle decision taken by the Council of Ministers in April 2003. Following this, the privatization process of Türk Telekom was officially resumed with the announcement published on 25.11.2004. However, as a result of the examinations made during the preparation of the thesis, it was observed that the news about the resumed privatization process of Türk Telekom started to intensify one month before the announcement date. Therefore, October 1, 2004 was set as the starting date of the news items to be analyzed in this thesis.

In addition, the privatization process of Türk Telekom, which started on 25.11.2004 with the announcements made to local and foreign media organs, ended with the sale of the company to Oger Telecoms as a result of the tender held on 1 July 2005. However, as a result of the analysis, it was observed that the discussions on the privatization of Türk Telekom continued even after the tender. For this reason, the time period of the news analyzed in this thesis ended on August 31, 2005, one month after the sale of the company.

In this context, in this study, the issues of Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers published between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 were examined and the news items related to the privatization of Türk Telekom in these issues were analyzed.

CHAPTER 1

1. THE BIRTH OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

As is well known, the 1980s is a period of significant developments in the history of both the world and Turkey. Since the end of the 1970s, a major process of change and transformation has begun in the political economy of the world, particularly in the US and the UK, and has almost completely influenced the political and economic life of the world. This process, which is conceptualized as neoliberalism in the literature, can basically be considered as the reshaping of political, economic and cultural life in the world in the context of a different capitalist perspective.

From this point of view, it is possible to see neoliberalism as a phenomenon that has been effective in almost every aspect of political, economic and cultural life and has redesigned these areas in accordance with its own ideological practices. The political, economic and cultural developments in the world over the last 40 years prove this. However, the neoliberal system is an understanding that should be evaluated mainly in the economic context. Because the main principles of this ideology are more oriented towards regulating the economic sphere. Therefore, neoliberalism is first and foremost an economic phenomenon.

In this context, the most important tool used by neoliberal ideology to regulate the economic sphere has undoubtedly been privatization policies. This is because the principle of eliminating the effectiveness of the state in the economic sphere, which is one of the most important elements of neoliberalism, has been implemented through privatization practices. As a matter of fact, with the influence of neoliberalism on the world economic life, the phenomenon of privatization has been seen as the most effective tool in opening up the fields necessary for private capital accumulation in areas that previously belonged to the state and did not work according to the profitability account. (Çiğ & Çiğ, 2012)

These explanations clearly reveal the relationship between neoliberalism, which emerged as a result of the post-1980 transformation process within the

capitalist economic system, and privatization policies. At this point, it is even possible to see the concept of privatization as a special effort to make neoliberal economic policies evident in the economic field. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 106) Therefore, before explaining the phenomenon of privatization, which is part of the main problematic of this study, it is necessary to consider neoliberalism, which constitutes the ideological basis of privatization practices, in the context of the evolution of capitalism in the historical process. Therefore, in this section of the study, this process evolving from classical capitalism to neoliberalism will be examined in detail.

1. 1 Capitalism as a Social System

One of the most controversial concepts in the literature regarding its definition is undoubtedly the concept of capitalism. In fact, it is possible to encounter thousands of definitions of the concept of capitalism in the literature with very different meanings. The most important reason for such a situation is epistemological, ontological and axiological differences. According to Weber, capitalism is the economic order of the modern universe, which is related to technological and economic conditions but depends on the mechanized production process (Fülbert G. , 2008, p. 27). On the other hand, Wallerstein identifies the concepts of capital and capitalism and considers capitalism as a historical social system in which unlimited capital accumulation is the main goal. (Wallerstein, 2016, p. 42) According to Fernand Braudel, capitalism is a way of taking part in the never-ending game of production processes, which is usually not aimed at altruistic goals and to which all societies are condemned. (Braudel, 2014, p. 49)

In addition, Marx's description of capitalism is very important for explaining the labor-capital relationship, which is one of the main elements of capitalism. Because Marx dealt with capitalism mainly in the context of the alienating relationship between production and labor caused by capital. (Alptekin, 2015, p. 232) The most important reason for Marx to deal with capitalism on this ground is that he observed the misery experienced by workers in 19th century Western European capitalism. (Dursun H. , 2017, p. 382) For this reason, Marx describes the capitalist mode of production as follows.

"The capitalist buys labor power to use it; this labor power used is labor itself. He consumes this labor power by employing the seller who buys the labor power. By working, the owner of labor power puts his previously potential labor power into actual action, he becomes a worker. In order for his labor to appear in a commodity, he is required, first of all, to spend it on something with which he can satisfy any need. What the capitalist produces for the worker is, therefore, a certain use-value, a certain object."

(Marx, 2003, p. 165)

As it can be understood from this, Marx considered capitalism as a model of production based on the domination of capital and revealed the routine functioning of the capitalist system in daily life. Undoubtedly, this makes it easier for us to see the reality of capitalism in daily life and clearly shows how today's political, social and economic relations function and what their consequences are.

1. 2. The Birth of Capitalism

The emergence, development and dominance of capitalism in the world has always been an important research topic, especially in Marxist economic history. In fact, *Capital*, the main source of Marxist economics and one of Marx's most important works, provides a detailed analysis of this process. Accordingly, in the first volume of *Capital*, Marx argues that the first changes that laid the foundations of the capitalist mode of production took place during the feudal period in the 15th and 16th centuries, when the land was divided as much as possible among the lower lords. (Yayla, 2019, p. 109) In other words, according to Marx, capitalism developed within feudalism and the internal dynamics in the basic relations of feudalism were effective in the emergence of this ideology. Therefore, when analyzing the development of capitalism in the historical process, it is necessary to mention the feudal social order.

After the collapse of the Roman Empire, which was built on a slavish social order, feudalism, a system based on large land ownership and land slavery, first emerged in Western Europe in the 9th and 10th centuries (Cevizci, 2009, p. 429). Feudalism, which refers to an important period in terms of European history, is

basically defined as a social system based on the relationship of serfdom and free peasantry between landless peasants and landowning nobles. (Fülbert G. , 2008, p. 90) However, it is possible to encounter many definitions regarding feudalism. For example, according to Sweezy, feudalism is a system of production relations in which the dominant economic relations are organized in and around the estates of feudal lords. (Yayla, 2019, p. 111) On the other hand, R. Hajdu defines feudalism as the social system used to explain the formation of the unique family, inheritance and aristocracy of the Middle Ages and the ways in which they affect each other. (Hajdu, 1977; as cited in Gümüş, 2010, p. 48) According to Rodinson, feudalism is a political system in medieval Europe in which the people were subordinated to landowning overlords in a hierarchical order. (Rodinson, 1972; as cited in Cevizci, 2009, p. 430)

On the other hand, when historical and sociological studies on the feudal period are analyzed, it is understood that feudalism did not remain as a static and uniform system for ten centuries, but went through periods of great change within the framework of its own internal dynamics. In this context, Eric Hobsbawm summarized these periods of change and transformation that feudalism went through as follows.

"As a result of recent archaeological and historical studies, we are now in a position to establish the main stages of the emergence, development and collapse of the feudal social order. First, feudalism experienced a period of emergence following the fall of the Western Roman Empire, which involved the slow evolution of the feudal economy. This was followed by a period of very widespread economic development, parallel to the marked increase in trade within the feudal order, which lasted from 1000 AD until the early 14th century. However, later on, due to the collapse of international trade, population decline and attempts at social revolution caused by ideological crises, the feudal social order entered into a major crisis. This period, defined as the feudal crisis period, lasted from the 14th century until the mid-15th century. This period of feudal crisis came to an end only in the mid-15th century with the first open entry of European merchants and conquerors into the Americas and the Indian Ocean. This period, which Marx points to as the beginning of capitalism, is recognized as the period of renewal of feudalism. Later, with the English Revolution, the first open outburst of the bourgeois class in the 17th century, feudalism entered a period of marked decline and was replaced by capitalism at the end of the 18th

century as a result of the Industrial, American and French Revolutions that took place almost simultaneously”(Hobsbawn, 1984, p. 175)

According to these explanations by E. Hobsbawn, which are essentially a chronological evaluation of feudalism, the impact of feudalism on European societies has varied over the years. This reveals that the feudal system is not static, and like all other social systems, it is affected "positively" or "negatively" by every development. However, based on these explanations, it is possible to say that some social and economic developments that occurred during the feudal period were much more effective in the process of transition from feudalism to capitalism. (Hilton, 1984, p. 159) It is clear that some developments that had great political, economic and social consequences, such as the Renaissance, Geographical Discoveries and Reform Movements, were very effective in the process of transition from feudalism to capitalism. In fact, according to many scholars, these developments were the most important actors in the formation of the intellectual and material infrastructure of capitalism. Therefore, it is necessary to evaluate the processes of the dissolution of feudalism and the transition to capitalism in the context of these developments.

As a matter of fact, the social and economic developments that occurred during the feudal period confronted the system with many crises. These social and economic crises in the feudal period led to the weakening and collapse of the feudal system. In other words, capitalism essentially emerged as a result of the crises that occurred within the feudal system. Indeed, many scholars generally consider the process of the dissolution of feudalism and the emergence of capitalism in this context. For example, according to Marx and Engels, the means of production and exchange on which the bourgeoisie built itself were created within feudal society. (Marx & Engels, 2011, p. 122) According to Dobb, capitalism should be considered as a socio-economic system established by internal factors in the basic relations of feudalism. (Yayla, 2019, p. 111) In this context, it is possible to say that the main actors of the transition from feudalism to capitalism were some social and economic developments that occurred within the framework of the internal dynamics of the feudal period. In fact, Wood argues that these developments, which have shaped the way we understand the history of capitalism, have also greatly influenced the way we understand capitalism. (Wood, 2003, p. 42)

Hence, such a perspective to explain the process in question inevitably leads us to the Renaissance, the Geographical Discoveries and the Reformation Movements. These are the social and economic developments that most affected the process of the dissolution of feudalism. Therefore, considering the emergence of capitalism in the context of these developments is very important for us to understand what capitalism is and how it spread.

The Renaissance, which literally means "rebirth", is defined as a period in European history covering the end of the 14th century and the 15th and 16th centuries, the most prominent feature of which is the revival of Ancient Greek and Roman cultures (Dereköy, 2013, p. 144). (Dereköy, 2013, p. 144) During this period, great innovations occurred in the fields of science, art, literature and technology in Europe. Especially technological innovations brought Europe to a much more advanced position compared to the rest of the world. In this period, which is characterized as a scientific and technological revolution for Europe, the most important group that came to the fore politically and economically was undoubtedly the bourgeois class. Because the artists and scientists who realized the Renaissance were generally supported financially by the bourgeois class. However, this support was of course not unrequited. In return for their financial support, the bourgeois class obtained the right to use the artistic and technological products that emerged. This accelerated the bourgeois class, which was already economically powerful, to become politically powerful as well. The economic and political empowerment of the bourgeoisie, one of the main actors of capitalism, naturally paved the way for the much faster development and, more importantly, the institutionalization of capitalism. (Tatar, 2012, p. 157) In addition, the Renaissance Period is a very important period in the history of capitalism as it was the source of scientific and technological knowledge used during the Geographical Discoveries, one of the most important pillars of capitalism.

From this point of view, it is possible to say that one of the most important factors influential in the emergence of modern capitalism is the Geographical Discoveries. (Sombart, 2005, p. 10) The Geographical Discoveries, which are essentially defined as the articulation of the South and North American continents to the rest of the world as a result of their increased economic, military, political and

cultural awareness (Alptekin, 2015, p. 238), have been effective in many ways in the birth and development of capitalism. So much so that, according to Marx, this process called Geographical Discoveries is actually the main element of the transition from feudal production to capitalist production. (Marx, 2003, p. 391) As a matter of fact, if the historical process related to the emergence of capitalism is analyzed, it is understood that two important results of Geographical Discoveries were very effective in the emergence of modern capitalism. Accordingly, firstly, the fragmented political structure of feudalism, which was already weakened as a result of the Geographical Discoveries, came to the point of collapse. Because with the discoveries, the centralized state structure, which capitalist trade elements needed due to security concerns, was strengthened. On the other hand, the precious metals brought to Europe from America and other colonies as a result of the Geographical Discoveries caused commercial activities in Europe to intensify like never before. This paved the way for the maturation of a capitalist trading society centered in Europe. (Aydemir & Yılmaz Genç, 2011, p. 228) Therefore, it is possible to point to the Geographical Discoveries as one of the factors that directly influenced the emergence of capitalism. As a result of these discoveries led by Europe, the capitalist system for the first time left the control of the incidental factors that produced it and became a phenomenon in itself. (Alptekin, 2015, p. 239)

After the Renaissance and Geographical Discoveries, one of the most important factors influencing the emergence of capitalism is undoubtedly the Reformation Movement. This movement basically criticized the religious organization in Europe in the 16th century and advocated the return of Christianity to its original form, based on the Bible (Waardenburg, 2007, p. 530). However, some of the consequences of this movement went beyond the religious sphere. So much so that it became one of the most influential factors in the formation of the intellectual infrastructure of capitalism. In particular, the Reform Movement formed the basis for the establishment of the perception of "individualism", which is at the center of capitalism, in European societies. As a matter of fact, Max Weber, one of the most important names in the capitalist literature, explained this intellectual relationship between capitalism and the Reformation Movement as follows.

"Concerns about the purity of conscience led them to prove the truth of the world in their conscience. They sought to reinforce this with a proof that they were God's chosen people. The Reformation of the 16th century, by encouraging this kind of human reflection, contributed significantly to the infrastructure for its development. Later, when capitalism became dominant, this religious motivation was replaced by the drive for goods." (Weber, 1999, p. 37)

On the other hand, the Reform Movement's contribution to the emergence and development of capitalism was not limited to the perception of "individualism" it emphasized. In addition, this movement was also effective in the formation of the spiritual infrastructure of capitalism. This is because the basic teachings of the Protestantism sect that emerged within Christianity as a result of the Reformation overlap with the aims of capitalism. For example, Protestants believe that the person who works, earns and saves is God's beloved (Sayer, 2001, p. 47). This belief is actually in direct parallel with the spirit of the capitalist mode of production. In fact, when the practices of the capitalist mode of production are taken into consideration, it is possible to say that these are the manifestations of this belief in daily life. As a matter of fact, Weber summarized this situation in his work "Protestant Morality and Capitalism" as follows.

"They make tallow from cattle and money from man. This philosophy of greed is seen as the ideal of the respectable man with money and, above all, the idea of the individual's tendency to expand his own capital. In fact, what is envisaged here is not a technique of living, but a special morality." (Weber, 1999, p. 43)

These explanations made by Weber clearly reveal that there is a very strong connection between capitalism and the Reformation Movement. Because the religious organizations that emerged as a result of the Reformation Movement supported capitalism's earn-as-much-as-you-can approach with religious teachings, and this laid the foundations of the spiritual infrastructure of capitalism. Therefore, it is possible to say that the Reformation Movement was a very important milestone in the emergence and development of capitalism. As a matter of fact, after all these developments, feudalism began to dissolve in Europe and a new system based on trade emerged. The name of this system is mercantilism, or mercantilism.

Mercantilism was the dominant economic system in Europe from the mid-15th century until the mid-18th century. During this period, especially as a result of the Geographical Discoveries, the supply of precious metals in Europe increased tremendously and the merchants acquired great wealth in the face of the demand for precious metals. (Çelik & Dağ, 2017, p. 56) This wealth acquired by the merchants, of course, brought this class to a very powerful position economically. However, the sphere of influence of the merchant class, the bourgeois, was not limited to the economic sphere. Along with the economic power they gained, the bourgeoisie also became quite influential in the political sphere during this period. Especially as a result of the development and development policies implemented by the national states that emerged after the collapse of feudalism, the political weight of the bourgeois class began to be felt better and better as the weight in economic life shifted from the state to private enterprises. (Çelik & Dağ, 2017, p. 57) This situation undoubtedly paved the way for private enterprises, one of the most fundamental elements of capitalism, to gain strength and freedom in the political and economic sphere.

In this context, it is possible to show the mercantilism period as the period in which the foundations of modern capitalism were laid. In fact, developments such as the liberalization of private enterprises and the acceptance of money as the source of wealth in this period are considered as the main elements of modern capitalism. However, the contribution of mercantilism to the development of modern capitalism is not limited to this. The political and economic developments in this period also constituted the starting point of the industrialization process, one of the most important actors of modern capitalism. In fact, the extraordinary increase in capital accumulation during the mercantilism period, the formation of new and large markets and easy access to vast raw material resources accelerated the industrialization process and paved the way for the shift of the development focus of the capitalist system from trade to industry (Çelik & Dağ, 2017, p. 58). 58) As a matter of fact, after a while, the owners of capital directed the weight of the production power in their hands to the production of industrial goods because it was much more profitable, and as a result of this trend, the process called the Industrial Revolution started in England in 1780. (Fülbert G. , 2008, p. 151)

1. 3. Industrial Revolution and Modern Capitalism

The Industrial Revolution, which is essentially a phenomenon that refers to the radical transformation movement in the field of production technology in the mid-18th century, first emerged in England and spread to almost all of Europe in a short time. (Aksoy, 2016, p. 33) With the Industrial Revolution, societies, especially in Europe, have entered into a process of great economic and social transformation. So much so that the term industrial society is used to describe the social life reshaped after this revolution. (Giddens, 2013, p. 33)

On the other hand, the demographic structure of societies has also changed significantly with the Industrial Revolution. People who were previously engaged in agriculture and animal husbandry in rural areas started to migrate to large industrial cities in order to earn more money and live a more comfortable life. Following this rapid population growth in urban areas, new settlements called "suburbs" were formed on the outskirts of cities. As a matter of fact, these regions have been very effective in the development of capitalism. Because, in Marx's words, these settlements have become the source of the reserve army of workers necessary for the development of capitalism. (Tellalbaş, 2011, p. 27)

However, this situation that emerged in the cities led to a visible increase in inequality between classes and the formation of social problems that have persisted until our time. (Güzel, 2014, p. 158) Kaczynski said that the Industrial Revolution caused large-scale psychological suffering in societies and that this situation disrupted the natural life of societies. (Kaczynski, 2013; cited in Aksoy, 2016, p. 34) Indeed, when the living conditions of people living in the period in question are examined, it seems quite likely that such a situation will arise. In this period, regardless of their age, gender and physical condition, people were made to work in factories for long periods of time under very harsh conditions and were even subjected to torture. Of course, this situation negatively affected the psychological and physical conditions of these people, who represented the first examples of the modern urban proletariat. As a matter of fact, in the period in question, social problems such as poverty, diseases, extortion, murder and prostitution increased significantly.

Despite all this, after the Industrial Revolution, capitalism made great progress in Europe and America and became the dominant economic system in the world. This vertical rise of capitalism continued at a great pace until the end of the 19th century. In this period, in which industrial capital was the main element, the products produced in factories in industrialized countries were exported to all corners of the world and as a result, industrial capitalists made huge profits. Therefore, the engine of the capitalist system of the period was industrial production.

However, towards the end of the 19th century, some structural changes began to occur in the capitalist system based on industrial production. In this period, industrial capital and bank capital, which constituted a large part of world capital, entered into an increasingly intimate relationship and took the form of "finance capital", the most mature and most tangible form of capital. (Hilferding, 1995, p. 47) In fact, as a result of the finance capital situation, which essentially means the control of bank capital over general capital as a result of the borrowing-based relationship between industrial capital and bank capital, the elements of capitalist capital underwent a major change. So much so that, at the end of this process, bank capital established an absolute domination over industrial capital.

On the other hand, there are also theorists in the literature who have dealt with this process of change in the elements of capitalist capital in the 19th century in different ways. The most prominent of these is undoubtedly V.I. Lenin. Lenin did not consider finance capital as merely the shift of capital power from one sector to another, but saw this concept as a holistic monopolistic imperialism. (Karataş, 2011, p. 27) According to Lenin, the content of this concept is the concentration of production in a way that leads to monopolies as a result of the fusion or intertwining of banks and industry. (Lenin, 1997, p. 52) In other words, although Lenin acknowledged that the finance capital process changed the national and international capital structure that existed until then, he emphasized that the main purpose of finance capital was to create international monopolies with imperialism at their intellectual center. As a matter of fact, when the general practices of trusts and cartels in this period when the markets were controlled by hegemonic initiatives are examined, it is understood that this emphasis made by Lenin is quite appropriate. Indeed, the policies implemented by trusts and cartels financially supported by big

banks, especially in colonial regions such as Latin America and India, prove Lenin's emphasis on the relationship between finance capital and imperialism. E. Galeano summarized this situation as follows.

"The functioning of industry in the peripheral countries in relation to the centers of power is not very different from the traditional imperialist system of exploitation of raw materials. Colombia's oil exports consist of a transfer from North American oil wells to US refining, banking, trading and consumption centers. Likewise, the banana exports of Honduras and Guatemala are the transportation of foodstuffs grown in the colonies to the US centers of trade and consumption by North American companies supported by banks." (Galeano, 2014, p. 308)

From this point of view, it is possible to evaluate this situation, which is called finance capital, as the transformation of the capitalist mode of production into imperialism. Because with finance capital, the imperialist activities practiced by colonialist states after the Geographical Discoveries were reintroduced in other forms. So much so that the imperialist exploitation, which used to be carried out by capitalist countries using military force, has since been carried out by large companies that have become monopolies supported by capitalist states. Indeed, Lenin explains this relationship between finance capital, the form of capitalism in the 19th century, and imperialism as follows.

"If it were necessary to define imperialism as briefly as possible, we would define it as the monopoly stage of capitalism. This definition would cover the essence of the matter. For, on the one hand, it is the result of the merger of financial capital, the capital of a few large monopolistic banks, with the capital of monopolistic industrial conglomerates; on the other hand, it symbolizes the transition from a colonial policy of unhindered expansion into the unclaimed territories of the world to a colonial policy of monopolized ownership of the territories of a completely divided world."(Lenin, 1997, p. 93)

As it can be understood from this, the capitalist system has somehow maintained the order of exploitation on which it was built by producing different forms of practices in the historical process. In other words, capitalism has gone

through transformation processes in accordance with the conditions of the time and has continued its order of exploitation with the new practices it has put into practice. Undoubtedly, this situation continues today. In fact, the privatization policies implemented within the capitalist system, especially in the 20th century, are clear evidence of this situation. With these practices under the name of privatization, the way for the exploitation of countries has been paved economically and legally, just like in the colonial states in the past, and thus the resources of countries have been captured by companies and banks with large capital. From this point of view, it is possible to show privatization practices as the most important tool for the continuation of the current capitalist exploitation order. In fact, it can be argued that the practices of exploitation that were previously carried out through military force are now carried out through privatization practices.

However, an analysis of countries where privatization practices are widespread reveals that the most important actor in creating a positive perception of privatization policies in the public sphere is the media. In countries that are surrounded by neoliberal policies, media content aims to ideologically guarantee the capitalist order of exploitation dominated by privatization practices, and the public is directed to be persuaded and consent in this direction. Moreover, when the political, economic and social life in these countries is taken into consideration, it is understood that this process of persuasion and consent imposed through the media regarding privatization policies has been largely successful.

To sum up, the ideological infrastructure of privatization policies, which is the new argument of the capitalist exploitation order today, has been imposed on societies as a product of a consent-building process supported by media tools, thus preventing social opposition to privatization practices. For this reason, in this study, the concepts of ideology and media, which are the main elements of this consent building process, will be discussed in detail and the process of social consent and persuasion carried out towards privatization practices will be explained.

CHAPTER 2

2. MEDIA, IDEOLOGY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONSENT

As is known, throughout human history there have been many events that can be characterized as revolutions and as a result of these events, people's lifestyles have changed radically. It is known that these radical changes have occurred in parallel with and even as a result of the ways in which people produce and survive. From this perspective, one of the most important revolutions in human history is undoubtedly the agricultural revolution. With the agricultural revolution, people gradually abandoned living in nomadic communities and settled down (Aksoy, 2016, p. 32) and thus social life as we understand it today emerged.

This type of organization led to an increase in production efficiency and necessitated the creation of larger and more qualified settlements, i.e. cities. (Canlıoğlu, 2008, p. 33) The changing political, economic and social conditions with urbanization led to the emergence of different needs among people living in more crowded groups. Especially as people started to produce more than they could consume and the concepts of property and class became more prominent, the need to introduce certain rules to ensure social order and public order arose, and within this framework, some rules were introduced to regulate social life. These rules, which initially emerged to solve the problems that could be experienced in society, changed in various ways over time and turned into a power that put pressure on society and shaped society according to its own wishes. (Canlıoğlu, 2008, p. 34) In other words, as a result of these rules, societies were divided into the ruled and the ruler, and the concept we characterize today as power emerged.

In this context, the definition of power made by Richard B. Friedman is quite important. According to Friedman, who briefly defines the concept as "the ability to use legitimized power", power expresses and defines itself through concepts such as pressure, power, manipulation, consent and persuasion. (Friedman, 1990; as cited in Biber & Turacı, 2014, p. 30) In other words, power is an institutionalized structure

that tries to subordinate people to those in power with their consent by using certain elements of pressure and power.

As can be understood from this point, the most important element that the powers in democratic regimes need is legitimacy. This is because powers that have not been able to establish their legitimacy in the eyes of the society cannot hold on to their power for a long time. At this point, those in power must obtain the consent of the society, in other words, they must ensure their legitimacy. In other words, in order to maintain power in democratic regimes, the function of structuring the society in a certain direction is also carried out in addition to ensuring the legitimacy of the power through some organizations that will shape the consent of social classes or shape the existing consent in favor of the ruling classes. (Durmaz, 2015, p. 89)

This situation, which is conceptualized as "consent production" or "consent construction", basically emphasizes the shaping of people's perceptions and attitudes towards power in favor of the government through a number of methods, thus ensuring the legitimacy of the discourses or actions of the government. It is precisely at this point that an important concept emerges in the relationship between the construction of consent and power. This concept, which forms the basis of the relationship between power and the construction of consent, is the concept of "ideology". Because the construction of consent, which we can simply characterize as the dissemination of the ideologies of the ruling classes to the society, expresses an ideological process. For this reason, it is necessary to discuss the concept of ideology in detail in order to clarify this relationship.

2. 1. Concept of Ideology

The term ideology is a combination of the Latin words *eidos* and *logos* and translated into Turkish as the science of ideas. Most of the recent studies on the term agree that the term ideology was first used during the French Revolution by Antoine Louis Claud Destutt de Tracy, who acted together with a group of thinkers who characterized themselves as ideologists and were patronized by the French Emperor Napoleon (Bulut, 2011, p. 184). (Bulut, 2011, p. 184) Tracy, a materialist philosopher, just like other Enlightenment philosophers, opposed the weight of the

church in politics in his time and took part in a fierce struggle against the Catholic Church. Contrary to what the Church claimed, he defended the idea that the field of human experience should be examined through reason, not theology. Therefore, it is thought that Tracy introduced the term ideology, which does not shift to a religious meaning in the analysis of science and politics. (Yiğenoğlu, 2018, p. 53) In other words, Tracy opposed theological explanations in science and politics and therefore developed the concept of ideology to describe the new science of empirical ideas that does not contain religious elements.

However, this initial positive perception of the concept of ideology changed over time, and the concept ceased to be a "science of thought" that would show the way to correct thinking and began to be characterized as "abstract thought, disconnected from practice", "verbosity" and "intellectual babble". (Canatan, 2017, p. 3) In other words, after this date, the perception of the concept of ideology changed and the concept began to be associated more with criticisms of intellectual inefficiency, impracticality and abstractness. (Durmaz, 2015, p. 87)

However, it is possible to say that the most important transformation in understanding the concept of ideology began with Marx and Engels. Because Marx and Engels, in their work "German Ideology", made a frontal and open criticism of the dominant view of ideology until then. (Oskay, 1980, p. 204) So much so that Marx and Engels, who criticized the concept in many ways, defined ideology as a reversal of material reality (Üşür, 1997, p. 12) and explained this situation in their work "German Ideology" as follows.

"If in all ideologies men and their relations appear to be upside down, as in the camera obscura, this phenomenon is due to the historical life processes of men, just as the reversal of objects on the mesh of the eye is due to their direct physical life processes."(Marx & Engels, 2018, p. 34)

As can be seen from this definition, Marx and Engels saw the concept of ideology not as a reflection of material conditions, contrary to the prevailing thought at the time, but as a "false knowledge" of these conditions. Although some sources interpret this situation as "false consciousness", Marx used the metaphor of "camera

obscura"¹ to define it as the formation of the human being's position in material-objective reality in his mind, similar to the reversed image in the camera, and to make a distinction between true consciousness and false consciousness. (Üşür, 1997, p. 13)

In addition to this, another criticism that Marx brought against the concept of ideology is related to its distance from real life practices. Marx tended to evaluate the concept of ideology within a philosophy that rises from the ground to the sky - not dealt with in a theological manner - and evaluated it within the understanding that "the way to reach the human being is not through what people say, dream, tell or what is told about human beings, but through real, active people, through the life processes of people." (Oskay, 1980, p. 205) In other words, he clearly stated that ideology does not reflect the real practices of life and that there are contradictions between reality and ideology.

As can be seen, Marx addressed and criticized the concept of ideology from various angles. However, the starting point of Marx's criticism of ideology expresses a different approach. Accordingly, Marx stated that the concept is a phenomenon that is ultimately determined through the mode of production and therefore cannot mean anything other than the reproduction of the objective interests of the ruling classes. He summarized this situation as follows;

"The ideas of the ruling class are the ruling ideas in every period, that is, the class that rules the material forces of society also rules the intellectual forces. The class that holds the material forces of production in its hands also controls mental production, so that, generally speaking, the thoughts of those who lack the means of mental production become subordinated" (Marx & Engels, 1974; cited in Üşür, 1997, p. 14)

As can be understood from this definition, which constitutes the main approach of Marxist theory when dealing with the concept of ideology, Marx states that there is a close relationship between the concept of ideology and the ruling classes. Because, as summarized in the definition above, he states that these classes,

¹ It is a device used in the Middle Ages that reflects and drops the image of a landscape on a flat surface with the help of mirrors. The images reflected through this device fall upside down on the surface.

which control the means of production, also control all ideological apparatuses with the power they hold in their hands, and that by utilizing the possibilities of this power, they transform the ideas that represent their objective interests into the ideas of society. For this reason, Marx considered the concept of ideology as a concept determined by economic and class positions (Üşür, 1997, p. 15) and evaluated the concept within this framework.

In line with Marx's approach to the concept of ideology, it is possible to say that ideology is basically a tool of the ruling classes. This is because the ruling classes realize the practice of legitimizing the unequal use and distribution of existing resources through ideology. Other classes, on the other hand, become unaware of their own position as a result of this spreading ideology. In other words, as a result of this reciprocal process, an "inclusive" ideology is created in society that reflects the ideas of the ruling class and shapes other classes in line with these ideas.

These ideas put forward by Marx on the concept of ideology clearly show the evolution of the intellectual reflections of ideology. However, some developments in Europe, especially after the Second World War, not only reinforced the belief in capitalism but also led to a change in the way the concept of ideology was discussed. The concept of ideology, which was previously defined by Marx as the tool of oppression and exploitation of the ruling class, started to be discussed in the aftermath of the Second World War in terms of how the capitalist system gained the approval of the ruled, despite the exploitation, domination and inequalities of the relations of production. In other words, after the Second World War, the concept of ideology became the subject of debates shaped around how the ruled class acts with the illusion of a sovereign/common interest and the relationship between ideology and the formation of consciousness. (Kaylı, 2013, p. 32)

If the perception of ideology, which has been reshaped in the context of these debates, is examined, it is possible to say that the comments and criticisms of thinkers such as Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci on the concept of ideology have an important place in the literature. Indeed, these thinkers have made significant contributions to the perception of ideology as a concept that almost cannot be considered outside of communication. Therefore, in order to reveal the semantic

evolution of the concept of ideology and to reveal the relationship between ideology and media, it is necessary to examine the ways in which these thinkers deal with ideology.

According to Althusser, ideology, which is the representation of the imagined relations of individuals with their real conditions of existence, does not involve the relations of production existing in society and other relations derived from these relations, but the imagined relations of individuals with the relations of production and other relations derived from them. Therefore, ideologies are distortions of the real. Through this distortion, they reflect not real relations, but the imagined relations that people establish with their real relations. (Oskay, 1980, p. 233) Thus, Habermas, inspired by Althusser's comments on ideology, states that the concept of ideology should be defined as "a form of communication systematically distorted by power". (Rigel & Batuş, Velvet Darkness - Theorists Enlightening the 21st Century Communication Age, 2005, p. 317)

On the other hand, when these explanations on ideology made by Althusser are carefully analyzed, it is clear that Althusser's approach to the concept of ideology is basically a summation of Marx's views. Moreover, Althusser's work titled "The Ideological Apparatuses State", which is one of his most important contributions on ideology, emerged within this framework. In this work, Althusser explains ideology based on Marx's concept of conditions of production. Accordingly, in order to ensure the conditions of production needed by the ruling classes, the conditions of production must be reproduced in favor of the ruling classes. The way to do this lies in the persuasion process of the hegemony that holds political and economic power. (Özer A. , 2017, p. 570)

According to Althusser, in this process of persuasion, in which he states that the relations of production are reshaped in favor of the powers in power, the phenomenon of the state, i.e. power, is divided into two as the "repressive state apparatuses " (RSA) and the "ideological state apparatuses state" (ISA). What determines the distinction between these apparatuses that constitute the state is the determination of whether the apparatus prioritizes coercion or approval. (Althusser, 1971; cited in Üşür, 1997, p. 44) Accordingly, public institutions such as the

government, army, police, prisons, courts, etc., which prioritize coercion, including physical coercion, and are located entirely in the public sphere, represent the coercive apparatuses of the state. Religious institutions, legal institutions, political institutions, educational institutions, trade unions, family, communication and cultural institutions, which, although dispersed and composed of many structures, are mostly located in the private sphere and give priority to ideology, represent the ideological apparatuses of the state. (Gürçınar, 2015; as cited in Özer A, 2017, p. 570)

What determines the distinction between these apparatuses that constitute the state is the determination of whether the apparatus prioritizes oppression or approval. (Althusser, 1971; cited in Üşür, 1997, p. 44) Accordingly, while the RSA consists of the practices of the state's repressive and coercive fields of application, the ISA refers to the sum total of the practices applied within the framework of the ideologies produced at the point of reproduction of labor power.

The ISAs are the apparatuses that ensure the reproduction of the relations of production in the modern state structure in the perceptions and consciences of subjects shaped by the dominant ideology. In other words, these mechanisms of the ideological level make it possible in a capitalist social formation to harmonize not only the means of production but also the forces of production, i.e. productive individuals, into the system (Althusser, 2003; cited in Onay, 2006, p. 35). (Üşür, 2008; as cited in Kaylı, 2013, p. 45) Therefore, it is possible to say that all the processes that ensure the reproduction of labor power and its reproduction for the benefit of those in power take place within these ideological apparatuses.

From this point of view, it is possible to say that the media is the ideological apparatus of the state in adopting and imposing the ideologies of the ruling classes on the ruled. Considering today's living conditions, the media serves the function of ensuring the continuity of capitalism that serves the interests of the ruling classes. In other words, the media, which is one of the ideological apparatuses of the state and an important socialization tool, is a "means of producing consent" for the ideologies of the powers in power. This is because the media provides the ruling classes with the opportunity to dominate almost all areas surrounding human beings, and accordingly ensures social consent. Therefore, the ruling classes, which own the capitalist means

of production, have considered the control of the media as an extremely important element in the continuation of their existence. For this reason, it would be appropriate to consider the media as the most effective of today's state ideological apparatuses.

Antonio Gramsci is another important name that comes to the fore when the interpretations and approaches to the concept of ideology in the post-Marx period are analyzed. However, Gramsci handled ideology in a different way than Marx. According to Yaylagül (2018), Gramsci claims that Marx did not pay attention to the fields of politics and culture in capitalist societies and therefore considered ideology only as an economic phenomenon. According to him, the ruling classes use both physical force and cultural and ideological apparatuses in addition to economic elements to ensure their power. The key concept that Gramsci reveals this relationship between culture and ideology is the concept of hegemony. (Yaylagül, 2018, p. 97) Based on this, Yaylagül briefly explains the concept of hegemony by quoting Gramsci as follows.

"Religious officials, teachers, mass media, etc. organic intellectuals have an important role in the dissemination of the ideas and views of the ruling classes. They spread the ideas of the ruling class to society through everyday language. Thus, the views of the ruling class are adopted by society and begin to be perceived as common sense. The ruling class appropriates its worldview, philosophy, science, cultural and moral values in order to protect, maintain and perpetuate the wealth it controls and the position it occupies in society. With these values, which become the common judgment of society, the ideology of the ruling class is made unrivaled. At the end of all these efforts, a structure emerges in society in which the ruled consent and the rulers dominate. This whole process is called hegemony." (A.Gramsci, 1997; Cited in Yaylagül, 2018, p.98)

In this context, it is possible to evaluate the concept of hegemony as a life practice that has permeated all areas of life. Because the concept of hegemony is frequently used in many fields from politics to economy, from cinema to literature. Raymond Williams defines the concept as a "culture" that should be seen as the submission of individuals who make up society to the domination of a certain class. (Williams, 1990, p. 89) In other words, it is possible to evaluate the concept of

hegemony as the dominant ideology's effort to create a new culture through a number of methods.

Based on this framework of ideology, although there are some intellectual differences, almost all thinkers who have researched on the concept see the concept of ideology as a tool used by the ruling classes in the process of constructing societies in line with their own interests. In other words, according to many thinkers, ideology refers to the sum total of the process of constructing social consent. (Marshall, 1999, p. 300) Considering the political and social conjuncture in the world today, it is clear that the powers in power evaluate the concept in this context and consider ideology as the most important actor in the process of social consent and approval, which is the basis of the legitimacy of political power in the modern state structure in favor of capitalist democracy. For this reason, the powers in power carry out a number of propaganda activities within the framework of their own ideology in order to ensure and maintain the hegemony aimed at the society.

In this context, it is possible to point to propaganda activities as the most important actor in the process of creating social consent for the hegemony created by the ruling classes within the framework of ideology. In fact, Chomsky defines the concept of propaganda as the activities carried out by the ruling classes to make the public accept even the things they do not want by using the media for the production of consent. (Chomsky, 2008; as cited in Biber & Turacı, 2014, p. 36) This definition made by Chomsky provides a lot of information about the structure and function of the concept. The point that should be emphasized in this framework is the emphasis on the relationship between the concept of propaganda and the media. According to C. Wright Mills, through the mass media, those in power can reach millions of people whose faces they have never seen or will never see and thus propagandize their ideologies. (Mills, 1974, p. 428) In other words, the most important tool in carrying out propaganda activities is the media. This is because the media is the key actor in order for propaganda to be a meaningful set of activities to ensure social consent towards the ideologies of those who hold the power.

From this point of view, it is possible to say that the media is at the center of the process of building social consent. For the continuation of the hegemonic

environment shaped around the ideology of the ruling class, society needs to be constantly exposed to these ideological messages. Considering today's social life, it is clear that such a situation can be possible in the most intensive and functional way by using the media. For this reason, the media, which is the most effective tool in the process of creating social consent for the ideologies of the ruling classes, needs to be discussed in detail.

2. 2. Media as a Consent Building Tool

The word "media", which was first used towards the end of the 19th century, came into Turkish from the word "media", which is the plural of the Latin word "medium", meaning tool, medium and means. (Adaklı, 2006, p. 17) This phenomenon, which is conceptualized as media in Turkish, is effective in all areas of life, especially social, economic, political, cultural, legal, education and sports, and appears as an element that determines these areas. In other words, it actually refers to a process that takes the social from there, processes it within itself and then sends it back to the social. (Özer Ö. , 2011, p. 15)

In this context, it is possible to say that the media phenomenon, which consists of communication tools such as newspapers, magazines, radio, cinema, television, internet, etc., is highly influential in social, political, economic and cultural fields. So much so that some circles have considered the media as the "fourth force" alongside the legislative, executive and judicial powers that constitute the capitalist state mechanism, and have placed the media in the position of "developing" the other power element and monitoring it "for the people." (Erdoğan İ. , 1999, p. 34) Even liberals, who are at the forefront of these circles, have shown the media as the "guarantor" of the maintenance of the capitalist democratic system and the participation of citizens in this process. (Özer Ö. , 2010, p. 16)

However, many different theories and approaches have emerged in defining the functions and duties of the media. In general, the views gathered around two main paradigms, namely the liberal pluralist approach and the critical approach (Türkmenoğlu, 2017, p. 4), strictly differ from each other in terms of the functions and duties of the media and attribute different functions and duties to the media. In

this context, while the liberal pluralist approach generally emphasizes the regulatory and supervisory role of the media in pluralist democracies, the critical approach emphasizes the economic, political and ideological aspects of the media. In other words, while the liberal pluralist approach evaluates the functioning and duties of the media from a general perspective, critical approaches have reached some key concepts by questioning the ideological level. (Özer Ö. , 2006, p. 42)

From this point of view, it is possible to say that mass communication research is clearly separated from each other within the framework of some approaches. In fact, the way the liberal pluralist approach handles the media and the media perception it reveals is almost the opposite of the critical approach. This study's approach to the media is basically in line with the critical approach. Accordingly, the intellectual difference between the liberal pluralist approach and the critical approach needs to be addressed in order to express the ground on which the study will be based.

2. 2. 1. Liberal Pluralist Approach

The liberal pluralist approach, also known as the mainstream, managerial, conservative or traditional approach, first emerged in the United States of America (USA). (Sever, 1998, p. 44) According to this approach, which is basically shaped around liberalism and its individualist teachings, the media is regarded as a tool that performs useful functions in the political, economic and social system, controls and monitors the environment and informs people (Schramm, 1964; as cited in Türkmenoğlu, 2017, p. 62). (Schramm, 1964; as cited in Türkmenoğlu, 2017, p. 62) In other words, media theories shaped around the liberal pluralist approach have a very optimistic perception of the media.

On the other hand, it is possible to say that this optimistic understanding of the media developed within the framework of the liberal pluralist approach also manifests itself in terms of the duties and functions of the media. In the liberal pluralist approach, the media is considered as an element that will balance the relationship between society and power, and the media is attributed tasks in line with this perception. In this context, liberal pluralist studies emphasize three main duties of the

media. These are the media's duty to inform, the media's duty to control and the media's duty to criticize (Akarcılı, 1989, p. 266).

One of the primary duties attributed to the media within the framework of the liberal pluralist approach is the duty of "the media to inform". Accordingly, the media has the duty to convey the news to the society without any obstacles and with its full scope. This duty is the most typical example of the public duties of the media (Akarcılı, 1989, p. 267) because as a result of the fulfillment of this duty, the society is informed about what is happening in the country in which it lives and develops attitudes towards events in the social, economic and political fields.

On the other hand, Akarcılı shows that one of the basic elements necessary for the healthy continuation of the political system in democratic regimes is the mutual supervision of the system by independent institutions or organizations. (Akarcılı, 1989, p. 268) The separation of the modern state mechanism into legislative, executive and judicial powers and the fact that these powers serve as a means of controlling each other is the most important indicator of this situation. From this point of view, liberal pluralist studies argue that in addition to the legislative, executive and judicial powers, the media is also a very important power in controlling the state mechanism. In this context, they attribute to the liberal media a very important task of monitoring the flaws and disorders within the state mechanism and communicating them to the society. According to the liberal pluralist approach, the media is seen as the most effective means of control in modern state structuring. (Akarcılı, 1989, p. 269) However, whether the media can fulfill such a task is a highly controversial area. This is because the economic and political relations between media organizations and governments often prevent the media from broadcasting against the government. Therefore, it does not seem possible for the media to monitor the failures and corruption within the state.

According to Akarcılı, one of the duties attributed to the media in liberal pluralist studies is the media's duty to criticize (Akarcılı, 1989, p. 265). Although elections vary according to countries, they are usually held for long periods of four or five years. For this reason, criticism of the government by the public after the elections sometimes does not reach the government immediately, thus widening the

distance between the public and the government. According to the liberal pluralist approach, it is precisely at this point that the media comes into play, and thanks to the opportunities offered by the media, the public can instantly convey their criticisms against the government to their interlocutors. In other words, according to the liberal pluralist approach, the media functions as a kind of parliament in which all citizens participate continuously and effectively (Akarcalı, 1989, p. 267).

To summarize, the liberal pluralist approach treats the media as an independent and impartial form of organization from the beginning and therefore sees the media as an undisputed power in controlling the state. according to this approach, the media is a control mechanism that monitors all activities of the state and is a tool that prevents the official authority from abusing its duty.(Curran, 2002; cited in: Türkmenoğlu, 2017, p.64 As a matter of fact, this acceptance within the liberal pluralist approach constitutes the main argument for presenting the media as the fourth power today. (Kaya A. R, 1999, p. 25)

However, Fejes states that even in the studies evaluated within the liberal pluralist approach, the emphasis on this aspect of the media is quite low. (Fejes, 1999, p. 308) Because the main problematic of the studies conducted within the framework of the liberal pluralist approach has generally been the effects of the media. In fact, in the years when the liberal pluralist approach was dominant in the field of mass communication research, media impact research funded by private and public sources and mass communication research became almost synonymous. (Fejes, 1999, p. 309) This situation proves that there are some doubts about the autonomy and impartiality of the media even within the liberal pluralist approach. For this reason, Alemdar and Erdaoğan define media studies conducted within the framework of the liberal pluralist approach as a body of studies that advocates the view that the capitalist economic and political system is the best way for industrialized countries to choose in order to protect and develop the existing social structure and institutions, and to adapt, or adapt when necessary, to the environment in which people live. (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 1990; as cited in Türkmenoğlu, 2017, p. 64)

2. 2. 2. Critical Approaches

Before examining the issue of critical media approaches in detail, it should be noted that this study's approach to the media is shaped within the framework of this approach. Therefore, the privatization news in the print media, which is the main area of investigation of the study, will be examined within the framework of this approach.

Critical approaches were originally influenced by Marxism and emerged as a reaction to the liberal pluralist approach. The critical studies that emerged within the framework of this approach actually represent a wide theoretical spectrum ranging from the critical theory developed by the Frankfurt School to structuralist media studies, from the political economy approach of classical Marxism to cultural studies, each of which consists of radical criticisms of the existing social and communicative structure. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 23) In these studies, many different topics such as the effects of communication technologies on society, political economy of communication, cultural studies and sociology of communication have been addressed. However, when the studies shaped around critical approaches are carefully analyzed, it is understood that these studies generally focus on the role and function of communication in the maintenance of existing social and political relations. (Slack & Alor, 1983; as cited in Yaylagül, 2018, p. 91) In other words, critical studies have focused on the role and function of communication in maintaining existing social and political relations. 91) In other words, studies within critical media approaches have emphasized that the powers that own the means of production work to ensure the continuity of their own interests through coercion or the construction of consent, and therefore have generally questioned the links between ideology and media. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 23)

In this context, critical media studies have generally focused either on how the messages sent by the media are produced and controlled, or on the content of media messages in the context of how capitalist ideology that supports a class-dominated society is developed by the media (Fejes, 1999, p. 310) and the media has been evaluated within the framework of focal points. Accordingly, critical studies completely reject the thesis that the media has a limited impact as claimed in liberal media studies. On the contrary, these studies see the media as an ideological tool with

a central role in the continuation of the dominance of the ruling classes and the class-divided capitalist hegemonic order. In other words, critical studies make political and ideological interpretations of the content produced by the media and, within the scope of the results obtained from these interpretations, see the media as the most important institution in the legitimization of hegemony. Özer summarized this situation as follows.

"Critical approaches evaluate social institutions, including mass media institutions, as institutions that work to maintain the status quo or legitimize the dominant system. The media shapes the events and phenomena it covers by attributing certain meanings to them and thus ensures that the ideology of the ruling class is disseminated to the society. For example, the news media selects and frames events, creates definitions and determines opposites. In other words, the media ideologically reconstructs facts through the routine practices of the news production process such as selecti (Özer Ö. , 2011, p. 94)

To sum up, in the studies shaped around the critical approach, the capitalist economic system and the media organization embodied within this system are radically criticized by interpreting the media contents produced ideologically. When critical media studies are examined, it becomes clear that these criticisms are not the product of a single point of view. In fact, in some studies within the critical approach, it is seen that there are some differences in terms of addressing the problem of ideology, which is the main problematic, evaluating media texts or audiences, and attributing activity/subjectivity to the audience. At this point, there are three different approaches that vary. These are the structuralist school, political economy approaches and cultural studies. (Curran et al., 1989; as cited in Yavuz, 2011, p. 30) These differentiated approaches within critical studies play an important role both in terms of including different views on the power of the media and in defining the areas of disagreement and debate between these views. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 24) Therefore, it is necessary to briefly mention these approaches within critical studies.

According to Dursun, structuralist interpretations of the media have been enriched with the contribution of different fields of study, from Saussure's linguistics to Levi-Strauss's structuralist anthropology, from Barthes's semiotics to Lacan's

psychoanalysis, and have focused primarily on the relationship between text and ideology. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 24) Accordingly, structuralist media interpretations are dominated by the idea that in order to understand events and phenomena, it is necessary to look at the underlying structure of texts. In other words, in structuralist interpretations, in order to understand the social structure, which is a set of organized relations, it is first necessary to reveal the structure of language. In structuralist media commentaries, language is seen as a tool that encodes all kinds of ideological messages. (Yaylagül, 2018, p. 119) For this reason, it is possible to say that structuralist studies see media content as products that serve to shape the viewer or reader within the framework of the dominant ideology

In addition, another school within critical studies is the political economy approach. In this approach, the focus of media studies is on the structural and institutional forces within the capitalist system such as property, market and politics that affect the communication process, and in this context, the ownership and control mechanisms of the media are analyzed. From this point of view, it is possible to define the critical political economy approach as the study of social relations, especially power relations, which mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of material and intellectual resources. (Mosco, 1996, p. 25) The political economy approach sees the relationship between politics and economy as the manifestation of class exploitation and class struggle, and presents the media as a tool controlled by the ruling classes to maintain the hegemony that dominates this field of exploitation and struggle. (Yaylagül, 2018, p. 138)

The other approach within critical studies is cultural studies. Although the studies within this tradition are ideologically based on the tradition of thought called Western Marxism or the New Left, they basically argue that the concept of culture has an autonomous structure and helps shape popular consciousness through the ideological environment and popular culture (Yaylagül, 2018, p. 127). 127) Theorists such as Stuart Hall, who has an important place in cultural studies, even accused Classical Marxism or political economy studies of an economic reductionism that ignored issues such as culture, ideology, language and the symbolic for a long time (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 40) Therefore, they generally chose as their field of study issues related to the cultural field such as subculture, media, popular music, clothing and

sports. (Bourse & Yücel, 2017, p. 7) From this point of view, it is possible to say that the cultural studies tradition rejects economism and adopts Althusserian structuralism. Because cultural studies, just like Althusserian structuralism, focused on everyday life and at this point, the concept of culture was considered as a political approach that covers the content and practices that are subject to everyday life. (Storey, 2000, p. 9) In other words, in the studies shaped around this tradition, the concept of culture has a very important place in ensuring social control and hegemony. Mass media, on the other hand, functions to define and reproduce social reality by using cultural codes to ensure hegemony. (Slack and Allor, 1983; as cited in Yaylagül, 2018, p. 131)

As can be seen, critical approaches, which are divided into structuralist, political economy and cultural studies, have conducted research on the media from a number of different perspectives and have made some inferences about the media. However, it is possible to say that all these approaches' conclusions about the media are essentially parallel to each other. Because in all of these schools, the media is presented as an ideological field of struggle in which social consent is gained or lost. (Curran, 1989; as cited in Dursun, 2014, p. 24) This clearly shows that the division of these studies into different branches or traditions within critical approaches is only due to the difference in the problematics taken as the center of focus. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 25)

On the other hand, within the framework of this approach of critical studies, a number of tasks and functions have been attributed to the media. In this context, Erdoğan states that in studies within the critical approach, the media mostly has tasks such as the creation and retention of social knowledge, the classification of the world and the production of consciousness (Erdoğan İ. , 2007, p. 178). (Erdoğan İ. , 2007, p. 178) Accordingly, through the social information selected and given by the media, people learn about their inner world, the external world outside themselves, their own realities and the realities experienced by others. However, this information, which is sent through the media and directly affects people's lives, is nothing but carefully constructed ideological information. (Erdoğan İ. , 2007, p. 178) In other words, according to this task that the critical approach attributes to the media, the media presents people with messages that it passes through certain filters and shapes within the framework of its own ideology.

In addition, critical studies claim that in capitalist societies, the media constantly fulfills the task of "classifying the world" within the dominant ideologies. (Erdoğan İ. , 2007, p. 179) So much so that, within the scope of this task, media organizations create content that will support and maintain the class social order. Accordingly, the society under the conditions of capital and production is shaped in a more complex and multidimensional way through the aforementioned media contents. In addition, this paves the way for the reorganization of the social structure into regions, classes, subclasses and cultures. (Erdoğan İ. , 2007, p. 178)

One of the tasks attributed to the media in studies shaped within the framework of critical approaches is undoubtedly the media's task of producing consciousness, as emphasized earlier. Accordingly, mass media, i.e. media, as in all other production activities, while presenting a material product with certain production relations, it also produces the consciousness of these relations and presentation. (Erdoğan İ. , 2007, p. 180) In other words, media organizations not only carry out their production activities within the scope of the capitalist mode of production, but also produce consciousness at the point of forming social consent for this ideology. This makes today's media organization the most important pillar of the capitalist system. Moreover, in this study, the media is handled in the context of this task and the privatization news that constitute the samples of the study are examined in this context. For this reason, the task of consciousness production attributed to the media within the framework of critical approaches is also considered very important for this study.

From this point of view, it is possible to say that media organizations are very effective tools in the maintenance of capitalist hegemony. As we have mentioned before, many of the contents produced through these organizations are clear evidence of this situation. Especially the publications on the phenomenon and practices of privatization seem to be quite functional at this point. This is because through these broadcasts, not only a great propaganda of the capitalist system is made, but also social consent is produced for the hegemony that capitalism has established over society. In this respect, it is possible to point to privatization news as one of the most observable areas of the relationship between capitalism and the media. Understanding the relationship between privatization as an economic and political

phenomenon and the way the media presents this phenomenon in the field of social perception and cognition is important for this study. For this reason, it is necessary to examine the concept of privatization in detail for a clearer understanding of the study.



CHAPTER 3

3. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NEOLIBERALISM AND PRIVATIZATION

After 1980, privatization practices, which are one of the important elements of the new world order that emerged in parallel with the developments in the world, have emerged as a vital concept that greatly affects both the political, economic and social spheres. After 1980, privatization practices have been seen as one of the key instruments in the process of restructuring capitalism by reorganizing the production process and markets, which is one of the main objectives of the neoliberal policies that have been dominant in the world.

Privatization practices, as the most functional instrument used in the realization of the concept of downsizing the state, which is one of the basic teachings of neoliberal ideology, have been presented by neoliberal circles as an important indicator of a new understanding of order rather than a classical transfer of ownership. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 125) Privatization practices are of utmost importance in the continuity of this new order, which is based on the understanding that the wealth of the nations outside the center is exploited by the capital that has become multinational as a result of neoliberal economic policies.

If we take a look at the privatization policies implemented in the world, it is understood that privatizations show some variations depending on the country and society in which they are implemented. In fact, depending on this situation, some privatization practices are not defined as privatization, and are called in different ways, although the essence is the same. Of course, this situation causes confusion and controversy in the definition and functioning of the concept. In order to prevent such a situation, first of all, the definition, functioning and historical background of the privatization phenomenon should be clearly defined.

3. 1. Privatization as a Concept

If the literature on the concept of privatization is examined in detail, it is possible to say that the phenomenon of privatization has been one of the most controversial issues in the world for the last fifty years, both theoretically and practically. Of course, many factors have contributed to the emergence of such a situation regarding the concept. There are basically two reasons why privatization is such a controversial concept. The first one is that the concept of privatization is usually presented by the authorities as a purely economic phenomenon. However, when the area affected by the concept of privatization is taken into consideration, it is understood that this concept is a social and political concept as well as an economic one.

Another important reason why the concept of privatization appears as a controversial concept is that it is a common field of study for many different disciplines and scientists in different disciplines evaluate the concept within the framework of their own field of specialization. For example, in terms of legal science, privatization refers to the transfer of the management and responsibility of state-owned economic enterprises to the private sector. However, according to economics, privatization is the transfer of the state-owned state economic enterprises (SEEs) to the private sector in order to restrict or eliminate the state's effectiveness in the economic field. (Demirbaş & Türkoğlu, 2002, p. 242) In other words, while the concept of privatization according to law generally refers to an administrative phenomenon, in economics it is examined more as the restriction or elimination of the state's effectiveness in the economic field.

On the other hand, another reason that makes privatization a controversial concept stems from the fact that privatizations are considered on the axis of social benefit. That is to say, according to neoliberal economists and politicians, privatization practices drive enterprises more strongly towards profitability and efficiency, increase competition and prevent the use of public assets as a tool of political competition. (Atiyas & Oder, 2008, p. 19) However, anti-privatization circles acknowledge that the opposite is actually the case and state that these policies, which are based on the withdrawal of the state from the market and its gradual downsizing,

will not provide any benefit to society. According to opponents of privatization, services that were previously regarded as public services by the state and therefore provided free of charge or for a nominal fee become chargeable after privatization. Of course, the beneficiaries of privatization are not the public sector but the owners of big capital. For this reason, anti-privatization circles define privatization practices as the sale of assets built in the past with the common wealth of the nation to the private sector, the transfer of the income obtained to the private sector again and the plundering of the past. (Yıldızoğlu, 2013; cited in Karadoğan, 2018, p. 1)

Based on all these, in this study, the concept of privatization is considered to include all policies aimed at limiting public sector activities, selling the ownership of state-owned units to private individuals and institutions, and moving the complex structure between the state and the private sector and the line that reveals the differences between this structure to the detriment of the state and the public. (Coşkun, 2017, p. 83) Because this definition of privatization emphasizes the economic aspect of the concept, but also emphasizes the political and social aspects to a certain extent.

On the other hand, although the definition of the concept of privatization is given above, no explanation is given on how the concept emerged in the historical process. Of course, this situation will bring some drawbacks in terms of understanding the way the concept is handled in this study. For this reason, in order to prevent such a situation and to provide a clearer understanding of the privatization phenomenon, the emergence and development of the concept in the historical process will be discussed. The emergence of the phenomenon of privatization and its development into one of the most important tools of today's capitalist system is very important in understanding the foundations of the concept.

3. 1. 1. Emergence of the Concept of Privatization

As it is known, privatization practices first emerged in the UK during the Thatcher period as neoliberal economic policies became dominant in the world economic system after 1980. This system, which was then implemented in the US during the Reagan era, gradually spread to the rest of the world and became one of the

most important instruments of the capitalist system that changed its shell after 1980. However, it is not possible to evaluate the emergence of the idea of privatization only from this perspective. In fact, the emergence of privatization as a useful tool within the capitalist system has been the result of a long historical process. Accordingly, while questioning the emergence of privatization practices and its transformation into a new indispensable tool of capitalism, it is also necessary to look at the historical crises of the capitalist system. This is because the crisis periods of capitalism have played a major role in the formation of the political, economic and social foundations of today's capitalist system, in which the idea of privatization is explicitly imposed.

In this context, when the history of the capitalist system is examined in detail, it is understood that three periods of depression were very important in the emergence of the idea of privatization. These are the 1873-1896 Crisis, the 1929 Crisis and the 1973 Oil Crisis. In other words, as a result of the developments in these crisis periods, the capitalist system underwent a major transformation process and reproduced itself. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 107) In other words, with the developments that occurred during these crisis periods, the world economic system was redesigned in accordance with the conditions necessary for capitalism to survive. For this reason, it is necessary to examine in detail these depression periods that were effective in the emergence of the concept of privatization.

The Crisis of 1873-1896, called the "Great Depression", significantly affected major capitalist states such as Britain, America and Germany. In this period, the sudden and sharp fall in prices due to the surplus of goods led to an extraordinary stagnation and despair in capitalist economies. As emphasized by Kaymak, Friedrich Engels, one of the most competent observers of the period, wrote in the preface to the 1892 edition of his work "The Condition of the Working Classes in England" that the crisis period was characterized by "a depressing depression, a persistent surplus of goods in all branches of business and in all markets, and this is what we have been experiencing for nearly ten years." (Kaymak, 2010, p. 167)

In this context, the Crisis of 1873-1896 can be regarded as the period in which the first transformations in the capitalist economic system took place. In this period, it was realized for the first time that capitalism was not as strong an economic system as

it seemed and that it had many weaknesses, and accordingly, the capitalist system was redesigned in accordance with the conditions of that period. So much so that after this period, capitalist circles have made it a tradition to launch a great wave of transformation whenever the system is in crisis. In fact, this is the importance of this period for the history of privatization. Because the "tradition of post-crisis transformation" within the capitalist system that started in this period led to the emergence of neoliberalism, which formed the ideological infrastructure of privatization practices in the following years.

The second great depression period of capitalist capital occurred between 1914 and 1945. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 107) The global economic crisis that started in 1929, centered in the US, caused high rates of unemployment and economic decline almost all over the world. For this reason, this period is referred to as the 1929 Economic Crisis in the literature.

The Crisis of 1929 shook the capitalist system to such an extent that the unfavorable conditions that emerged during this period caused capitalist states to make radical changes in the economic system, which they had previously questioned in a weak way during the Crisis of 1873-1896. In fact, with the crisis in question, the classical principles such as "the economy will balance itself and every supply will give rise to its own demand", which were previously unquestionably defended, were abandoned, and demand-side "Keynesian" economic policies, which stated that economic balance could not be fully achieved without state intervention, began to be accepted. (Işık & Duman, 2012, p. 77) In other words, depending on the conditions that emerged with the 1929 Crisis, the principles that constitute the essence of capitalism were abandoned and the way was paved for the re-establishment of the state's effectiveness in the economic field.

In this context, Keynesian economic policies became the dominant economic system in world economic life after 1929. In fact, during the years when Keynesian economic policies were in practice (1929-1970), growth rates in the main indicators of the economy such as world trade, industrial production and labor productivity reached high levels never seen before in the history of capitalism. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 110) In addition, various social systems were developed in this period in many

areas that directly concern social life such as health, education and social services. These social systems led to the emergence of the concept of the welfare state and paved the way for a relative compromise between the owners of capital and the working class.

However, despite the successes achieved in economic and social areas as a result of Keynesian fiscal and monetary policies, especially after the Second World War, by the end of the 1960s, the Keynesian understanding began to unravel both nationally and internationally. (Harvey, 2015, p. 20) In fact, this process of unraveling reached its highest level during the 1973 World Oil Crisis, which was the third great crisis of capitalism. During this period, in addition to the high level of stagflation² in the economies of almost all the world states, tensions and conflicts within the social and political structure increased. Keynesian economic policies were blamed for these unfavorable conditions in the world. In fact, the major capitalist states, particularly Britain and the United States, began to spread the belief that Keynesian economic practices were no longer working and that new alternative economic policies were needed to overcome the crisis. The solution that these countries put forward against the threats to the capitalist social order in the 1970s was "neoliberalism." (Harvey, 2015, p. 27)

3. 1. 2. The Ideological Basis of Privatization: Neoliberalism

As mentioned above, Keynesian economic policies initiated a great wave of transformation in the global economic system, especially after the Second World War, and were largely successful. However, immediately after the Second World War, a small group of economists, led by Friedrich A. Hayek, began to criticize the interventionist economic system that emerged as a result of Keynesian economic policies. According to them, Keynesian economic policies and the welfare state concept that emerged as a result of these policies contradicted the basic principles of liberalism and individual freedoms were restricted through increasingly centralized state power. (Akillı, 2010, p. 30) For this reason, Hayek and his colleagues argued that Keynesian economic policies that paved the way for state intervention should be

² It is the simultaneous occurrence and triggering of recession and high inflation in economic life.

urgently abandoned and a new economic model in which liberal principles were fully dominant should be adopted. However, the great success of Keynesian economic policies after the Second World War prevented these economists' arguments from having the desired impact on the global system. On the other hand, the developments that took place after the 1973 World Oil Crisis caused the neoliberal ideology put forward by Hayek and his colleagues to find a response in major capitalist states, especially in the UK. Especially the M. Thatcher government that came to power in the UK in the late 1970s became the most ardent advocate of this ideology.

Theoretically, neoliberalism is the theory of political economy practices that assert that the most ideal way to increase the welfare of humanity is the maximization of entrepreneurial freedom. (Çiğ & Çiğ, 2012, p. 68) According to this conception, which has been dominant in the world economic system for nearly fifty years, a state should be in favor of strong individual private property rights, the rule of law, and freely functioning market and free trade institutions. (Harvey, 2015, p. 72) In other words, neoliberalism is semantically built on the concepts of individual freedoms and free markets.

However, when the political and economic practices of countries that have adopted neoliberalism are taken into consideration, it is possible to say that these concepts are nothing more than propaganda elements used to open up areas of legitimacy for the neoliberal ideology in the eyes of the society. In this context, neoliberalism, which claims that individual freedoms are above all else, experiences its first and biggest contradiction at this point. This is because neoliberalism's authoritarianism over markets and the ideals of individual freedom are incompatible. The anti-democratic legal regulations enacted in countries that have adopted this ideology to maximize labor exploitation are proof of this claim. In fact, through these legislations, the activities of trade unions have been restricted, many of the rights that laborers had previously gained through great struggles have been taken away, and individual freedoms have been "sacrificed" to the interests of corporations. Therefore, the most important promise of neoliberalism, the concept of individual liberty, has been undercut in practice and has come to naught. (Harvey, 2015, p. 84)

In addition, it is possible to say that the concept of free market, which is one of the most fundamental elements of neoliberal ideology, cannot go beyond theory, just like the concept of individual freedoms. Because the free market concept is theoretically based on the principle that countries will complement and cooperate with each other. However, the inequalities arising from the military, economic, scientific and technological superiority of the large capitalist states, called the center countries, over the peripheral countries have prevented this understanding from gaining functionality in practice. In fact, peripheral countries have become politically and economically dependent on central countries as a result of structural adjustment programs and free trade agreements with global economic institutions such as the World Bank, IMF and World Trade Organization under the name of global cooperation or global governance. (Kılınç, 2012, p. 155)

On the other hand, with the dominance of the free market concept in the world economic system, large companies have pushed other small and medium-sized companies operating in the same field out of the field of competition, sometimes by incorporating them into their own structure and sometimes by using the money and political power they have, and as a result, they have become international monopolies. In other words, the free market concept, despite placing the virtues of competition at the forefront of the showcase, has in reality served no other function than to consolidate the oligopoly, monopoly and transnational power of a few centralized multinational corporations. (Harvey, 2015, p. 88)

As can be understood from these points, neoliberalism emerged out of the economic structure created after the World War II and caused the economic activities in the world to gain a global dimension and caused large capital groups to dominate the economic system in the world. However, neoliberalism has not only affected economic activities but has also radically changed social life. The engine of this radical change in social life with neoliberalism has been the masses. In parallel with the developments in communication technologies and the neoliberal policies implemented especially after 1980, mass media outlets have rapidly progressed from public control to privatization, and thus media organizations around the world have come under the domination of a few large capital groups. This led to an unprecedented change in consumption patterns, technical practices in the field of

communication, organizational models and forms of ownership in the media, as well as the organization of the information and images carried by the mass media in the form of a monopoly. (Davis, 1997, p. 30) In other words, as a result of the developments in the field of communication after 1980, communication, just like the economic system, has become globalized.

With the globalization of the communication network, the economic and political system in the US and EU countries has been restructured on the basis of communication technologies. People who are not citizens of these countries, which are global powers, have been tried to be kept in the position of good consumers through globalized mass media. This is because the powers that dominate the political and economic system in the world believed that only with such a policy could they survive in the global competition that was on the rise with neoliberalism (Geray, 2000, p. 5). 5) In line with this belief, the mass media adopt a new self-personality for individuals within the mass, suggest what they should be and how they should be and give them the willingness to do so, teach them what they need to do in order to have these new personalities they have adopted, provide them with a certain technique in this direction, and when they adopt this new personality, they have become tools used to ensure that the individual relaxes even if their real personality does not correspond to it. (Mills, 1974; cited in Ayhan, 2003, p. 83)

Based on all these, it is possible to say that neoliberalism is the most important actor in the realization of the ideal of economic man and economic society, which is one of the most important elements of the modern capitalist world design. (İnsel, 2015, p. 11) In fact, Karl Marx's prediction in the 19th century that "capitalism would sooner or later try to create a world market based on the exploitation of labor" was largely realized with neoliberalism. century that "capitalism will sooner or later try to create a world market based on the exploitation of labor" has been largely realized with neoliberalism. (Duman, 2011, p. 669) Because with neoliberalism becoming the dominant system, the political, economic, social and technological structure of the world has completely changed in favor of "the ruling classes' efforts to create a world order based on the exploitation of labor". In this context, the most important tool used by neoliberal ideology has undoubtedly been privatization policies.

3. 1. 3. Neoliberal Globalization and Privatizations

As mentioned earlier, neoliberalism gained great momentum in the 1980s with the coming to power of M. Thatcher in the UK and R. Reagan in the US. In addition, especially after 1980, the imposing economic policies of international economic institutions such as the IMF, the World Bank and the World Trade Organization under the name of "structural adjustment" towards underdeveloped or developing countries have also contributed significantly to this rise of neoliberalism. (Şenses, 2004, p. 3)

On the other hand, parallel to this rapid rise of neoliberal economic policies, a massive campaign was launched against state ownership and the failures of state-run enterprises. As a result of these ideological campaigns, the restrictive and preventive measures implemented by states in relation to capital flows were completely eliminated in favor of capital owners and the sphere of activity of capital expanded. Thus, the world has become a single integrated financial market, which is one of the primary needs of neoliberalism (Memiş, 2014, p. 146) In other words, the world markets have become a single market and "globalized". Moreover, as a result of this globalization trend shaped around neoliberal economic policies, capital movements have been able to easily spread to cross-border areas where they can provide lower risks and higher profits rather than staying within any borders. (Göngen, 2013, p. 123) This situation has paved the way for the formation of the political, economic and legal basis for privatization practices and paved the way for the spread of privatizations throughout the world. In other words, privatization practices have actually emerged as a result of neoliberal globalization. Çiler Dursun explains this relationship between privatizations and neoliberal globalization as follows.

"Privatization policies, as an imposition of the concrete conditions of the new world order, have gained importance within the whole of the neoliberal doctrine; it is necessary to evaluate privatization policies as a set of practices that gain meaning and value by creating the conditions for realizing the functioning of the international economy, which is opposed to the needs of national economies. The reorganization of the production process and the changes in the structure of the market are referred to by the term "globalization" in the restructuring period of capitalism."(Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 116)

In this context, it is possible to say that there is an intricate intertwined relationship between globalization and privatization. This is because while the globalization process has made privatization policies more functional, privatization has been the most important factor in intensifying the globalization trend in economic life. In other words, the ideology of globalization and privatization practices have developed in parallel with the ideology of multinational neoliberal corporations that are empowered by practices that liberalize capital movements. (Timur, 1996; cited in Dursun, 2014, p. 117) Accordingly, neoliberalism, which is a political project aimed at deepening and systematizing the domination of capital over political and social relations, has been reproduced by deepening this domination through privatization practices. (Angın & Bedirhanoğlu, 2013, p. 75)

3. 2. Objectives of Privatization Practices

As it is known, privatization practices have actually become widespread with the introduction of neoliberal economic policies in the world economic life. Accordingly, the main purpose of privatization practices has been determined as the restriction or elimination of the effectiveness of the state in the economic field. This has been seen as a very important point in terms of providing an economic environment suitable for neoliberal economic policies. However, the objectives targeted by privatization practices also vary according to the conditions of the country where the practice is implemented. In this context, when privatization practices in various countries are examined, it is possible to say that privatizations have economic, financial, political and social objectives.

3. 2. 1. Economic Objectives of Privatization Practices

According to liberal economists, who are among the most prominent advocates of privatization practices, the theoretical purpose of privatizations, which play a vital role in the realization of neoliberal economic goals, is to manage the national economy according to free market rules and to improve social welfare by increasing the number of private enterprises that operate more effectively and efficiently than public enterprises. (Tümer, 2004, p. 20) This explanation of the objectives of privatizations, of course, brings the economic aspect of the concept to

the forefront and promises an increase in welfare. Moreover, this is an extremely natural situation. In this context, it is possible to list the theoretical economic objectives of privatization in detail as follows;

- Strengthening the free market economy
- Developing the capital market
- Increasing foreign exchange earnings
- Increasing efficiency
- Bringing inflation under control

However, it should be noted at this point that, when the countries where privatization policies have been intensively implemented are taken into account, it is obvious that these economic objectives attributed to privatization have not been realized to a great extent and even remain only in theory. Accordingly, a total of 185 privatizations were carried out between 1986 and 2004, generating revenues of approximately USD 14.2 billion. On the other hand, the Privatization Administration's coffers received \$13.9 billion during this period. In other words, after a total of 185 privatizations carried out in Turkey between 1986 and 2004, the net profit that entered the coffers of the Privatization Administration was approximately 0.3 billion dollars. (Öztürk Y. , 2006, p. 51) Moreover, the cost to the public of the failed banks that were privatized and then transferred to the Deposit Insurance Fund (DIF) during this period approached 50 billion dollars. (Öztürk Y. , 2006, p. 52) Of course, this situation makes it impossible to realize the economic objectives attributed to privatization practices.

Moreover, it is understood that the objective of "controlling inflation", which is among the most important objectives of privatization policies in developing countries such as Turkey, is only a propaganda element at this point. In fact, in almost all scientific studies on the relationship between privatization and inflation, it is clearly stated that there is no significant link between these two variables. (Özen, 2015, p. 36)

3. 2. 2. Financial Objectives of Privatization Practices

Neoliberal economists and politicians claim that one of the most important objectives of privatization is to "provide income to the state". According to this objective, which is considered within the scope of the fiscal objectives of privatization, it is aimed to provide income to the state through privatizations for domestic and foreign investors in periods when the state's domestic and foreign debts are high. (Çetin, 2011, p. 9)

On the other hand, one of the fiscal objectives of privatization is to reduce the impact of state economic enterprises (SEE) on the budget. Accordingly, preventing or reducing the "negative" effects of SEEs on the budget depends on the implementation of long-term fiscal policies. Therefore, these institutions and organizations should be removed from the state's budget items through privatization. (Çetin, 2011, p. 10) However, research on SEEs shows that these enterprises do not make losses and do not have a "negative" impact on the budget, contrary to what is claimed. Accordingly, SEEs in Turkey made a profit of 6.6 billion TL between 2002 and 2006. (Altunbag & Türkoğlu, 2015, p. 51) This is clear evidence that, contrary to the propaganda, SEEs do not make losses and are privatized only because they are seen as an administratively challenging area.

3. 2. 3. Political Objectives of Privatization Practices

Although the concept of privatization is an economic concept, it is also considered as a political choice since it emerged as a result of neoliberalism. Moreover, one of the primary objectives of privatization practices is the construction of the political sphere within the framework of neoliberal thought based on the belief that the state should not intervene in economic choices (Tümer, 2004, p. 29). (Tümer, 2004, p. 29) Because, in the realization of privatization policies, which are shaped mainly around economic objectives, on the other hand, the neoliberal ideology is desired to become the dominant ideology. In other words, the realization of the economic objectives of privatization requires the full establishment of neoliberal hegemony in the political sphere. Therefore, it is possible to say that privatization practices have political objectives as well as economic and financial objectives.

3. 2. 4. Social Objectives of Privatization Practices

The social objectives of privatization practices generally include optimization of social welfare, contribution to democratization and prevention of corruption. Neoliberal circles claim that in line with this objective, the optimal allocation of the state's scarce resources will be realized and thus social welfare will reach the optimum in the liberal economic order. In addition, according to this assumption, since the optimal allocation of resources will lead to the spread of property to the base, the individual's freedoms in the political sphere will increase and a more democratic environment will be provided throughout the country. (Muter, 1994; cited in Ulusoy & Yılmaz, 2017, p. 8)

However, such an understanding of the objectives of privatization is objectionable in many respects. This is because, according to this understanding, the establishment of justice and freedoms, which are among the primary duties of the state, is made directly related to privatization practices. In other words, in the context of this understanding, the provision of social justice and freedoms is seen as contingent on the realization of privatizations.

In this context, it is possible to say that the concept of privatization is a multifaceted concept that affects the social and political spheres as well as the economic sphere. This is also evident from the objectives of the privatization policies mentioned above, and the privatization policies implemented in Turkey have been shaped in line with these objectives. In this context, the Privatization Administration (PA), which is one of the most authoritative institutions in Turkey in terms of privatization, explains the objectives of privatization activities implemented in Turkey as follows.

"Privatization aims to minimize the state's industrial and commercial activity in the economy, while creating a market economy based on competition, reducing the SEE financing burden on the state budget, developing the capital market and bringing idle savings into the economy, and channeling the resources to infrastructure investments. The main objective of privatization is ultimately to ensure the complete withdrawal of the state from the field of economic management. On the other hand, it

is not possible to talk about a healthy economic development in Turkey without developing the stock market and capital markets. In order for companies to be able to obtain resources through the issuance of stocks, bonds and bills without depending solely on the banking sector, and for there to be a healthy relationship between the cost of these resources and inflation, capital markets must be developed. The development of capital markets is only possible by directing a larger share of savings to financial markets and creating an economic structure that will allow the flow of the funds thus generated to the capital markets. From this point of view, privatization practices aim, on the one hand, to create new resources that will direct domestic and foreign savings, which are not directed to financial markets and thus to capital markets, to these markets, and, on the other hand, to prevent the negative pressure on the financial market, which is squeezed due to the public sector's demand on funds."

(PA, 2016; as cited in Ulusoy & Yılmaz, 2017, p. 8)

3. 3. Privatization Methods

As it is known, there is no standard privatization method that would be valid for all countries in the world in the implementation of privatization policies and that can be applied in the same way for all state-owned enterprises. When the privatization policies implemented in the world are examined, it is seen that privatizations are carried out with different methods shaped according to the constitutional, political, economic and social structure of the country in which they are implemented. International financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF/IMF) and the World Bank (WB), which are the main actors of privatization practices, also accept and promote the necessity of privatization.

Of course, this is also true for privatization practices in Turkey. In this context, the privatization methods of the public enterprises included in the scope of privatization in Turkey are regulated in Article 18 (a) of Law No. 4046. According to this law, the privatization methods that can be applied to the enterprises included in the scope of privatization in Turkey are determined as sale, lease, transfer of operating rights, establishment of rights in rem and revenue sharing. (Çetin, 2011, p. 11)

Therefore, privatization methods will be discussed in this study in the context of the issues determined within the framework of this law.

3. 3. 1. Sale Method

The most commonly applied privatization method within the scope of privatization policies is undoubtedly the sale method. This method can basically be defined as the partial or complete transfer of the ownership of the assets and goods and services production units of public institutions in return for a price, or the transfer of all or some of the shares of these institutions for a certain price in Turkey or abroad, taking into account the conditions in which the institutions are located. (PA, 2016, p. 19)

However, the sale method is divided into two as asset sale and sale of shares. Asset sales are the sale of land, machinery, equipment, buildings, etc. belonging to public enterprises to one or more investors, either separately or as a whole (Orkunoğlu, 2010, p. 5). (Orkunoğlu, 2010, p. 5) However, the method of sale of shares, which is the most preferred method within the scope of privatizations carried out in the world and in Turkey, does not take place within the framework of a single procedure such as asset sales. Accordingly, the method of sale of shares is applied in many different ways, including public offering, transfer to employees, international offering and sale on the stock exchange and block sale. (Altun, 2008, p. 19)

As the name suggests, in the public offering method, the shares of the institution to be privatized are sold through a direct public offering. Although it is a controversial issue, the main purpose of using this method is to spread sharehold of SEE to the public. (Tümer, 2004, p. 31) In addition, another method used within the scope of the sale of shares method is the transfer to employees method. In the context of this method, which is generally preferred in countries such as the UK, France and Italy, the enterprises that are included in the scope of privatization are transferred to employees or the control of the management is left to the workers. (Barlas, 2002, p. 128) However, when the enterprises privatized under this method are taken into consideration, it is understood that there is no such thing as the transfer of these

enterprises to employees or the transfer of the control of the management to the workers, only an illusion is created in this direction.

On the other hand, one of the most frequently used privatization methods is the sale of shares on the stock exchange. Accordingly, the shares of the public institution that is included in the scope of privatization are sold through the Stock Exchange. of Course (SEC), this sale is carried out with the approval of the Capital Markets Board (MKB-CMB) in line with the legislation of the Stock Exchange (Çetin, 2011, p. 19). In fact, until 2004, only six organizations in Turkey were sold directly through the stock exchange (Tümer, 2004, p. 101).

In addition, block sale is the most commonly used method within the scope of the sale method. Under this method, all or some of the assets of SEEs and/or their subsidiaries are sold in blocks. Moreover, in most of the privatization practices carried out under this method, all assets of SEEs are transferred to private persons or entities. For this reason, this method is also called "full privatization". (Barlas, 2002, p. 124)

In this context, the block sale method is the most criticized and opposed method among other privatization methods. This is because with this method, the shares of the privatized institution are put up for sale as a block sale and as a result, all or a large part of the public shares in the privatized institution are transferred to a single investor as a whole. This situation causes monopolization in the field in which the privatized enterprise operates (Çetin, 2011, p. 13) and is not in line with many of the objectives targeted by privatization practices. In particular, this situation directly contradicts the aim of spreading the capital to the base, which is one of the social objectives of privatization. (Barlas, 2002, p. 124)

However, despite all these issues regarding the block sale method, the block sale method is the most commonly used method in privatizations in Turkey. In fact, out of the \$39,616,885,099 in revenues generated from privatizations in Turkey between 1986 and 2010, the total revenue generated through block sales was recorded as \$20,257,066,639. (Çetin, 2011, p. 14) In other words, these data show that the majority of privatizations in Turkey between 1986 and 2010 were carried out using

the block sale method. Moreover, this is clearly stated in the privatization reports published by the Privatization Administration.

Table. 1. Privatization Practices in Turkey by Methodology

Paid Transfer	%2
Sale at the ICMB	%5
Public Offering	%13
Facility and Asset Sales	%10
Block Sale	%70

(PA, 2008; as cited in Altun, 2008, p. 19)

On the other hand, the last detailed information on the methods used in privatization practices in Turkey was provided by the Privatization Administration in 2008. Therefore, since current data could not be accessed, the data of 2008 was used in this study.

3. 3. 2. Leasing Method

One of the most preferred methods within the scope of privatization practices is the leasing method. According to this method, the state leases the enterprise it owns to the private sector and the private sector continues the activities in the leased enterprise by using its own employees (Aktan, 2010, p. 113). (Aktan, 2010, p. 113) Although this method is often dismissed by politicians as privatization in the real sense, it is actually a privatization method in the full sense that the management of the leased enterprise is left entirely to the private sector and the activities carried out within the enterprise are carried out by the private sector.

3. 3. 3. Transfer of Operating Rights

In Law No. 4046, which regulates privatization practices in Turkey, the method of transfer of operating rights is defined as the transfer of the right to operate the organizations as a whole or the goods and services production units in their assets for a certain period of time and conditions in return for a price, without prejudice to the right of ownership. (Çetin, 2011, p. 23) As can be understood from this, there is no transfer of ownership in privatization practices carried out by the method of transfer of operating rights. For this reason, it actually shows some similarities with the leasing method. However, since it has some differences at the point of application, it is handled separately from the leasing method.

3. 3. 4. Establishment of Non-Property Rights

One of the privatization methods used in Turkey is the method of establishing non-ownership rights in rem. Sarısu defines this method as the establishment of rights related to the consent to certain dispositions regarding the right of use belonging to the owner, or the establishment of rights that result in the owner ceasing to use his rights related to the property, within the framework of the form and conditions stipulated in the Turkish Civil Code No. 4721 (TMK-TCC), provided that all rights related to the goods and service production units and property in the assets of the organizations remain with the relevant organization (Sarısu, 2018, p. 5). 5) These rights, which are referred to as rights in rem in the relevant law, are the rights that provide sovereignty and authority to persons over material goods and whose existence can be asserted against anyone, and the rights in rem in the Civil Code are property, easement, pledge rights and real estate encumbrances. (Orkunoğlu, 2010, p. 9) In addition, in privatizations using this method, the subject of the contract is usually the immovable and/or permit properties such as buildings, land, land operating licenses, exploration rights and exploitation permits belonging to the institutions. (Sarısu, 2018, p. 6)

3. 3. 5. Income Sharing Method

Although not fully defined in the privatization law, this privatization method refers to the model that is formed through the ownership of bonds to be issued for real and legal persons to share in the revenues of infrastructure facilities belonging to public institutions and organizations (Orkunoğlu, 2010, p. 9). In other words, in this method, private companies become partners in the revenues to be obtained from the services provided by the state to citizens in return for a predetermined price. In fact, this definition is based on the general functioning of privatization practices using the revenue sharing method.

To summarize within the framework of all these issues, the methods applied within the scope of privatization policies vary according to the economic, political and social characteristics of countries. Moreover, these methods, which are explained in detail above, are very important in terms of revealing the political and economic aspects of privatization practices more clearly. This is because the method used in a privatization practice often reveals the ideological background and the real purpose of the privatization in question. Therefore, such a detailed analysis of privatization methods is very important for a clearer understanding of the study. Therefore, this information, which is mostly theoretical in the context of privatization methods, is also presented visually in Figure 1.

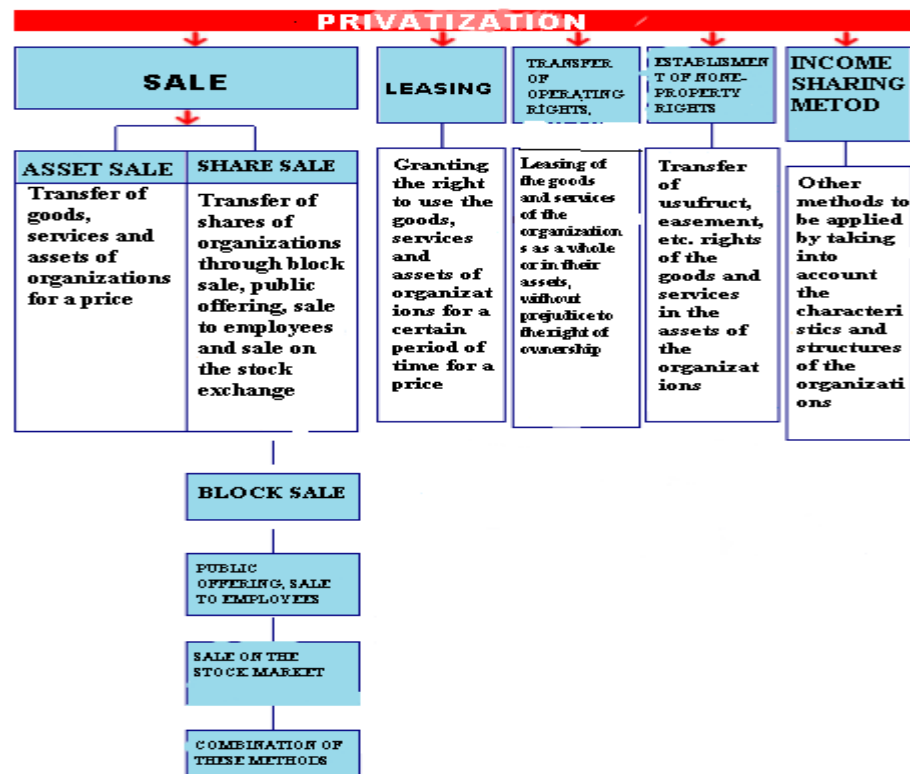


Figure. 1: Privatization Methods

(PA, 2012; as cited in Güngör, 2012, p. 105)

On the other hand, although a lot of information has been provided above on the definition, objectives and methods of privatization, no explanation has been given on how the concept emerged in the historical process. Of course, this situation will bring along some drawbacks in terms of understanding the way the concept is handled in this study. For this reason, in order to prevent such a situation and to understand the privatization phenomenon in a better way, the emergence and development of the concept of privatization in the historical process will be discussed. The emergence of the privatization phenomenon and its development into one of the most important tools of today's capitalist system is very important in understanding the foundations of the concept.

3. 4. Neoliberal Transformation and Privatization Policies in Turkey

As is well known, Turkey has been a country that has been aiming to become a powerful capitalist state by becoming part of the capitalist model of production since its foundation. In fact, the political and economic structures that constitute the main backbone of the state mechanism were created in line with this aim. However, due to reasons such as the tradition of statism in the bureaucracy and the exclusion from politics of the basic elements of liberal democracy such as pluralism and reliance on electoral support, Turkey could not truly articulate with the capitalist world for many years. (Dursun, 2001; as cited in Köksal, 2006, p. 52)

However, after the economic decisions taken on January 24, 1980, just before the September 12 coup d'état, the entire political and economic atmosphere in Turkey changed and the country underwent an unprecedented process of change and transformation in terms of liberalization. As a matter of fact, strict neoliberal policies were implemented to include all elements of the state in order to articulate with these capitalist economies. In this context, Boratav defines the 1980s as the years when bourgeois ideology dominated social life, primarily in economic matters, to a degree incomparable to previous periods. (Boratav, 2018, p. 172)

In addition, as neoliberalism became more influential in Turkey, liberal concepts such as free market and free enterprise became slogans. In this context, the concept of privatization was systematically discussed for the first time in Turkey. This, of course, paved the way for the formation of a new social ground for privatization policies. Therefore, before making conclusions and explanations about privatization policies, it is necessary to examine in detail the before and after of the neoliberalization process in Turkey, which provided the legitimacy of these policies in public opinion. In order to understand the political and economic aspects of privatization policies, which are one of the most important indicators of the dominance of capital over the Turkish economic and political system, it is very important to reveal the transformation of the Turkish economy in the historical process.

3. 4. 1. Turkish Economy Before Neoliberalism

In economic life, liberal policies based on capital hegemony in Turkey's economic life can be traced back to the Ottoman Empire. As a matter of fact, there is a relationship based on continuity between Turkey's political and economic accumulation and its Ottoman past. In other words, the origins of the economic and political policies implemented in Turkey are actually a continuation of the policies attempted to be implemented in the last period of the Ottoman Empire. As Boratav quotes E.G. Mears in his 1924 work "Modern Turkey", this relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Turkey is clearly revealed. According to him, there has never been an independent state where the sphere of influence of capital was wider than in the Ottoman Empire. This legacy not only concerned economic enterprises, but also affected the political and social life of Turkey as a whole (Boratav, 2018, p. 21).

From this point of view, in order to understand the economic and political policies implemented in today's Turkey and the privatization concept implemented within the scope of these policies, it is useful to take a look at the economic practices implemented in the Ottoman period. This period is of great importance for the emergence and development of the privatization concept in Turkey. Moreover, it is possible to mention many economic and political practices similar to today's privatization practices in the Ottoman economy, which was a large market for industrial goods produced by capitalist countries and where capital moved extremely freely. For example, when we take a look at the railway and electricity supply services in the Ottoman Empire, it is seen that these services were generally provided by foreign capital and the state granted certain concessions to the companies that would provide these services. In this context, the granting of the construction and operation rights of the Izmit-Eskişehir-Ankara railway line in 1888, as well as the granting of the Istanbul-Baghdad line railway, known as the Baghdad Railway, to the German Deutchsh Bank in 1903 (Avcı, 2015, p. 271) can be shown as examples of privatization practices in the Ottoman Empire. In addition, the granting of the Istanbul electricity concession to Gans nam Anonim Elektrik Şirketi for fifty years in 1910 (Erol E. , 2007, p. 69) is another privatization practice in the Ottoman period.

In addition to these, one of the privatization practices carried out during the Ottoman period was the awarding of the wireless telegraph tender to a French company named T.S.F. With the aforementioned tender, the infrastructure services that enable the establishment of radio stations, radio broadcasting and the execution of wireless telegraph communication were given to this company (Arvas, 2018, p. 413). As a result of this privatization in the Ottoman period, the state's communication and communication network was completely left to the control of capital.

On the other hand, with the declaration of the republic and the end of the Ottoman Empire, a major political and social transformation began in Turkey. However, this transformation remained limited in the economic sphere. In fact, according to many economic historians, there was no change in economic policies and official economic views in the Republican Period until 1929, and even the Ottoman economic policies continued in this period. (Boratav, 2018, p. 41) The decisions taken at the Izmir Economic Congress also prove this. As a matter of fact, within the scope of this congress, economic policies encouraging domestic and foreign capital owners were inculcated and an economic system dominated by the Istanbul commercial bourgeoisie was established. (Boratav, 2018, p. 48) In other words, apart from some nationalization practices, economic policies developed in favor of capital were implemented in the early years of the republic, just as in the last periods of the Ottoman Empire.

However, the Depression of 1929 deeply affected the Turkish economy as it did in other countries around the world. In this period, the previously implemented economic policies were completely shelved and a closed economic approach was adopted and a national industrialization attempt was made by the state. This made the state the main actor in the economic sphere, especially in the industrial sector. (Boratav, 2018, p. 87) For this reason, it is not possible to talk about any privatization in this period, which covers the years between 1930-1939 and in which generally statist economic policies were implemented. On the contrary, it is known that some enterprises, especially those owned by foreign capital elements, were nationalized during this period.

In addition to the 1929 Crisis, another important development that deeply affected political, social and economic life in Turkey was the Second World War. In fact, as a result of the negative developments that took place during this period, the public lost confidence in the political power and the expectations for change in the society reached the highest level. Accordingly, in the 1950 general elections held after the disputed election in 1946, the Democratic Party (DP) led by Celal Bayar came to power alone and ended the 27-year rule of the Republican People's Party (CHP).

With the DP coming to power, a major liberalization process was initiated in Turkey, particularly in the economic sphere. Already before coming to power, the DP's program clearly stated that liberal practices would be adopted in the economy among the basic principles of the party. (Takım, 2012, p. 164) As a matter of fact, as a result of the laws enacted and decisions taken during the DP period, Turkey entered into a real liberalization trend for the first time in its history in both political and economic terms and tried to be integrated into the capitalist system. Therefore, the DP period can be regarded as the period in which the foundations of neoliberal economic policies were laid. The liberalization trend in the economy, which emerged in this period and continued its influence in the following years, led to the easier adoption of the neoliberal policies implemented after 1980.

Moreover, the DP period is also very important in terms of the history of privatization in Turkey. Because it was during the DP period that the concept of privatization in Turkey first emerged. In fact, within the framework of the program of the Second Menderes Government announced by Prime Minister Adnan Menderes in the Grand National Assembly of Turkey (TBMM) on 30.3.1951, it was clearly stated that "State management will be devoted only to the works that have a public character related to the main industry and that the enterprises established by the state will be gradually transferred to private enterprises". (Babüroğlu, 1982; as cited in: Takım, 2012, p. 159) In other words, Menderes stated with this statement that the state-owned SEEs would be transferred to private capital through privatization.

However, when the period in question is analyzed, it is clearly understood that the DP government failed to achieve its objectives in terms of privatization. This is because there was no privatization practice during the DP period. However, the fact

that the concept of privatization was included in the program of a ruling party and that it was voiced loudly by politicians is an indication that the privatization phenomenon started to gain a place in the political and economic life of Turkey. Therefore, the DP period is a very important period in terms of the history of privatization in Turkey.

However, as a result of the coup d'état on May 27, 1960, the DP government came to an end and with the effect of the 1961 Constitution prepared after the coup, a new transformation process started in Turkey, especially in the political and social spheres. This transformation process, which is usually considered in political and social terms, actually led to major changes in the economic sphere as well. In this period, the liberalization initiatives previously implemented by the DP cadres were largely suspended and Keynesian economic policies were adopted, as in most of the world. As a matter of fact, the establishment of the State Planning Organization (DPT-SPO) and the fact that the three-five-year economic plans prepared by this organization became the main element in economic management is a proof of how effective Keynesian economic policies were in this period. (Boratav, 2018, p. 132)

Apart from these, another issue that should be emphasized regarding the Turkish economy between 1960 and 1980 is the increase in foreign borrowing. As a matter of fact, during this period, Turkey, which was seen as a "favored" member of the Western Bloc due to the Cold War conditions, was granted large loans and the economy became chronically dependent on foreign loans. (Boratav, 2018, p. 137) This situation led to the influence of international financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank on the Turkish economy and these institutions had a say in the formulation of national economic policies.

On the other hand, it is possible to point to the period between 1970-1980 as Turkey's most politically and economically challenging years. During this period, the country fell into a political and economic turmoil due to political instability, embargoes, global economic crisis and terrorist incidents (Dağdemir & Küçükkalay, 1999, p. 124). In addition to these, towards the end of the 1970s, with the influence of the neoliberalization movement in the world, international financial institutions such as the IMF increased their pressure on Turkey, which did not abandon the Keynesian economic model, and conditioned the acceptance of neoliberal

economic policies for the opening of new credit channels. (Boratav, 2018, p. 157) However, as the economic policies implemented in Turkey between 1968 and 1969 entered a crisis, trade unions and the leftist movement increased their struggle. This created an obstacle to the realization of the neoliberal practices imposed on the government by the IMF. (Ataay, 2008, p. 74)

On the other hand, as we have already mentioned, by the 1980s, neoliberal economic policies had gradually expanded their sphere of influence and become dominant in the world. Of course, this situation affected political and economic life in Turkey in many ways. In this period, as a result of the pressures of international financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank, neoliberal economic policies began to be accepted as a "savior" formula, especially in right-wing political circles. In this context, the circles in power during this period declared that it was not possible to overcome the economic crisis in the country with the existing strategies and announced the January 24th Decisions, which were the roadmap for the transition to a neoliberal economy. (Dağdemir & Küçükkalay, 1999, p. 125)

However, the government parties, which were experiencing a deep crisis of power and hegemony during the period in question, were clearly reluctant to implement these decisions that billed the working people for the crisis the country was in. (Özçelik, 2012, p. 75) Almost none of these decisions announced on January 24, 1980 were implemented by the politicians who took the decisions. Because it was understood that it was not possible to implement the January 24th Decisions through ordinary methods in this hegemony crisis environment where the masses were seriously mobilized. For this reason, according to Mütevellioğlu and Işık, the military coup of September 12, which was a "caesarist solution" in the Gramscian sense, came to the agenda and the coup plotters who seized power put the January 24th Decisions into practice through military rule that inculcated "total commitment to the economic and social program of the bourgeoisie." (Mütevellioğlu & Işık, 2009, p. 237)

3. 4. 2. Neoliberal Transformation in Turkey

Undoubtedly, the most striking feature of the January 24th Decisions, which laid the foundation for the neoliberalization process in Turkey, is that they were

implemented by the military government. In fact, the soldiers who came to power as a result of the September 12, 1980 coup d'état abolished all the decisions taken by the previous government, but left the January 24th Decisions untouched and implemented them exactly as they were. An examination of the neoliberalization processes in other countries that are not the locomotive of neoliberalism, such as Turkey, reveals that this situation is not unique to Turkey and that neoliberalization processes in "undeveloped or developing" countries are usually carried out by military governments.

As a matter of fact, in Chile, which is known as the first major experimental field of neoliberal state formation, Augusto Pinochet seized power in 1973 as a result of a CIA-backed military coup and launched a great wave of neoliberalization with the support of US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. (Çığ & Çığ, 2012, p. 71) Moreover, in almost all Latin American countries, which the US considers as experimental fields for the spread of neoliberalism, events similar to the Chilean example have taken place and neoliberalism and military coups have become synonymous in this region. Therefore, it is possible to see the implementation of the January 24th Decisions, the first step of the neoliberalization process in Turkey, by a military dictatorship as a strategy implemented by neoliberal circles. This is because the big capitalist powers, which are the drivers of neoliberalism, know that decisions such as the January 24th Decisions, which will negatively affect all other segments of society except the bourgeoisie, can only be implemented in repressive and anti-democratic regimes.

However, two very important questions arise at this point. These are; 1) What are the decisions known as the January 24th Decisions? 2) What did it change in Turkey's economic life? For this purpose, it is first necessary to examine the content of the January 24th Decisions. In this context, it is possible to summarize these decisions, which were taken at the meeting of the Council of Ministers on January 24, 1980 and published in the Official Gazette dated January 25, 1980 and bis number 16880, as follows

- A 32.7% devaluation will be made and daily exchange rate announcements will be made,

- Measures will be taken to downsize the state's share in the economy and, in parallel, support purchases of agricultural products by SEEs will be limited,
- Foreign trade will be liberalized, foreign capital investments will be encouraged, and profit transfers will be facilitated,
- Imports will be gradually liberalized and exports will be encouraged through tax refunds, low-interest loans, customs exemption for imported inputs for manufacturing exporters, and an incentive system differentiated according to sectors.

On January 24, 1980, at the Council of Ministers meeting, the main objectives aimed to be achieved by these decisions were listed as follows;

- Giving SEEs the authority to freely determine the prices of the products they produce and easing the burden on the treasury by making these loss-making enterprises profitable,
- Attracting foreign capital to the country through various incentives and ensuring more investment,
- Abolishing price controls by abolishing the Price Control Committee and setting prices according to supply and demand in the market,
- Minimizing the role of the state in economic activities and its intervention in the economy
- Reducing privileges between the public and private sectors in favor of the public sector(Tüleykan & Bayramoğlu , 2016, p. 406)

As can be understood from this, the January 24th Decisions almost completely eliminated the state's influence in the economic sphere and made the Turkish economy suitable for the implementation of neoliberal policies. As a matter of fact, the neoliberalization process in Turkey started de facto when Turgut Özal, who was the prime ministerial advisor to the ousted prime minister Süleyman Demirel and played an important role in these decisions, was appointed as the head of the economy by the September 12 regime. Moreover, Turgut Özal, who had gained the trust of domestic capital circles as the head of the Metal Industrialists' Union (MESS) and

Sabancı Holding, and of international capital through his World Bank connections, emerged as the person who would play the leading role in determining the neoliberal economic policies implemented in Turkey throughout the 1980s. (Boratav, 2018, p. 163) In other words, it is possible to define Turgut Özal as the main actor and architect of the neoliberal transformation in Turkey.

According to Özal, who was basically defined as a staunch Adam Smithian, Turkey could take firm steps only when the market was completely free and all capital opportunities were mobilized. (Timur, 2004, p. 52) As a matter of fact, the economic policies of all the governments established by Özal were formed within the framework of this understanding. In fact, all of the economic actions of Özal, who defined himself as a "reckless" leader, especially between 1980 and 1988, were the product of this neoliberal approach. (Timur, 2004, p. 55) However, as we have already mentioned, Özal was not the only actor who came to the fore in the implementation of these policies. Undoubtedly, the authoritarian reflexes of the September 12th regime were the greatest force that enabled Özal to realize the economic policies of this period smoothly. As a result of the 12 September regime's repressive and authoritarian practices, there was no organized resistance against the anti-labor conditions such as the increase in unemployment, the decline in workers' and civil servants' salaries and the extension of working hours (Mütevellioğlu & Işık, 2009, p. 198) that emerged as a product of the economic policies implemented by the Özal governments. In this way, Özal integrated Turkey into the process of "globalization/neoliberalization" in the worst way possible with the help of the military (Timur, 2004, p. 75).

In parallel to these, one of the most important features of the Özal period is that the concept of privatization has become entrenched in Turkey's political and economic life as never before. The issue of privatization, which was first mentioned by Özal in the 1984 elections, became the most important part of the neoliberalization program implemented by the Özal governments, especially after this date. (Aksu, 2018, p. 95) As a matter of fact, the issue of privatization was included in the election manifesto of the Motherland Party (ANAP), of which Özal was the leader, prepared for the 1984 elections as follows;

"One of the objectives of the party is the transfer of state economic organizations to the private sector. In this context, the existing state economic organizations, especially in developing regions, will be transferred to the private sector." (ANAVATAN, 1983; as cited in Sezgin Ş. , 2010)

In addition, in the context of revealing Özal's approach to privatization practices, his debate on TRT on October 22, 1983 with Necdet Calp, the Chairman of the Populist Party (HP), one of the three parties participating in the elections at that time, is very important. In this 1983 election-oriented program, which was broadcast live on television, Necdet Calp said about the privatization of bridges, which was the subject of great debate at the time, *"Now, will workers or civil servants buy this? No! People with high income will buy these bridges. Why should I give them the income of my people? No way!"* and took an anti-privatization stance. Özal, on the other hand, responded to Calp's anti-privatization remarks by saying, *"We can sell very well, we can sell very easily, sir."* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P0ei580fjhI>) In other words, he clearly demonstrated his support for privatization practices. Moreover, immediately after Özal became prime minister, in order to carry out privatization practices in a more planned and systematic manner, he even had a plan called "Privatization Master Plan" prepared, which set privatization targets, included legal advice on privatization, categorized SEEs according to their saleability, and showed how the government should carry out privatization. (Aksu, 2018, p. 95)

In sum, the privatization issue has become a very important agenda item in Turkey's political and economic life as a result of the neoliberal policies implemented during the Özal government, and has also been the main actor in the process of Turkey's neoliberalization. This is because the privatization policies of this period were seen as the most useful tool for the goal of "reducing or eliminating the effectiveness of the state in the economic sphere", which is one of the most important forms of neoliberalization. Moreover, as a result of the negative propaganda against SEEs by the Özal governments, the idea that these institutions urgently needed to be privatized became more and more entrenched in the public opinion. For this reason, many authorities point to the Özal period as the years when the privatization approach in Turkey was put on a systematic basis. Because it is possible to see the

understanding and rhetoric of this period even in privatization practices carried out years after Özal.

3. 4. 3. Neoliberalism in Turkey after the Özal Period

As can be seen, as a result of the neoliberal policies implemented by the Özal governments, Turkey experienced major changes in its political, economic and social life in the 1980s. As a matter of fact, when we analyze the election results of these years, it is possible to say that this wind of change was supported by the public opinion to a great extent. Indeed, almost every election held in the 1980s was won by the Motherland Party (ANAP) led by Özal, the architect of this change, and it was always in power alone. However, towards the end of the 1980s, the political atmosphere in Turkey began to reshape against Özal. This process started with the 1987 referendum on the lifting of bans on banned politicians, continued with the ANAP's loss of major cities in the 1989 local elections, and finally came to an end in the 1991 elections when the ANAP became the second party behind the True Path Party (DYP) led by Süleyman Demirel.

The 1991 general election resulted in an atmosphere of political upheaval in Turkey. Following this election, the government that had ruled the country alone for many years fell and the country was once again governed by coalition governments. However, when the period in question is taken into consideration, it is understood that despite all these changes in the political sphere, there was no change in the economic sphere. In fact, the DYP cadres that came to power in this period largely continued the neoliberal economic policies implemented by the Özal governments. However, these economic policies inherited from the ANAP and implemented in the 1990s led to a much more fragile structure of the Turkish economy. Problems such as current account deficit, near-zero growth, increasing public deficits and chronic inflation, which developed in parallel with the Gulf Crisis, confronted Turkey with the traditional crisis scenarios since 1993. (Karaçor & Alptekin, 2006, p. 311) As a matter of fact, this situation that the Turkish economy entered into as of 1993 turned into a major economic crisis in 1994 and led to the implementation of economic stabilization measures known as the April 5 Decisions.

Known as the April 5 Decisions, this set of economic decisions was basically shaped in line with the objectives of rapidly reducing inflation, stabilizing the Turkish Lira, accelerating the increase in exports, and placing economic and social development on a sustainable basis by taking into account social balances. (Özmetin, 2012, p. 72) Within the scope of these objectives, under the name of "structural adjustment", the urgent privatization of SEEs was stipulated in order to reduce the deficits of the public sector. (Turan, 2011, p. 63) As a matter of fact, the April 5 Decisions were implemented in 1994. 63) As a matter of fact, at the press conference where the April 5 Decisions were announced, Tansu Çiller, the prime minister of the period, clearly emphasized the importance of privatization in the April 5 Decisions by stating that "the issue of privatization will be brought to the agenda again and rapidly and all necessary measures will be taken for the public sector to work more efficiently." (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KX4M61AVnDQ>) In this context, Çiller, until the end of 1994, Erdemir, Tüpraş, Petrol Ofisi, Petkim, Turkish Airlines, Turban, Havaş D.B, Deniz Transport and Ditaş would be partially or fully privatized by the end of 1994, and in 1995 the entire Post and Telegraph Organization (PTT) and the Turkish Electricity Corporation (TEK-TEC) would be sold. Also in 1994, it was decided to privatize the banking services of Sümerbank and Etibank and to take Emlak Bank public. (Turan, 2011, p. 64)

Considering all these issues related to the April 5 Decisions, it is possible to say that SEEs were blamed for the severe economic crisis that occurred in Turkey in 1994. As a matter of fact, the emphasis on privatization practices within the scope of the April 5 Decisions is a clear proof of this situation. With the implementation of these decisions, privatization practices in Turkey were made more programmatic and new areas of profitability were opened to capital. (Özmetin, 2012, p. i) At this point, the "Privatization Law" No. 4046, which entered into force on 27 November 1994 as an extension of these decisions, was particularly effective. Within the scope of this law;

- Establishment of the High Council for Privatization,
- Establishment of the Privatization Administration,
- Establishment of a Privatization Fund,
- Expanding the scope of privatization practices,

- In addition to SEEs and their corporate shares, other public institutions and organizations were also allowed to be privatized. (Orkunoğlu, 2010, p. 13)

As can be seen, the Privatization Law No. 4046 actually paved the way for privatization practices. As a matter of fact, with the entry into force of this law, all obstacles to privatization practices, which had previously been suspended or annulled as unconstitutional, were permanently removed. Thus, thanks to this law, which emerged as a result of the April 5 Decisions, the privatization concept in Turkey was transformed into a programmed system.

The April 5 Decisions, whose main objective was to reduce inflation through privatization, were largely unsuccessful due to reasons such as the failure to reduce inflation, lack of political stability and insufficient public support (Karaçor & Alptekin, 2006, p. 312). (Karaçor & Alptekin, 2006, p. 312) After the implementation of these decisions, Turkey entered a period of great stagnation between 1998 and 2002, which Boratav describes as "five lost years". (Boratav, 2018, p. 213) In this period, as a result of the economic policies largely formulated by the IMF and the World Bank, which generally aimed at minimizing the state's activity in the economic sphere, Turkey faced the February 2001 Crisis, one of the biggest economic crises in its history.

The February 2001 Crisis, which erupted as a result of the public reflection of the political disagreement between President Ahmet Necdet Sezer and Prime Minister Bülent Ecevit at the meeting of the National Security Council in February 2001, upset the markets and caused a major foreign exchange crisis. In this process, people rushed for foreign currency, which increased the already sensitive pressure on the exchange rate and 1 US Dollar rose from 628,000 TL to 962,000 TL. In addition, overnight interest rates rose from 50% to 6200%. (Atam, 2007, p. 25) In other words, an extraordinary foreign exchange crisis began in Turkey.

On the other hand, the February 2001 Crisis caused a major contraction in the Turkish economy. In this period, when bankruptcies and unemployment reached serious levels, the national income declined by 6%-9.5%. (Boratav, 2007; cited in Gezgüç, 2011, p. 72) In this process, while about fourteen million of the population

was on the poverty line, the government imposed tax after tax, did not cut public expenditures and transferred millions of dollars to failed banks. Moreover, with the deepening of the current economic crisis, the population became increasingly impoverished and this situation greatly reduced the public's trust in the current politicians. (Gezgüç, 2011, p. 73) So much so that 70% of the voters in public opinion polls conducted before the 2002 elections stated that they did not think they would vote again for the party they had voted for in the previous elections. (Ataay, 2008, p. 82)

As a result, Devlet Bahçeli, the leader of the MHP, one of the partners in the coalition of the Democratic Left Party (DSP), the Nationalist Movement Party (MHP) and ANAP, which was in power during the February 2001 crisis, proposed early general elections on November 3, 2002. Although some circles characterized going to elections at a time when the social crisis was at its lowest point as "political suicide", Devlet Bahçeli insisted on his decision and led the country to elections. The November 3, 2002 elections were expected to result in major vote shifts, but with the announcement of the results, significant changes emerged in Turkish politics. The Justice and Development Party (AKP), which had been established only a year earlier, came to power alone with 34.4% of the votes, while the Republican People's Party (CHP), which had failed to pass the threshold in the 1999 elections, became the main opposition party with 19% of the votes. The DSP, MHP, DYP, ANAP and the Felicity Party (SP), which were in parliament during the February 2001 crisis and have governed the country for the last two decades, failed to pass the threshold and remained outside parliament. These results showed a major upheaval in terms of political tendencies in Turkey and marked the beginning of a period of comprehensive change that marked the end of a period. (Kaya, 2003; as cited in Ataay, 2008, p. 80)

3. 4. 4. AKP Period and the Rise of Neoliberalism

In the first years of AKP's rule, Turkey was struggling with the aftershocks of the great economic crisis of 2001, and the public saw AKP as a new party that would continue this struggle with different economic and political initiatives. However, a closer look at the economic policies implemented during this period reveals that this was not the case. The economic model implemented during the AKP rule did not go

beyond the sum of the neoliberal programs imposed on Turkey by the IMF and the World Bank since 1980 and failed to bring a different economic opening to Turkish capitalism. (Altıok, 2007, p. 58) In other words, the AKP did not differ from its predecessors in terms of economic policies; in fact, it implemented neoliberal economic policies much more strictly than its predecessors. For this reason, the AKP period is recognized as a period in which neoliberalism was on the rise again in Turkey. Moreover, in order to illustrate the prominent role of the AKP government in the reproduction of neoliberal hegemony in Turkey, it is enough to look at the election manifesto prepared for the November 3, 2002 elections, the first election in which the party participated. In this manifesto, which was a kind of manifesto since it was the first election the party participated in, the party clearly expressed its commitment to neoliberalism. For example, in the section of the declaration titled "Restructuring of Governance" the following statements are made;

"Developments towards globalization and the information society render traditional approaches to the state and governance largely obsolete. The traditional control and intervention of the state over society is decreasing, and multi-actor policies are being formed at local and supranational levels.

In this new process, the AKP favors policy-making, resource creation, standard-setting and supervision rather than direct intervention and production by the state." (AKP, 2002, p. 33)

As can be seen, these statements regarding the state mechanism in the declaration overlap exactly with the state approach of neoliberalism. This is because the state mechanism, which is seen as a regulatory "force" in neoliberalism in terms of providing the necessary conditions for the mobility of global capital (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 121), is treated in the same way in this declaration. In addition to this, there are other examples in the declaration to demonstrate the intellectual relationship between AKP and neoliberalism. For example, in the section of the declaration titled "Economic Policies" the following statements are made;

"During the Republican period, various economic development models such as state-led industrialization, planned development, liberal and open growth were

implemented. Experience shows that economies functioning within a free market system, where democracy, the rule of law and transparency prevail, have achieved a more healthy development and growth.

The Ak Parti believes that the ultimate goal of economic activities is to improve the quality of life of people. The initiative power of our nation is the most important source of economic development." (AKP, 2002, p. 43)

Undoubtedly, what should be noted at this point is the strong emphasis on the concept of free market, one of the most important arguments of neoliberalism. In fact, in this declaration, the concept of free market is presented as the basic element of the economy and the most important source of development. In other words, it is clearly emphasized that a fully neoliberal line will be adopted in terms of economic policies.

As a matter of fact, these neoliberal policies envisaged in the election manifesto started to be implemented rapidly after the AKP came to power alone in 2002. In this context, firstly, the stand-by agreement signed with the IMF in the previous period covering the period 2002-2004 was put into practice, and then, in addition to this agreement, a new stand-by agreement was signed with the IMF covering the period 2005-2008. Thus, during its first five years in power, the AKP left the economy entirely under the supervision of the IMF, the most important representative of neoliberalism in the world. (Ataay, 2008, p. 84) Moreover, the expansion of autonomous supreme boards, which have long been strongly recommended to states by the IMF, the World Bank and the OECD, is another important neoliberal step taken during the AKP period. In fact, through these autonomous supreme boards, which took over the state's powers to manage and regulate the economy, the state's effectiveness in the economic sphere was restricted or eliminated. (Ataay, 2008, p. 87)

AKP's harmonious relationship with neoliberal ideology has also manifested itself in foreign policy. In this context, AKP has abandoned the traditional policies of its ideological roots, the National Vision Movement, such as viewing Western countries as a "Christian club" and opposing membership in the IMF, NATO and the EU, and instead pursued a policy of articulation with the Western bloc. With this

foreign policy, AKP not only won the support of the West and international capital by showing that it represented an interpretation of Islam compatible with capitalism, liberal democracy and the West, but also created a shield against the opposition in Turkey. (Ataay, 2008, p. 90)

To summarize, from the day AKP came to power, it ignored the discontent of the lower classes with the neoliberal policies that were directed towards it before the 2002 elections and produced policies that would reestablish the neoliberal hegemony that was weakened by the 2001 crisis. However, these policies produced by AKP cadres paved the way for the rapprochement of domestic and foreign capital with AKP, which was hesitant towards the party due to its political Islamist tradition. Moreover, during this period when the programs of neoliberal institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank were fully implemented, the AKP became the "main party of capital" and was seen by capital as a strong and stable government that would implement neoliberal policies. (Ataay, 2008, p. 95) This accelerated the inflow of domestic and foreign capital into the country and led to a massive wave of privatization. As a matter of fact, the AKP period has been the most active years in the history of the republic in terms of privatizations. Moreover, the privatization of Türk Telekom, which constitutes the sample of this study, also took place during this period. Therefore, a detailed analysis of the privatization policies implemented during the AKP period, particularly the privatization of Türk Telekom, is crucial for a clearer understanding of this study.

3. 5. Privatization Policies in the AKP Period

The most important practice of the neoliberalization process that resumed in Turkey during the AKP period was undoubtedly privatization. In fact, while Turkey's privatizations in the period between 1986 and 2002 yielded only 8.053 billion dollars in sales, this figure reached 35.255 billion dollars between 2003 and 2012 when the AKP governments were in power. (Angın & Bedirhanoğlu, 2013, p. 76) As can be seen from these figures, the economic policies of the AKP period were actually built on privatization practices. Of course, this is a result of the neoliberal economic policies implemented during this period. The AKP clearly stated that it would adopt

such an approach to privatization practices in its election manifesto prepared for the November 3, 2002 elections. According to this;

"State economic enterprises (SEEs) are monopolies or determinants in the sectors in which they operate. Their operation in a risk-free environment by utilizing the advantages of public ownership disrupts the functioning of the market mechanism. The privatization of SEEs, which have lost their economic rationality as a result of political interventions and have become a burden on the public, has become inevitable." (AKP, 2002, p. 54)

In addition, the economic program implemented during the AKP period is another important factor in the expansion of privatization practices. Accordingly, the main objective of the economic program carried out under the coordination of the IMF in the early years of the AKP was to bring hot money into the country in order to close the current account deficit and make foreign debt payments by achieving a primary surplus. The privatization of SEEs was seen as the most important tool to achieve this objective. (Ataay, 2008, p. 84) This package, which was enacted with the great support of the AKP, paved the way for the largest privatizations in Turkey's history.

As a matter of fact, within the scope of this privatization package, which was fiercely defended by the AKP, Turkey's largest industrial and service enterprises such as Petkim, Türk Telekom, Erdemir and Tüpraş were privatized and Turkey became a "merchant state" in which the domination of capital over the state deepened. (Angın & Bedirhanoğlu, 2013, p. 79) This situation, in turn, led to the privatization of money, i.e. the money of the state. (Angın & Bedirhanoğlu, 2013, p. 94) In addition, the privatization policies implemented throughout the country in this period led to neoliberalism, which has followed a fluctuating graph in Turkey since the 1980s, to increase its influence in all areas of life and become the dominant ideology. In other words, privatization practices have been the engine of the targeted neoliberal transformation in Turkey.

On the other hand, when the privatization policies implemented by the AKP are taken into consideration, it is clear that Türk Telekom is the privatization practice

that has been the subject of the most controversy. During the privatization process of Türk Telekom, there were debates over both the value of the institution and the method of privatization, and many legal steps were taken to stop the privatization. However, Türk Telekom was privatized despite all these opposing views within the scope of neoliberal economic policies. As a matter of fact, in many respects, this practice has a very important place in the history of privatization in Turkey. Because the developments before and after the privatization of Türk Telekom provide detailed information about the privatization approach in Turkey. Therefore, it is necessary to discuss the privatization process of Türk Telekom in detail since it is the sample of this study and it reveals all the details of the privatization understanding in Turkey.

3. 5. 1. The Privatization Process of Türk Telekom

Although the idea of privatizing Türk Telekom, which has a long history and a large economic volume, first emerged in the early 1990s, the political, economic, legal and social background in that period did not allow the privatization of an institution such as Türk Telekom, which is closely related to almost every segment of society. However, with the AKP coming to power alone in 2002, this situation changed completely and an accelerated process was initiated to privatize Türk Telekom within the scope of the neoliberal economic policies put into practice.

In this context, firstly, the law, which entered into force on 23.05.2001 and stipulated that a maximum of 45% of Türk Telekom shares could be sold, was amended by the Council of Ministers Decree No. 2003/6403 dated 23.11.2003. Accordingly, at least 51% of Türk Telekom's shares can be sold at one time and the Council of Ministers will decide how much of the remaining shares will be offered to the public. In other words, with this law, the provision that foreigners could own a maximum of 45% of Türk Telekom shares was abolished and the way was legally paved for the privatization of more than 50% of the institution through the block sale method. (Malkoç, 2009, p. 191)

Following the removal of the legal obstacles to the privatization of Türk Telekom, it was announced that 55% of Türk Telekom's shares would be sold through a tender process starting on 25.11.2004 within the scope of the Decision No.

2004/7931 of the Ministerial Council convened on 15.10.2004. In this context, the tender process started on 25.11.2004 with the announcements given to local and foreign press organizations and 13 companies that fulfilled the pre-qualification conditions participated in the tender. (Türk, 2014, p. 96) The companies participating in the tender are as follows;

- Belgacom SA de droit public
- Doğan Group of Companies Holding A.Ş.
- Emirates Telecommunications Corporation (Etisalat)/Cetel Çalık Energy Industry and Trade A.Ş./Dubai Islamic Bank Joint Venture
- Koç Holding A.Ş./Hacı Ömer Sabancı Holding A.Ş. Joint Venture (Koç/Sabancı Joint Venture)
- Mapa Construction and Trade Inc.
- Multi Global Link Sdn. Bhd.
- 7. Army Assistance Institution (OYAK)
- Saudi Oger Ltd
- SK Telecom Co. Ltd.
- Telecom Italia International N.V.
- Telefonica S.A.
- Turkish Privatization Investors S.
- 14-member Joint Venture Group led by Turktell IT Services A.Ş.

(Malkoç, 2009, p. 193)

In this framework, only 4 of these companies submitted bids on 24.06.2005, the last day of bidding, and the tender was terminated on 01.07.2005. (Arik, 2010; as cited in Yavuz Ö. , 2015, p. 86) As a result of the tender, Oger Telecoms Joint Venture Group won the tender with the highest bid of USD 6.550 billion. The tender results were then submitted by the tender commission to the Competition Board for approval, and after the approval of the board, the results were approved by the Council of Ministers with the Decision No. 2005/9146 dated 25.07.2005 and published in the Official Gazette. Following the publication of the results in the Official Gazette, a share transfer agreement was signed with Oger Telecoms on

24.08.2005. The transfer was realized on 14.11.2005 (Cantekinler & Çaycı, 2008, p. 3).

However, the privatization of Türk Telekom sparked a major debate in the country. In fact, public and private institutions filed lawsuits to the Constitutional Court (CC) to cancel the privatization. However, the Constitutional Court rejected these lawsuits for the annulment of the privatization due to "lack of legal basis" and ensured the legal completion of the process. (Cebe, 2015, p. 79) Of course, this did not end the debates about the process in question. On the contrary, criticism of the privatization process continued for years, mainly due to the fact that the revenue obtained from the sale did not match the real value, the privatization was carried out through the block sale method, and the reduction in the number of employees. Moreover, many of these criticisms continue today. Therefore, in order to understand the content of the privatization in question more clearly, it is necessary to address these criticisms in detail.

In this context, one of the main criticisms of the privatization of Türk Telekom is that the revenues obtained were far below the real value. According to this criticism, the revenue obtained in exchange for the transfer of 55% of the company's shares is equal to Türk Telekom's revenue for only six months, and at the current rate of earnings at the time, this company is capable of generating 25 billion dollars of revenue for the state in just ten years. (Malkoç, 2009, p. 223) As a matter of fact, the calculations made by independent institutions have produced reports in line with this view. It should also be noted at this point that the proceeds of the privatization will not be paid in cash, but in installments of \$1.1 billion, mostly through loans obtained from Turkish banks. In other words, Oger Telecoms, the company to which Türk Telekom was sold, bought Türk Telekom with the income it obtained from Türk Telekom without making any major expenditures.

In addition, one of the most criticized aspects of the privatization is the method of privatization. Even in the Competition Board's decision approving the privatization of Türk Telekom, the Competition Board objected to the block sale method of privatization and annotated the decision. The reason for the annotation was that the sale of Türk Telekom, which was determined to be a de facto monopoly by

the Telecom Authority, to an entrepreneur through block sale method instead of privatization methods such as public offering etc., in other words, if a state monopoly is transferred to the control of a foreign private monopoly, competitive developments will be limited and even new entries to the market in the telecom sector sub-markets will be restricted, the benefits expected from this privatization in the future, such as price reduction and quality improvement, will not be achieved and in the long run, it may have consequences that will not benefit the consumer. (Malkoç, 2009, p. 225) On the other hand, the criticisms against the block sale privatization of Türk Telekom were not limited to this. In the context of the sale of Türk Telekom, especially the circles opposing the AKP have pointed to the block sale method as a method contrary to the public interest and severely criticized it. Opposition circles claimed that the privatizations carried out using this method had few returns and many drawbacks and did not pave the way for the transfer of state resources abroad... (Malkoç, 2009, p. 226)

The third major criticism of the privatization of Türk Telekom is the decrease in the number of employees. The number of employees of Türk Telekom, which was 75,000 before privatization, dropped to 52,000 immediately after the privatization, and then to 34,400. (Cebe, 2015, p. 81) This decline in the number of employees at Türk Telekom after privatization is shown in Figure 2.

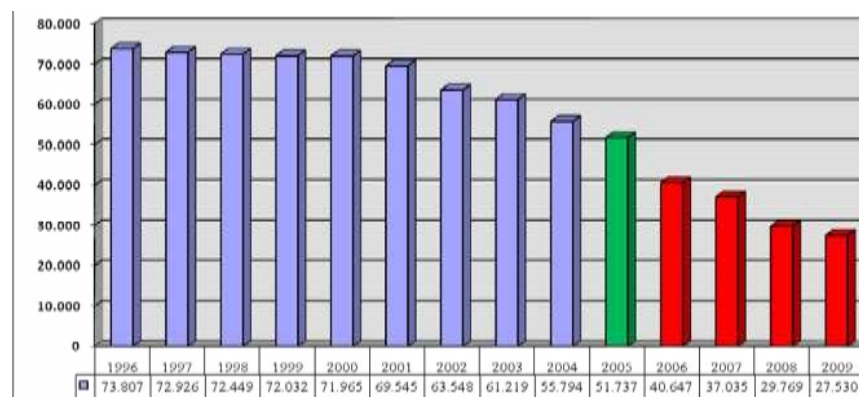


Figure. 2: Employment at Türk Telekom

(Tunçer, 2011, s. 220)

On the other hand, an analysis of telecom services in developed countries reveals that even before privatization, the number of employees of Türk Telekom was quite low. In fact, the number of lines per employee is calculated to be 309 in Turkey, compared to 304 in Sweden, 240 in Germany, 237 in Canada, 232 in France, 231 in Switzerland, 170 in the USA, 148 in the UK and 147 in Finland. (Cebe, 2015, p. 80) Even Paul Doany, the General Manager of Oger Telecoms, the company that bought Türk Telekom, said after the tender result was announced, "Türk Telekom has 55 thousand employees serving 19 million subscribers. For a sector of this size, this number of employees is a good number compared to others." On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the number of workers at Türk Telekom has decreased over the years despite the increasing workload. In fact, while the total telephone traffic of fixed and mobile lines was 85.5 billion minutes in 2004, this number increased to 206.7 billion minutes in 2013. However, the number of workers employed by Türk Telekom decreased from 55,794 in 2004 to 34,441 in 2013 (Cebe, 2015, p. 85).

Table. 2: Total Telephone Traffic and Number of Employees between 2004-2013

Years	Telephone Traffic (Billion Minutes)		Number of Employees
	Landline	Mobile Line	
2004	65,2	20,3	55.794
2005	53,1	37,3	51.737
2006	38,5	48,1	40.647
2007	33,2	57,7	37.000
2008	28,8	74,9	29.769
2009	23,9	108,2	27.530
2010	23,6	125,8	25.700
2011	19,2	149,8	34.886

2012	19,4	170	37.524
2013	13,7	193	34.441

Source: Türk Telekom Annual Reports³

As can be seen, Table 2 shows the fixed and mobile line telephone traffic in billion minutes as well as the number of employees. Accordingly, although there has been a decline in fixed line traffic over the years, there has been a large increase in total telephone traffic due to the rapid increase in mobile line traffic. However, despite such a large increase in telephone traffic, the number of employees has decreased each year. In other words, there has been an inverse correlation between the increase in workload and the number of workers at Türk Telekom after privatization, and workers have been burdened with heavy workloads. Moreover, these data only provide information in terms of telephone services. However, Türk Telekom operates in many different fields such as cable TV, satellite communications, transmission and internet services. Therefore, the number of employees given in Table 2 refers to the number of workers in all areas in which Türk Telekom operates, not just telephone services. As a result of this situation, workers at Türk Telekom went on a large-scale strike on October 16, 2007, demanding improvements in working conditions and wages.

Apart from these, there are other criticisms of the privatization of Türk Telekom. These can be summarized as follows;

- The sale of Türk Telekom, a strategically important institution, to a foreign company leads to certain weaknesses in terms of national security.
- With this sale, issues such as freedom of communication and communication privacy are left at the mercy of the company that bought Türk Telekom.
- Türk Telekom's primary duties, such as public benefit and public service, have been ignored and a profit-oriented management approach has become widespread in the organization.

³ The information given in Table 3 is taken from Türk Telekom's annual reports. However, information such as author, year, and page number are not given in these reports.

- The company that bought the company was only interested in profitable products and regions, and the necessary investments were not made in regions with low profit rates. (Malkoç, 2009, p. 227)

In the context of all this information on the privatization of Türk Telekom, the privatization of the institution has been criticized by labor unions, professional chambers and opposition parties. Despite all these criticisms, this privatization was carried out rapidly within the scope of the neoliberal economic policies implemented by the AKP. Moreover, an examination of the period in question reveals that there was no major social opposition to the privatization of such a large and strategic institution. Of course, the role of the "media" in the emergence of such a situation is quite large. through the publications made in that period, this privatization practice was supported by almost all media organs. In other words, the media organs produced social consent for the privatization of Türk Telekom and prevented the public from opposing this privatization. This is an important example in terms of observing how the media, which is highly influential in the processes of people making sense of the world and in the formation of public will, works in favor of and in the interests of the ruling classes and how it is in a network of relations with political power. (Temuroğlu & Mazıcı, 2018, p. 49) Therefore, in the fourth part of the study, the pro-privatization attitude that developed in parallel with the neoliberal industrialization process of the media in the 1990s will be discussed in detail in the context of news content produced during the privatization process of Türk Telekom.

CHAPTER 4

4. PRIVATIZATION AND MEDIA

As mentioned above, the media has been the most fundamental actor in the process of the social reception of privatization policies and the production of social consent for these policies. Because media organs, which have a great influence on the formation of social will, have "successfully" managed this process with their privatization news reports and created a positive attitude towards privatization in society. Of course, many factors have been influential in such an attitude of the media. However, when the developments in the media from the past to the present are taken into consideration, it becomes clear that the main reason for such an attitude of the media is the neoliberal policies put into practice after 1980. As a result of the neoliberal policies implemented almost everywhere in the world after 1980, the industrialization process in the media sector, which started in the mid-19th century, has changed its shell in accordance with neoliberal policies. Therefore, before revealing the relationship between privatization practices and the media, it is necessary to examine in detail the process of the media, which is the main actor of this relationship, changing its shell and becoming industrialized in line with neoliberal policies.

4. 1. Industrialization Process of Media

As is known, the Industrial Revolution brought about some radical changes in printing technology and Gutenberg's printing press was replaced by steam-powered printing machines. These developments in printing technology, on the other hand, positively affected the circulation and costs of newspapers and led to the mass popularization of newspapers. So much so that, during the period in question, the London-based newspaper *The Times* reached the capacity to print 1100 copies per minute using the advanced printing presses invented after the Industrial Revolution. (Gürcan & Kumcuoğlu, 2017, p. 151)

Of course, with these developments in the press after the Industrial Revolution, the habit of reading newspapers in societies has increased and

newspapers have become accessible to a much larger number of people. However, in parallel with these developments, the presence of advertisements in newspapers has started to be felt to the same extent and advertising revenues have become indispensable sources of newspapers. (Gürbüz, 2010, p. 15) This has led to changes in the content, organization and management functions of newspapers and paved the way for newspapers to gradually transform into an industrial enterprise. (Gürcan & Kumcuoğlu, 2017, p. 152) In other words, this process has sparked the process of industrialization in the field of press.

On the other hand, while these developments were taking place in the field of print media, many developments also took place in the audio and visual media. Samuel Morse's invention of the telegraph in 1844, Graham Bell's invention of the telephone in 1876, Marconi's invention of the radio in 1902 and J. Logie Baird's invention of television in 1923, and the widespread use of these mass media tools led to a major revolution in the field of communication. With the development of private broadcasting, the institutions operating these mass media turned into big businesses (Gürcan & Kumcuoğlu, 2017, p. 153).

As can be understood from this, the roots of the industrialization process in the media date back to the beginning of the 19th century. With the technology that developed after the Industrial Revolution, media tools diversified and had the opportunity to reach large masses. On the other hand, the introduction of advertising into the field of mass media initiated the process of media industrialization. However, the period in which the industrialization process in the media was experienced most intensely was undoubtedly after 1980. As a result of the neoliberal policies implemented in the world during this period, the management structure of the media changed its shell and was almost completely under the control of large capital groups. For this reason, it is necessary to examine the post-1980 period in detail in relation to the industrialization process of the media.

In this context, it is necessary to say that the developments towards the industrialization of the media in the post-1980 period actually emerged as a product of a certain historical process. Namely, the capitalist system was restructured within the framework of Keynesian economic policies after the great economic crisis that broke

out in the USA in 1929 and affected the whole world in a short time. However, the developments that took place after the Arab-Israeli War in 1973 caused the capitalist system, which was dominated by Keynesian economic policies, to go through a major crisis again. During this crisis, oil prices, which increased by 400%, brought industrial production to a standstill in countries that had shaped their production systems according to cheap oil, especially in the USA, and as a result of the adverse conditions that emerged due to this increase in oil prices, the New York Stock Exchange lost approximately 100 billion dollars in value between 1973-1974. (Öztürk & Saygın, 2017, p. 4) The bill for this crisis, which disrupted the balances at the center of the capitalist system, was blamed on Keynesian economic policies that advocated the view that the state should be effective in the economic field. Because during the crisis, neoliberal circles pointed to the Keynesian economic model as the cause of all these negative developments in the economic sphere, and in this context, they even defined the 1973 Oil Crisis as a "financial crisis of the state." (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 111)

On the other hand, the "communication sector" was perhaps the least affected by this economic crisis that marked the 1970s of capitalism and caused a major erosion in almost all sectors. (Adaklı, 2010, p. 69) This is because the communication sector immediately adapted to the neoliberal ideology that started to dominate the world's political and economic life with this crisis and started to restructure itself to become one of the most important tools of neoliberal hegemony. At the end of this restructuring process, it turned into a gigantic industry. Şen and Avşar summarize this process as follows;

"With the radical transformation of the public sector by neoliberalism, the concept of public service and public interest has been abandoned in many areas, especially in broadcasting. Media capital has shown a tendency towards monopolization and internationalization, and as a result, alternative media opportunities have weakened. In the process of expanding the playing field of big capital, the structure of labor relations in the media has also changed and policies of deunionization have become dominant. In this process, a new class of media executives was created and this symbolic elite brought a new dimension to the ideological functions of the media. All this has had a corrosive effect on fundamental

values such as social equality and freedom. In the new media order, social forces that could oppose neoliberal policies have been pushed out of this field economically, politically and ideologically. As a result of these developments, especially with the acceleration of neoliberal globalization after the 1980s, the media sector has become a new industry shaped by the triangle of media, capital and the state." (Şen & Avşar, 2012, p. 43)

Thompson, on the other hand, cited four main trends that started to dominate the media sector after 1980 as the reason for this major transformation in the media sector. In this context, according to Thompson, concentration, diversification, globalization and deregulation have become dominant in the media sector and this sector has undergone a major transformation and become a huge industry. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 22) Considering the structuring and functioning of the media sector today, it is possible to see the impact of these trends, which clearly bear neoliberal traces, on the industrialization of the media. For this reason, it is useful to briefly mention these neoliberal tendencies put forward by Thompson in order to explain the process of media industrialization more clearly.

The concept of concentration, which is mostly used instead of the term monopolization in the economic literature, is basically defined as the situation in which a market can be controlled by a certain number of firms. (İldırar & Kırıl, 2018, p. 94) The concept of concentration in the media can be defined as the concentration of media ownership in a country in the hands of one or a few companies (Avşar, 2004, p. 89) In this context, when the examples of concentration in the world are examined, it is understood that there are generally three different forms of concentration in the media sector: horizontal, vertical and diagonal.

The concept of horizontal concentration in the media is generally used to explain the situation where the same capital owner owns more than one media organization (Uluç, 2003, p. 283). (Uluç, 2003, p. 283) In addition, in some sources, it is also defined as the decrease in the number of newspapers with their own editorial staff (Gönenç, 2002, p. 45). 45) Undoubtedly, the most important feature of horizontal concentration is the strong integration of ownership and capital. (Avşar, 2004, p. 90)

Furthermore, according to Tokgöz, horizontal concentration is the most common form of concentration in the world media sector. (Bulunmaz B. , 2011, p. 243)

Vertical concentration, another form of concentration in the media, means that a company has control and ownership at every stage from production to consumption (Uluç, 2003; cited in Avşar, 2004, p. 90). (Uluç, 2003; as cited in Avşar, 2004, p. 90) Accordingly, some companies operating in the media sector perceive the dominance of another company at any stage between production and consumption as a threat to themselves. Therefore, for reasons such as reducing uncertainty and preventing possible access problems, they resort to vertical concentration either by establishing new companies or by acquiring existing firms in the value chain. (Doyle, 2002, p. 34) In fact, Yay-Sat established by the Doğan Group and Bir-Yay established by the Uzan Group are the most important examples of such concentration in Turkey. (Ekzen, 2009, p. 426)

The last form of concentration in the media sector is cross concentration, which is defined as the situation where the same media owner has ownership in different media fields and other fields outside the media. (Avşar, 2004, p. 90) Accordingly, if a media company starts to operate in sectors such as automotive, construction, etc. in addition to its ownership in different fields of the sector such as television, radio and newspapers, it has realized cross concentration. In other words, if a media company starts to carry out a commercial activity outside its own field, this is defined as cross concentration.

In addition to concentration, the second tendency put forward by Thompson regarding the industrialization process of the media is the diversification tendency. However, as a result of the analysis of the diversification tendency, it has been understood that this tendency is actually very similar to the cross-concentration phenomenon. In fact, quoting Thompson on the diversification tendency in the media, Adaklı summarizes the diversification tendency as follows;

"Large companies that strengthen their control over a particular medium through mergers and acquisitions may expand their spheres of control by diversifying into different sectors. For example, Time Warner, which was established in 1989 with

the merger of Time Inc. and Warner Communications, is the largest magazine publisher in the US, the second largest cable company in the world, one of the world's largest book publishers and the largest video company." (Thompson, 1996; as cited in Adaklı, 2003, p. 23)

As can be seen from this, there is a great parallelism between the diversification trend in the media and cross-concentration. Therefore, it is possible to evaluate these two concepts in a common cluster in terms of their points. In other words, all the issues that are valid in the case of cross-concentration are actually the result of the tendency towards diversification.

On the other hand, the phenomenon of globalization is undoubtedly one of the most influential concepts in the process of media industrialization, both in communicative and economic terms. Although the history of the concept of globalization as a communicative concept dates back centuries, the first time the concept appeared in the literature in its current meaning was in 1962 when M. McLuhan used the concept of "Global Village" in a sociological study. (Cebeci, 2011, p. 361) With the concept of Global Village, McLuhan wanted to explain that the rapid spread of technology and information throughout the world has turned the world into a small village. (Varol & Varol, 2019, p. 143) Accordingly, media elements such as television, radio and telephone, which have become widespread worldwide due to the speed of communication technologies, have paved the way for the population in one place to communicate with people on other continents in line with predetermined messages. This has led to the formation of a new society on a global scale within the influence of the sender of the message. (Varol & Varol, 2019, p. 145) In other words, with the hegemonic use of communication technologies, local cultural elements in the world have disappeared and the world has turned into a single culturally similar society.

In addition, the phenomenon of economic globalization has also been very effective in the process of media industrialization. With economic globalization, which is defined in the literature as the diversification and increase in cross-border transactions related to goods and services and international capital movements (Kaya, 2007; as cited in Aytekin, 2013, p. 126), some companies in the media sector have

gone beyond national borders in search of new markets. This was seen as the key to getting out of the crisis that emerged in the field of communication in the 1970s as a result of the downward trend in profit rates. Therefore, faced with the constant threat of a profit squeeze, giant corporations went beyond national markets and attempted partnerships and acquisitions in international markets (Adaklı, 2003, p. 24) and became international companies. As a matter of fact, according to a 1998 study on global acquisitions in the media sector, international mergers and acquisitions increased by 60% between 1997 and 1998 and their total value reached an extraordinary figure of 544.31 billion dollars (Song, 1998; as cited in Adaklı, 2003, p. 25).

According to Thompson, the last trend that is effective in the process of media industrialization is the deregulation trend. This concept, which is translated into Turkish as deregulation, means the reduction and liberalization of legislation surrounding certain sectors of the economy in line with the principle of restructuring markets and minimizing state intervention within the framework of neoliberal policies. (Pekman, 1997, p. 58) As a matter of fact, after 1980, when neoliberalism became the dominant ideology in the world, almost all of the regulatory rules based on public interest and public service were eliminated in many areas, especially in the field of ownership in broadcasting. (Adaklı, 2010, p. 68) In this context, this "liberalization trend" that emerged in the world media sector after 1980 is shown in the table below

Table. 3: Broadcasting Liberalization Dates in Europe

COUNTRY	YEAR OF LIBERALIZATION
UNITED KINGDOM	1955 [*]
ITALY	1980
SPAIN	1982
GERMANY	1984
FRANCE	1986
DENMARK	1987
BELGIUM	1988
NETHERLANDS	1989
NORWAY	1991
FINLAND	1991
SWEDEN	1992
PORTUGAL	1992
TURKEY	1993

(Adaklı, 2010, p. 71)

As can be seen in Table 3, as neoliberalism became dominant in the world economic and political life in the 1980s, deregulation practices in the field of broadcasting increased and a great wave of liberalization took place. This situation removed the sanctioning power of national governments over the communication infrastructure and led to the emergence of a new communication order under the hegemony of capital in line with neoliberal policies. In other words, legal regulations in the field of media, which had initially emerged and developed to regulate the relationship between the forces controlling the means of production, were later eliminated through deregulations as neoliberalism began to dominate the world. (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2002, p. 31) Therefore, it is not possible to consider deregulation practices, which were implemented in the 1980s with discourses such as the liberation and diversification of the media, but in practice led to the complete transfer of control over the media to large corporations, in a context separate from neoliberalism.

To summarize, since the 1980s, the media sector has undergone a global restructuring process due to the developments in communication technologies and the liberalization trend in the world economy. In this process, first of all, radical changes

were made in the ownership structures of media companies through deregulation policies. As a result of this process, the media has almost completely become the monopoly of a few large capital owners. In addition, media companies, which gained a great deal of mobility with the policies implemented during this process, started to integrate into global markets rapidly. Having the opportunity to enter new markets, the owners of big capital have earned much more than the profits they would have made at the national level, and they have also been able to spread their ideologies in other cultures.

In this context, all the developments in the media sector in the last 40 years actually show that the neoliberalization process in the media has been "successfully" completed. Undoubtedly, the driving force behind this process has been the cooperation between neoliberal politicians and capital owners. This is because neoliberal politicians and owners of capital have seen the media as a valuable tool both for communicating their ideological messages and for using it as a tool for the freedom of money to move around the world. (Phillips, 2007, p. 61) However, considering the structure and functioning of media organizations today, it is clear that non-media actors are not the only ones responsible for the emergence of such a situation. Since the emergence of ne-liberalism in the 1970s, there is no other sector that has adopted the basic arguments of this ideology as fast as the media and communication sector. (McChesney, 2004, p. 51) Therefore, one of the most important responsible parties for the emergence of a media industry that is far from the principles of independence and impartiality today is the media itself.

4. 2. Industrialization Process of the Turkish Press

The January 24th Decisions and the September 12th military coup, which are the most important milestones of Turkey's neoliberalization process, brought about many radical changes in the political, economic and social life of the country and reshaped Turkey on the axis of neoliberal ideology. This neoliberalization trend, which started to take effect in Turkey in the 1980s, has of course also affected the media sector. In fact, as a result of the repressive and totalitarian practices imposed on the media by the September 12 regime, media elements in Turkey were decontextualized and turned into a collection of companies that were distant from

politics, tabloidized and profit-oriented. In other words, after 1980, the traditional press period in Turkey ended and the industrialized media period began. However, in order to more clearly understand this transformation of the Turkish media after 1980, the history of the Turkish media needs to be analyzed in detail. Because we can only comprehend how and to what extent the post-1980 transformation in the media sector has affected the media structure in Turkey by examining the pre-1980 period.

4. 2.1. Press in Turkey Before 1980

The foundations of today's Turkish media structure were actually laid during the Ottoman Empire. In fact, many scholars interested in the history of the Turkish press point to *Takvim-i Vakayi*, the first issue of which was published in November 1831, as the starting point of the history of the Turkish press (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 12). (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 12) However, this newspaper could not be effective at the desired level due to reasons such as its lack of popularity and adoption by the public. Therefore, *Ceride-i Havadis*, a semi-official newspaper, was started to be published in 1840 in order to announce the innovations made especially during the Tanzimat period to local and foreign circles to the extent necessary. Nevertheless, this newspaper also attracted almost no interest. In fact, the first three issues were distributed free of charge in order to increase interest in the newspaper. (İnuğur, 1982, p. 182)

In this context, it is possible to say that the first press organizations that laid the foundations of the media structure in Turkey were established by the state and under the absolute supervision of the state. This is because both *Takvim-i Vakayi* and *Ceride-i Havadis* newspapers were founded with the support of the state and their writers were generally selected among civil servants. Therefore, these newspapers functioned as official organs of the state and did not produce any ideas other than the interests of the administration. In fact, rather than informing the public, the main purpose of the publications was to ensure that the new regulations were conveyed to the high administrators. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 15) However, the emergence of such a situation in the nascent stage of the Turkish press led to the confusion between journalism and civil service and paved the way for the formation of a caste of journalists who worked for the state instead of journalism. In this press system, where

money was earned from the state, the state, not the citizen, was naturally given importance, the truth was not honestly conveyed to the public, and the official propaganda of the state was pumped to the public instead of conveying the problems of the people to the state. This birth defect, which was quite different from the classical development of the press in Europe, could never be corrected at the desired level and has continued to this day. (Özgen, 2000; as cited in Küçük, 2016, p. 20)

The first Turkish newspaper published by private initiative was Tercüman-ı Ahval, founded in 1860 by Agah Efendi and Şinasi Efendi (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 31). (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 31) This newspaper has a very important place in the history of the Turkish press. Because Tercüman-ı Ahval was the first newspaper to express concepts such as freedom of opinion and democracy and the first to criticize the state systematically, even if indirectly. In fact, the newspaper harshly criticized critical issues such as the country's financial problems, corruption on foreign debts and foreign policy in a language that the public could understand. In addition, the Tanzimat Treaty and the treaties aimed at completely liberalizing trade were also frequently criticized in this newspaper. However, these criticisms made by Tercüman-ı Ahval writers against the administration and functioning of the state led to the newspaper's closure for two weeks in May 1861. The reason for this closure, which went down in history as the first newspaper closure in the history of the Turkish press, was cited as "the writers exceeding their authority." (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 32) As a matter of fact, the newspaper, which fell into difficulties due to reasons such as Şinasi's departure from the newspaper and the other partner Agah Efendi's fleeing abroad by joining the New Ottomans Society, which was opposed to the government, ended its publication life in 1867. (Erol S. , 2019, p. 281)

On the other hand, Şinasi, who left Tercüman-ı Ahval, immediately attempted to establish a new newspaper and started publishing a newspaper called Tasvir-i Efkar in 1862. This newspaper, which was generally in the line of Tercüman-ı Ahval, was the first newspaper to prioritize the importance of public opinion above all else. In fact, in the introduction to the first issue of the newspaper, Şinasi explicitly defended the parliamentary system by stating that a dynamic public opinion should have more say than any other power, including the monarch and the government. For this reason, he also refused to write praise articles on the sultan's accession to the throne and

birthdays, which was a tradition in the press at the time. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 33) This newspaper, which had a very strong literary staff such as Namık Kemal, Recaizade Ekrem, Kayazade Reşat, Ahmet Vefik, was published in 261. With the arrival of Namık Kemal as the editor-in-chief as of the 261st issue, the newspaper shifted to a completely oppositional line and became the spokesperson of the New Ottomans Society, the harshest opposition organization of the period. (Erol S. , 2019, p. 285)

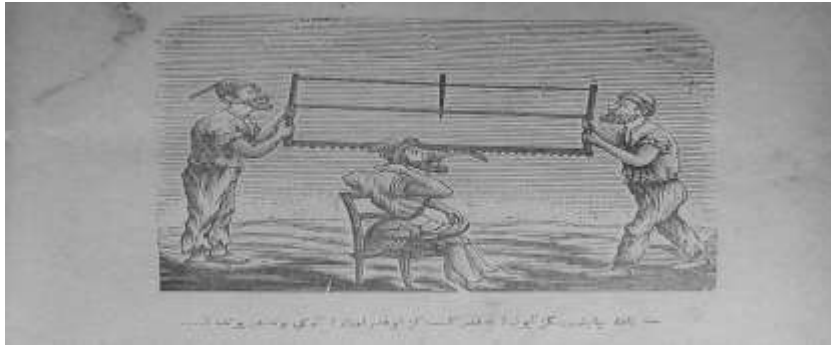
On the other hand, Şinasi, who left *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, immediately attempted to establish a new newspaper and started publishing a newspaper called *Tasvir-i Efkâr* in 1862. This newspaper, which was generally in the line of *Tercüman-ı Ahval*, was the first newspaper to prioritize the importance of public opinion above all else. In fact, in the introduction to the first issue of the newspaper, Şinasi explicitly defended the parliamentary system by stating that a dynamic public opinion should have more say than any other power, including the monarch and the government. For this reason, he also refused to write praise articles on the enthronement and birthdays of the sultan, which was a tradition in the press at the time. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 33) This newspaper, which had a very strong literary staff of writers such as Namık Kemal, Recaizade Ekrem, Kayazade Reşat, Ahmet Vefik, shifted to a completely oppositional line with the arrival of Namık Kemal as the editor-in-chief as of Issue 261 and became the spokesperson of the *Yeni Osmanlılar Cemiyeti*, the most fierce opposition organization of the period. (Erol S. , 2019, p. 285) However, the newspaper was shut down on the same day after Ali Suavi harshly criticized arbitrary rule and inequalities in the country in his article titled "*Hürriyet*" and on March 9, 1867, Ziya Pasha demanded the legal opening of the way for the trial of Ottoman statesmen before an advisory assembly. After this incident, the most important names of the newspaper, Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha and Ali Suavi fled to Paris. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 35) This newspaper, which was later re-launched in May 1910 under the name *Yeni Tasvir-i Efkâr*, continued its publication life until 1949 under the names *Tevhid-i Efkâr*, *Tenvir-i Efkâr*, *İntihab-ı Efkâr*, "*Tefsir-i Efkâr* and *Tasvir*, despite being shut down many times, but it was never as effective as before. (Yanardağ, 2010, p. 6)

As can be understood from this, in the period between 1830 and 1870, when the foundations of the Turkish press were laid, press organs were kept under pressure and had to struggle against a number of obstacles. However, the period in the

Ottoman period when the pressure on the press was felt the most was undoubtedly the reign of Abdülhamit II. In this period, which is also referred to by some circles as the period of the oppression, press organs were unable to publish due to censorship and were subjected to great political pressure. Even though Article 12 of the constitution, which was proclaimed immediately after Abdülhamit II's accession to the throne, stated that "the press is free within the framework of the law", the sultan wanted to suppress the press and therefore had disagreements with Grand Vizier Midhat Pasha, who was in favor of freedom of the press (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 43). (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 43) So much so that Abdülhamit, who strongly opposed the proposed law supported by Grand Vizier Mithad Pasha, which granted partial freedom to press organizations, prevented this law from passing the parliament and issued the following communiqué on the subject.

"In the past, when there were no newspapers, rumors used to circulate. Now everyone publishes whatever comes to mind as if it were the truth. And everyone thinks that the articles in newspapers are completely true. Therefore, the mistakes that occur are much more important than they used to be. This situation is announced in the name of the state in advance so that it is known to everyone that those who use language against the government will be considered as mischief-makers and severe legal measures will be taken against those who write such articles." (Çakır, 2012, p. 104)

As can be seen, from the very first years of his accession to the throne, Abdülhamit saw the press as a threat to himself and opposed any development that would allow the press to act. With the power of government at his disposal, he tried to put this attitude against the freedom of the press on a legal basis. As a matter of fact, he achieved this goal to a great extent in the following years. In fact, Teodor Kasap, the owner of the magazine, was sentenced to 3 years in prison due to a cartoon in a magazine called "Hayal" published during the period in question, which made references to Article 12 of the aforementioned constitution (Ataman, 2009, p. 38). The cartoons that criticized the censorship practices applied to the press during the reign of Abdülhamid II and caused T. Kasap to be sentenced to imprisonment are given below.



You're trying in vain! The more you cut, the longer it grows, the root is in me.



-What is this situation Karagöz?

-Freedom under the law, Hacivat!

Source: (Subaşı & Çaylı, 2017, pp. 101,104)

In this context, it is possible to see Abdülhamit's 33-year reign as a period in which the press was kept under pressure through censorship, closures, imprisonment and economic threats and the freedom of the press was largely eliminated. The most important reason for the emergence of such a situation is that Abdülhamit did not want the events taking place in the country to be reflected abroad and was worried that the news in the foreign press would cause unrest in the country. As a matter of fact, the press organizations, which were subjected to great pressure during the period in question, celebrated July 24, the date of the proclamation of the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy, which put an end to Abdülhamit's rule, as "Press Day." (Ataman, 2009, p. 46) Even this situation proves how effective the pressure on the press was during the reign of Abdülhamit.

With the proclamation of the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy, the press was undoubtedly one of the areas where the environment of freedom that emerged was felt the most. Unlike the Abdülhamid period, in this period, all kinds of intellectual movements were reflected in the columns of the press in a systematic and scientific manner (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 57) and a polyphonic press environment was created. So much so that the number of periodicals, which was 120 at the beginning of 1908, reached 750 newspapers and magazines with different views 7 months after the declaration of the Constitutional Monarchy. (Gülaçar, 2018, p. 114) These publications, many of which survived for a few issues and went bankrupt, have a very important place in the history of the Turkish press in terms of relatively responding to the public's hunger to listen to the truth, despite their lack of longevity and great influence.

However, this relaxation in the press after Abdülhamit was deposed and the 2nd Constitutional Monarchy was proclaimed did not last long. Even during this period, journalists began to be killed for political reasons, something that had not happened even during the reign of Abdülhamit. This process, which started with the murder of Hasan Fehmi, the writer of the newspaper "Serbesti", continued with the murders of Ahmed Samim, the editor-in-chief of the newspaper "Sedai Millet", and Zeki Bey, the writer of the newspaper "Mizan". (Özgen, 2001, p. 21) These political murders, which were carried out during the Committee of Union and Progress period in order to control and suppress the press, continued in the following years and became a dark habit that continues to this day. For this reason, these murders, which were carried out to silence journalists during this period, continue to be remembered as the black stains of our press history.

With the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in World War I and the beginning of occupation movements by the Entente states, a period of great turmoil began in the country. Of course, this situation had an impact on the press as in every field. In this period, the press was divided into two as the press against the National Struggle and the press in favor of the National Struggle. (Yazıcı, 2015, p. 297) The press against the National Struggle generally opposed the struggle initiated under the leadership of M. Kemal and assumed the spokesperson of the Istanbul Government. Peyam-ı Sabah, Alemdar and Istanbul were the leading newspapers supported by the Istanbul

Government and the occupation forces. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 60) On the other hand, except for the ones mentioned above, the majority of the Istanbul press did not oppose the National Struggle. However, they could not publish about M. Kemal, the National Struggle and the Grand National Assembly of Turkey due to the increasingly severe censorship by the sultan and the pressure of the occupation forces. In fact, many newspapers published in Istanbul had to publish blank pages due to censorship during this period (Özkaya, 1985, p. 872).

The pro-National Struggle press, on the other hand, generally consisted of press organs organized in Anatolia. In many sources, the pro-National Struggle press organizations were even referred to as the Anatolian press. Unlike the Istanbul press, these press organizations, which were not under the pressure of the sultan and the occupation forces, published publications supporting the national independence movement without being subjected to any censorship and actually took part in this movement. (Özkaya, 1985, p. 875) So much so that these press organizations, led by the newspapers *Hakimiyet-i Milliye* and *İrade-i Milliye*, undertook many vital tasks for the National Struggle, such as transporting weapons from Istanbul to Anatolia and organizing the people against the occupation. (Özkaya, 1985, p. 876) The pro-National Struggle press movements, which were scattered and weak at first, increased their influence throughout the country and became much stronger than the Istanbul press with the strengthening of the national independence struggle and the support of the Ankara Government. As a matter of fact, the newspaper *Açıksöz*, which was published in Kastamonu during this period, clearly stated that the press in Istanbul no longer had the same importance for the Ottoman subjects by saying "it is Anatolia, not Istanbul, that enlightens and informs the people." (Özkaya, 1985, p. 900)

In this context, it is possible to say that during the period of the National Struggle, the last years of the Ottoman Empire, the press organizations had a line depending on where they operated. However, after the end of the war and the proclamation of the republic, the pro-sultan press in Istanbul was abolished and the press organizations in the country were completely aligned with the Kemalist line. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 64) In this period, which was marked by very troubled times in terms of press freedom, the press was completely under the control of the government. During these years, the press, which was reshaped in line with

Kemalism, worked with a single voice under the orders of the Directorate General of Publications and the higher authorities who directed it. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 65) Because the people who ruled the country during this period argued that polyphony in the press would cause some drawbacks in terms of national security. As a matter of fact, in the last months of 1923, after the pro-caliphate letters of Said Muhammadi, the secretary of the Islamic Society of London, and the leaders of the Ismailia sect, Aga Khan and Emir Ali of India, which could be considered as interference in Turkey's internal affairs, were published in the newspapers "Tanin", "İkdam" and "Tevhid-i Efkar", the first Independence Court of the republican period was established in the session of the Grand National Assembly of Turkey on December 8, 1923 and the writers of the newspapers in question were tried by this court. (Oğuzhan, 2009, p. 116) In other words, the first Independence Court established in the republican period was based on an event that centered on the press.

In addition, the Takrir-i Sükun Law enacted on March 4, 1925, immediately after the Sheikh Said Uprising, gave the government the right to directly control the press. After this development, the press, which was completely under the control of the government, turned into a tool that conveyed the directives from the party to the society without any debate. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. a.g.g.) In this period when everything was considered to be obliged to reinforce the official ideology, it was considered quite normal for the press to be under the sovereignty of the state. This is because the people who ruled the country during this period saw the press as one of the most important elements that would be effective in the success of the political and social revolutions.

However, with the end of World War II and the disappearance of authoritarian regimes in Europe, the balance in the world changed radically and a major democratization process began in many countries. These developments in world politics, on the other hand, greatly affected political life in Turkey and brought an end to the single-party system that had lasted for many years. As a matter of fact, the DP, which was established after the transition to multi-party life and aroused great excitement among the public, won the elections held on May 14, 1950 and ended the 27-year rule of the CHP.

On May 14, 1950, this change of power brought with it some hopes that it would bring about a change in the mentality of the social structure and that a new period would begin in Turkey. (Kaya A. E., 2010, p. 94) Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, in his first parliamentary speech after coming to power and in the session dated 22.05.1950 in which the DP's government program was announced, announced that the existing press law, which restricted the freedom of the press to a great extent, would be changed (TBMM, 2013, p. 758), in a sense responding to the favor shown by the press to the DP. As a matter of fact, this press law, which had been in use since 1931, was amended on July 15, 1950. According to this law, which was one of the first acts of the DP, unionization in the press would be liberalized, compensation would be paid to those who quit their jobs, special tram services would be organized for journalists working at night, the requirement for permission to publish newspapers and magazines would be abolished, and newspaper owners would not be held criminally responsible for the articles written. (Bulunmaz B. , 2012, p. 208) In addition, some time after the DP came to power, it enacted a law that included press crimes and decided that press crimes committed before 15.05.1950 would not be prosecuted and the sentences imposed would not be executed. (Kaya A. E., 2010, s. 96)

As can be seen, the DP took care to establish good relations with the press in its first years in power and reinforced this attitude with the liberal press laws it enacted. In fact, Celal Bayar, who was the leader of the DP, clearly stated that he had a positive attitude towards the press when he told journalists who visited him after he came to power that "a bird should know where the strength for its wing comes from, and we, as the DP, know that the strength for our wing comes from you" (Dursun D. , 2001, p. 153). However, after the DP achieved great success by increasing its votes in the 1954 elections, this situation was completely reversed and the relationship between the press and the DP began to harden. In his memoirs, Ahmet Emin Yalman stated that the main reason for the deterioration in the relationship between the DP and the press was the misinterpretation of the success achieved in the 1954 elections by the DP cadres and continued as follows;

"Immediately after May 2, I went to the Prime Minister's office in Ankara. Despite his well-known courtesy, I found a changed man in front of me. He said to

me: "The elections revealed how much the citizens liked the path I took. Until now, I had been emphasizing solidarity with you journalists, asking your opinion on whether it was better to use aspirin or ophthalidone as medicine. The enthusiastic confidence of the people now makes it clear that I do not need such consultation. I will make the final decision on my own, I will use aspirin if I wish, or ophthalidone if I wish." With these words, the Prime Minister was kicking and destroying the trend of a permanent cooperation with a select group of journalists." (Yalman, 1997, p. 639)

On the other hand, on March 9, 1954, a new press law titled "publications undermining the political and financial reputation of the state" was enacted. Within the scope of this law, which made it easier for the state to completely control the press organizations, Cahit Yalçın, the editor-in-chief of the *Ulus* newspaper, which was the publication organ of the CHP, was arrested and sentenced to 26 months in prison after an article in which he criticized the DP. Although he was released after 3 months, this incident is very important as the first development that sparked the pressure, censorship, penalties and courts that the DP would apply against the press in the new period. (Bulunmaz B. , 2012, p. 209) Following the enactment of this law, 2300 lawsuits were filed against the press between 1955 and 1960 and 867 journalists were convicted for various reasons in these cases. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 69) In other words, the libertarian attitude of the DP towards the press in its early years completely changed in this period and the press understanding of the CHP period, which was harshly criticized before coming to power, was returned to, and even the pressures against the press intensified a little more during the DP period. This is evident from the number of publications banned by the Council of Ministers during the CHP and DP periods.

Table. 4 : Number of Banned Publications in İnönü and Menderes Period

Topic	İnönü Period	Menderes Period
Communist Propaganda	36	47
Armenianism and Kurdism	19	17
Publications Against Turkey	36	40
Missionaryism and Reactionism	8	18

(Yılmaz and Doğaner, 2007; as cited in Gençalp, 2017, p. 338)

In addition, the first steps towards the industrialization of the Turkish press were also taken during the DP period. During this period, some press organizations, which could no longer withstand the financial pressures exerted by the government in order to control the press, began to be purchased by non-press capital owners and thus came under the control of these individuals. The most prominent examples of this situation were Yeni Sabah and Akşam newspapers. These newspapers, which were bought by the merchant Safa Kılıçlıoğlu and the shipowner Malik Yolaç, who were known to be close to the DP, not only became the publishing organs of the DP, but also lost their political identity and became the commercial tools of the newspaper owners. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 79) Therefore, it is possible to show the DP period, when the first examples of cross-concentration emerged, as the beginning years of the industrialization process of the Turkish press.

However, as a result of the military coup d'état on May 27, 1960, the DP government came to an end and the political, economic and social balances in Turkey changed completely. Of course, the press positioned itself according to the changing balances in these years, which marked the beginning of a new period in Turkish

history, and supported the coup to a great extent. Even the press organizations that were previously pro-DP published articles praising May 27th. Indeed, these media outlets, which praised May 27, believed that the oppressive environment created for the press during the DP period would end in the new period and the press would be freed. As a matter of fact, immediately after the coup d'état, the law on "crimes to be committed through broadcasting or on the radio", which had been enacted during the DP period and which had put the press under pressure, was amended. Then, on November 29, 1960, a new law was enacted abolishing all antidemocratic provisions in the press law. (Topuz, 1977; as cited in Demirtaş, 2016, p. 77) These legislative efforts to liberalize the press and free it from the influence of political power were constitutionally guaranteed by Law No. 212 regulating the press in the 1961 Constitution. The 1961 Constitution, which is considered to be the most libertarian constitution of Turkey, aimed to protect and guarantee the freedom of the press against political power, taking into account the experiences of the past, and for this reason, the text on freedom of the press in the Constitution in question was quite broad. (Demir, 2007, p. 168)

On the other hand, the freedom provided by the 1961 Constitution opened up new areas of debate for the Turkish press. Accordingly, as a result of the freedoms provided to the press by the 1961 Constitution, press organizations became increasingly politicized and the personal pen fights of the past were replaced by ideological fights (Karaca, 1998; as cited in Demirtaş, 2016, p. 78).

In addition, the years between 1960 and 1980, which Koloğlu describes as the period of industrialization of the press (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 77), are considered by many researchers as a transition period between the press and the media. In this period, journalistic activities gradually began to transform from a craft into an industry. (Demirtaş, 2016, p. a.g.g.) Press organizations, which became quite comfortable in terms of distribution with the establishment of companies such as Gamede and Hür-Dağıtım, became increasingly commercialized as a result of the great progress they made in printing techniques. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 78) Because newspapers reached much larger masses with much higher quality prints, these media organs became very useful tools in terms of advertising. This situation paved the way for newspapers to generate large advertising revenues, as well as for many industrialists who wanted to

promote their own products more cheaply to start buying newspapers. Thus, the press, which came under the influence of capital, inevitably began a process of monopolization. (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 81) In other words, during this period, how to industrialize the press in a systematic way was learned and a basis was created for the industrialization process that transformed the Turkish press into media after 1980.

4. 2. 2. Media in Turkey after 1980

As is well known, the 1980s were the years when Turkey was integrated with neoliberal capitalism and reshaped within the framework of this ideology. In this period, which Özal defined as the years of "transformation", the political, economic and social balances in Turkey changed in an unprecedented way and all sectors in the country underwent a process of restructuring according to the new conditions of the new period. As a matter of fact, the sector that adapted most easily to this process was the "media sector" in Turkey, as in the rest of the world, and it even became one of the most important actors in this process.

This process, which started with the January 24th Decisions, gained momentum with the September 12th coup d'état and continued throughout the Özal government, can be defined as the neoliberalization process of the Turkish media. In this process, the Turkish media was restructured in accordance with the teachings of neoliberal ideology. So much so that in this period, when the public monopolies in the media were demolished and replaced by private monopolies and the restrictions in the media field were eliminated, large capital groups penetrated all areas of the media and tended towards horizontal, vertical and diagonal concentration. (Adaklı, 2010, p. 75) The first example of this process in which the Turkish media tended towards conglomeration was Asil Nadir, who bought Günaydın, Tan and Güneş newspapers. (Kuyucu, 2013, p. 28)

Asil Nadir, the name at the center of the first major monopolization/holding debates in the Turkish media, acquired three major publishing groups of the period in a short period of six to seven months and made a very rapid entry into the media sector. (Kuyucu, 2013, p. 34) Nadir, who became the second largest media magnate in Turkey in a short period of time with his large investments in the media sector, was

supported by Turgut Özal, the prime minister of the time. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 131) Because Özal clearly stated that "2.5 newspapers will remain in Turkey" (Kuyucu, Türkiye Basınında Tekelleşme Tartışmaları: A Review on Asil Nadir, Turkey's First Media Holding Boss, 2013, p. 19), Özal saw Asil Nadir as an important actor in the realization of policies towards the downsizing and/or monopolization of the media. As a matter of fact, during the period in question, Nadir's more than a dozen companies operating in different lines of business were granted privileges (such as rice imports and Vestel's investments) that brought huge profits (Koloğlu, 1992, p. 90).

However, this rise of Asil Nadir came to an end in 1991 when his business in London deteriorated. Nadir was sued for fraud and all his accounts were seized. The newspapers he had bought in Turkey continued to publish for a while, but when the money coming from Nadir stopped, they began to experience great economic difficulties. So much so that the workers of *Günaydın* and *Tan* took over the management on the grounds that they could not receive their salaries and bonuses and continued to publish these newspapers under the names *Yeni Günaydın* and *Yeni Tan*. However, in 1993 both newspapers were sold to a businessman named Bekir Kutmangil (Kahraman, 1996, p. 226).

Even though his attempts in the media field ended in failure, Asil Nadir emerges as a very important figure in terms of the media history of Turkey. This is because Nadir's short-lived adventure in the media sector was a source of inspiration for those who followed him. In fact, some large capital owners, following the path paved by Asil Nadir, made huge investments in the media and completely took over the media sector. According to Sönmez, in this new period, non-media capital entered the media sector like entering an industry and forced the old ones to live within their own rules (Sönmez, 2003, p. 35). As a result of these developments that put the media under a heavy burden, small press organizations closed down one by one or were forced to join media structures owned by large capital groups. (Bulunmaz B. , 2011, p. 238) In other words, in this period, the Turkish media entered a restructuring process in which monopolization was the main element. Therefore, Özal's promise that there would be 2.5 newspapers in Turkey gradually began to materialize in this new period.

However, it was in the 1990s that the Turkish media gained a truly industrialized identity. In fact, developments such as the launch of commercial television channels and the integration of media capital with finance capital in the 1990s paved the way for the rapid industrialization of the Turkish media sector. This integration between finance capital and media capital, which was at the center of the neoliberal policies implemented by the Özal governments, led to structural changes in the media sector and the beginning of a new process in which the economic power of the media was effective alongside its ideological function. As a matter of fact, at the end of this process, the ownership of the media sector was transferred from the hands of journalist families to the hands of Turkey's major capital groups. (Olkun, 2013, p. 58) The table below gives a detailed breakdown of these capital groups investing in the media sector as of 1994 and the areas in which they operate.

Table. 5: Media Holdings and Investments in 1994

Gruop	Owner	Media Investments	Finance Investments	Other Investments
Avrupa Holding	Erol Aksoy	Show TV, Cine 5, Radio Viva, Show Radio, Radio 5, Radyo Nostalji	İktisat Bank	Leasing and Insurance Companies
Doğan Holding and Doğu Holding	Aydın Doğan and Ayhan Şahenk Partnership	Kanal D, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Radikal, Hür FM, Radio D	Dışbank, Garanti Bank, Körfezbank, Alternatif Bank	Doğan Auto, Mil-Pa Tourism and Marketing
Rumeli Holding	Cem Uzan	İnterstar, Kral Tv ve 6 Radio	İmarbank, Ada Bank	Electricity, Cement, Construction
İhlas Holding	Enver Ören	TGRT TV, TGRT FM, Turkey Gas., İHA	İhlas	Health, Automotive, Food, Electronics
Medya Holding	Dinç Bilgin, M.E. Karamahmet, Hüseyin Özyeğin	ATV, Sabah, Yeni Asır, Bugün	Pamukbank, Yapı Kredi, İnterbank	Cukurova Steel, Halk Insurance

(Tuncel, 1994; as cited in Kuyucu, 2013, p. 152)

As Table 5 shows, some capital groups were much more influential in the industrialization process of the Turkish media in the 1990s. The most important capital groups of the period were Doğan, Çukurova, Avrupa, Uzan and İhlas. This is because these capital groups, operating in the period in question, established absolute dominance over the media sector either through acquisitions or the establishment of new organizations. So much so that almost the entire media sector of the period consisted of media organizations owned by these groups. Therefore, the activities of these capital groups in the media sector should be examined in detail in order to reveal the industrialization process of the media more clearly. Because the industrialization process of the media sector actually refers to the sum total of the activities of these capital groups in the media sector.

Doğan Group

Founded in 1959 by Aydın Doğan, Doğan Holding first started its business life in the auto spare parts sector and operated only in this field until 1970. However, after receiving the support of the Koç Group, Aydın Doğan established a factory in Tekirdağ in 1974 and entered the industrial sector. (Olkun, 2013, p. 86) Doğan Holding, which began a rapid rise after this date, bought Milliyet Newspaper, which was put up for sale by the Karacan Family after the murder of Abdi İpekçi in 1979, and thus entered the media sector. Aydın Doğan first bought 75% of the newspaper's shares and then acquired the remaining shares, becoming the sole owner of Milliyet. (Topuz, 1996, p. 166)

Nevertheless, Doğan Holding's biggest breakthrough in the media sector was the acquisition of Hürriyet, one of the most widely circulated newspapers of the period, in 1994. In fact, the acquisition of Hürriyet by Doğan Holding paved the way for Aydın Doğan to expand in the media sector. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 229) Doğan Holding, which has been active in almost every aspect of the media sector from television to radio, from magazines to books since the beginning of the 1990s, acquired Hürriyet, the most powerful newspaper of the period, and gained enormous economic and political power.

On the other hand, Doğan Group was the first of Turkey's media organizations to enter the international market. First, Doğan Group signed an agreement with Italian and German magazine groups to sell and distribute magazines in the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Turkic Republics. In 1999, Doğan Group made its second and biggest international move by signing an agreement with CNN, the famous news channel owned by the Time-Warner Group, one of the world's largest media organizations. Within the scope of this agreement, the company established a channel called CNN-Türk to produce news and programs in Turkey, and entered into cooperation with foreign capital in the field of television after the magazine business. With this deal, which was CNN's second largest investment in the world, Doğan Group became an international media organization. (Tokgöz, 2003; as cited in Olkun, 2013, p. 87) The table below shows the media organs owned by Doğan Group before it was sold to Demirören Group in 2018.

Table. 6: Media Organizations Owned by Doğan Group as of 2018

Operations	Company
News	Hürriyet, Posta, Fanatik, Hürriyet Daily News,
Magazine	81 magazines under Doğan Burda and 23 magazines under Doğan Egmont
Printing and Distribution	Doğan Distribution (Yaysat) ve Doğan Print Centre (DPC)
Television	Kanal D, CNN Turk, TV2, Dream Tv, Euro D, Kanal D Romania
Radio	Radyo D, Slow Turk, CNN Turk Radio, Radyonom.com
Digital Platforms	D-Smart, D-Smart Blu TV
News Agency	Doğan News Agency (DHA)
Books, Publishing Houses and Parallelism	Doğan Egmont, Doğan Book, D&R
Music	D Production, Kanal D Home Video, Doğan Music Company

(Uzun B. , 2017, p. 60)

In this context, it is possible to say that Doğan Group, which entered the media sector in 1979 with the acquisition of Milliyet Newspaper, has become the leader of the Turkish media sector, especially with the breakthroughs made in the 1990s, which are in fact the most prominent examples of horizontal, vertical and transversal concentration in the media. By the end of the 2000s, this media organization, which also operates in various other sectors such as industry, energy, tourism and finance, had become a huge multinational conglomerate employing nearly 20,000 people. (<https://www.doganholding.com.tr> Access date: 01.09.2020) So much so that even "The Economist" magazine, one of the most influential publications in the capitalist world, used the title "Turkish Rupert Murdoch" for Aydın Doğan in its issue published on February 14, 2002. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 220)

Çukurova Group

Founded in 1923, Çukurova Group is a large group of companies operating in many fields such as industry, trade, tourism, construction, transportation, shipping, insurance and media. (<http://www.cukurova.com.tr/tr/kisaca.html> Access Date: 16.09.2020) The chairman of the board of directors of the group is Mehmet Emin Karamehmet, who tops the list of "The 100 Richest Turks" published by Forbes Magazine in March 2011. According to Karamehmet's interview with Cumhuriyet Newspaper in 2002, Çukurova Group has more than 150 companies employing 32,000 people in total (Adaklı, 2003, p. 162).

Çukurova Group, which first entered the media sector in 1977 by buying Akşam, a small advertisement newspaper, could not keep the newspaper for a long time under the conditions of that period and had to sell it in a short time. However, this capital group, which gained great financial power with the breakthroughs it realized at the end of the 1980s, returned to the communication sector by establishing Turkcell in 1993. This company, which was Turkey's first GSM operator and had more than 10 million subscribers as of 2000, remained a monopoly in the GSM sector for many years and was the leader of the sector in Turkey. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 164)

On the other hand, Karamehmet started to reinvest in the media sector in the form of small partnerships in 1994 and transformed the Çukurova Group into a large

media conglomerate operating in many areas, particularly in television, radio and newspapers. In fact, during the period in question, Çukurova Group owned many television and radio channels as well as various newspapers and magazines. As a matter of fact, these media outlets owned by Çukurova Group are detailed in the table below.

Table. 7: Media Organizations Owned by Çukurova Group as of 2012

Operations	Company
Television	Show TV, Showturk, Showmax, Show Plus, SkyTurk 360, Turk Max, Lig TV
Radio	Alem FM, Lig Radio
Digital Platforms	Digiturk
Magazine	Alem, Platin, Stuff, Autocar, 442
Printing	Eksen
MediaMarketing Company	MEPAŞ, ZETPAŞ

(Dursun O. , 2012, pp. 7-8)

In this respect, it is possible to point to the Çukurova Group as one of the most important actors in the industrialization trend in the Turkish media sector, which started in the 1980s and reached its peak in the 1990s. The investments made by the Çukurova Group in the media sector in the 1990s accelerated the process of holdigization of the sector and had a direct impact on the transformation of the media into a major industry. As a matter of fact, this capital group is one of the most influential groups in the industrialization process of the Turkish media.

Avrupa Group

Avrupa Group, chaired by Erol Aksoy, first started its commercial life in the banking and insurance sectors. However, with the elimination of the state monopoly in television broadcasting in the early 1990s, the interest of this capital group in the media sector increased and they entered the media sector with small-scale investments. This company, which managed to make a name for itself in this sector in a short time, made its major breakthrough in the media sector by establishing Show TV on March 1, 1992. (Öztürk Ş. , 2004, p. 105) This television channel became one of the most important actors in the Turkish television sector in a very short time with the movies, series, sports and erotic programs it broadcasted. In fact, with the launch of Show TV, the investment priorities of the Avrupa Group changed. In June 1993, Avrupa Group entered the print media by acquiring 25% of the shares of Hürriyet, one of the most important newspapers of the period, from the Simavi Family. When asked why he became a shareholder in Hürriyet, Erol Aksoy replied "to protect myself... to protect myself, my bank and my television company". As a matter of fact, the Simavi family sold the entire newspaper to Aydın Doğan shortly afterwards (Zincirkıran, 1994, p. 323).

As can be seen, the Avrupa Group is a typical example of the integration of finance and media capital. This is because this company, whose main field of activity is banking, has turned its attention to the media sector since the early 1990s and has made great strides in this sector with its investments. However, these initiatives undertaken by the European Group led to an increase in cross-concentration tendencies in the Turkish media and increased monopolization in the media. The table below shows the companies owned by the European Group in the media and other sectors.

Table. 8: Companies within the Europe Group

Operations	Company
Media	Show TV, Cine 5
Advertising	AKS Advertising
Finance	Factorfinans Receivable Purchase A.Ş.
Banking	Iktisat Bank, Bred International Bank, Park Avenue Bank New York
Insurance	Emek Insurance, Hayat Insurance

(Nebiler, 1995, p. 77)

Uzan Group

The January 24th Decisions and the neoliberal policies that began to be strictly implemented in Turkey after the September 12th coup led to the emergence of a new segment of capital. The most prominent group among these capital groups has undoubtedly been the Uzan Group. The Uzans started their business life in the construction sector and later became active in many fields ranging from energy to the banking sector. The Uzans have also been involved in illegal activities such as money laundering and arms smuggling.

The Uzan Family's first entry into the media was with the Yeni Istanbul Newspaper, which they bought in 1964. Kemal Uzan, who made high-priced transfers for this newspaper, succeeded in raising the ratings at first, but when the desired success graph could not be achieved, they had to sell the newspaper. After this unsuccessful venture, the Uzans became partners in Gamede, in which Cumhuriyet, Milliyet, Günaydın and Sabah were equal shareholders, and later on they increased their interest in the media sector by purchasing Ses and Hayat magazines, which were among the most important magazines of that period. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 148)

However, the first serious attempt of the Uzan Group in the media field is considered to be the Magic Box Company, which they established in 1989 with the support of the Özal Family, and the launch of Star I, the first private television

channel in Turkey. In fact, the launch of this channel is considered as a symbolic turning point in the establishment of a media industry in Turkey. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 149) Because, with this initiative, which eliminated the state monopoly in the field of television broadcasting, the interest of large capital groups in the media sector increased tremendously and almost every capital group started to invest in the media sector.

In addition, another important investment of the Uzan Group in the field of communication was the establishment of the telecommunications company Telsim in 1994. (Genç & Narin, 2016, p. 95) Indeed, with this company, which entered the market simultaneously with its closest competitor Turkcell, the Uzan Group gained great power in the field of telecommunications and became one of the leading organizations in the Turkish GSM sector. However, after Telsim was shut down for 9 months in 1995 due to some irregularities detected by the Ministry of Transportation, the company's advantages in this sector disappeared and it fell behind its closest competitor Turkcell. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 149)

On the other hand, the Uzan Group's interest in the media sector was not limited to television broadcasting and in 1999 they entered the print media with the newspapers Star and Damga. (Uzun M. , 2008, p. 55) Undoubtedly, this situation significantly increased the Uzan Group's influence in the media sector. Especially with the success of Star, the Uzans became an important actor in both visual and print media. As a matter of fact, Cem Uzan, one of the bosses of the Uzan Group, turned this newspaper into the propaganda tool of the Young Party (GP), of which he was the founding chairman, in the 2002 elections and achieved great success. In other words, the media power of the Uzans is at a level that can mobilize large masses of people. Therefore, the success of the GP in the 2002 elections is very important in terms of understanding the power of the Uzan Group in the media. The media organs that constitute this power, which provides the Uzans with a great political and economic leeway, are given below.

Table. 9: Media Organs Owned by the Uzan Group

Operations	Company
Television	Star TV, Kral TV
Radio	Süper FM, Joy FM, Radio Blue, Kral FM, Lokum FM, Metro FM
News	Star
Magazine	Kral Music
Production Company	Medya Park, Ultra Film, Prime Prod. MBI Advertising
News Agency	National Media News Agency
Distribution	Star Distribution
Music	Erol Köse Production (Partner)

(Kuyucu, 2013, p. 154)

However, the rapid and unlimited rise of the Uzan Group from the 1980s to the 2000s disappeared after the AKP came to power in 2002, and the company began a massive decline in every sector in which it operated. After AKP President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan claimed that the closest rival of his party was the GP, a wave of operations was launched against the Uzan Group. Within the scope of these operations, Çukurova and Kepez, two of the most profitable companies of the Uzans, were seized and the banking operations of İmar Bank were canceled by the BRSA and the bank was taken from the Uzans and transferred to the Savings Deposit Insurance Fund (TMSF-SDIF). Simultaneously with these operations, the Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTÜK-RTSC) imposed a one-month broadcasting suspension on Star, Kanal 6, Star 6, Star 8 and Kral TV, all owned by the Uzan Group. In addition, during this period, Türk Telekom stopped the cash flow it had been providing to Telsim, the most powerful company of the Uzan Group, since 1998 within the scope of "interconnection revenue sharing". (Adaklı, 2003, p. 154) As a matter of fact, in the following years, all assets of the Uzan Group in Turkey were seized by the state and all their assets, including the media organs they owned, were sold by the SDIF to other capital groups. In other words, the Uzans, who had always presented the image of an aggressive capital group, lost the wealth they had acquired through their

personal relations with high-ranking officials of the state as a result of the operations carried out by the state against them.

İhlas Group

Founded in 1970 by an entrepreneur named Enver Ören, İhlas Group today is a large holding company that operates in more than 20 sectors, including media, construction, tourism, industry, food, education and health. (<https://www.ihlas.com.tr/hakkimizda>) Unlike the previously mentioned capital groups, İhlas Group's first field of activity was the media sector. Namely, Enver Ören, together with a few friends, laid the foundations of the İhlas Group on April 22, 1970, when he started publishing a newspaper called Hakikat with a capital of 500 liras. This newspaper, which could only reach a circulation of 10-15 thousand at first, reached a circulation of 300 thousand after its name was changed to Türkiye Newspaper in 1978 and the subscription system that Ören had seen in Japan was introduced. In fact, on December 10, 1989, the newspaper broke a record by reaching a circulation of 1,424,350, the highest circulation in the history of Turkish journalism until that day. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 159)

In addition, İhlas Group's other major media breakthrough was the İhlas News Agency, which was established on January 1, 1993. Initially established to provide news services to Türkiye Newspaper and TGRT television, which was not officially a part of İhlas Group at the time, this news agency became a major news agency serving news to many channels and newspapers in Turkey. In fact, as of 1994, İhlas News Agency (İHA) was recognized as the most important news agency in Turkey after Anadolu Agency (Adaklı, 2003, p. 160).

Having become an important actor in the media sector with investments such as Türkiye Newspaper, TGRT television and İHA, İhlas Group started to operate in many different sectors such as tourism and insurance, education, food and energy in the following years and became a large capital group. In fact, Enver Ören, the founder of İhlas Group, was listed among the 600 people who shape the world in Global Finance, a monthly magazine published in the US. However, in the wake of the 2001 crisis, the biggest economic crisis of the Republic of Turkey, İhlas Group's financial

activities were terminated by the Banking Regulation and Supervision Agency (BDDK-BRSA) on the grounds of certain irregularities. This was because the money of the depositors of İhlas Finance, a company within the İhlas Group, evaporated, just like in other failed banks. Today, approximately 500 people are waiting to receive their receivables from this liquidated institution. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 161)

As can be seen, the Turkish press, which began to industrialize in the 1950s, remained a field dominated by artisanal production relations until the 1980s. However, with the maturation of neoliberal economic policies after the second half of the 1980s, a new media environment emerged in Turkey and the Turkish media began to be dominated by large capital groups, especially since the early 1990s. With this process, in which the ownership patterns of the media changed significantly, traditional media ownership, which included only the broadcasting business, was replaced by an ownership structure in which investments in non-media sectors were integrated with the media sector. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 11) In other words, as a result of this process, the Turkish media became a conglomerate under the leadership of the aforementioned capital groups.

On the other hand, one of the most important features of this period, in which the state monopoly in the field of broadcasting was destroyed and replaced by private monopolies, almost all restrictions in the field of media were eliminated and the control of the media completely passed into the hands of large capital groups, is that the capital groups dominating the media played an active role in privatization tenders. In fact, these capital groups, which were organized in the form of horizontal, vertical and diagonal concentrations in this period, both tried to prevent the social opposition against the privatization tenders they entered into and tried to create a social consent for the logic of privatization with the media organs they owned.

4. 3. Turkish Media and Privatization Practices

As it is known, privatization has been the most important instrument used to implement neoliberal economic policies in all countries that have adopted neoliberalism. This is because privatization practices have been seen as the sole actor in the realization of the principle of "elimination of the state's influence in the

economic sphere", which is one of the basic assumptions of neoliberalism. As a matter of fact, Turkey, which adopted the neoliberal ideology with the January 24th Decisions, experienced a similar process and privatization practices became one of the most important issues of daily life.

Nevertheless, Turkey did not achieve the desired results in privatization practices during the 1980s and did not make much progress in the privatization process. Despite all the efforts of ANAP, which was in government during the period in question, the majority of the public took a stance against privatization practices. However, this situation has completely changed especially since the beginning of the 1990s and a great wave of privatization has started in Turkey. In fact, in these years, some large public enterprises were bought one by one by large capital groups, including media capital (Boratav, 1999; as cited in Adaklı, 2003, p. 178).

When the period in question is analyzed, we see that media capital has been involved in privatization tenders in many different fields, especially in the energy sector. Media capital became the most important actor in privatization tenders in Turkey, especially after the amendment of Article 29 of the RTÜK law in 2002 (Adaklı, 2003, p. 179), which regulates the share ratios and bans media companies from state tenders. In fact, media owners actively used their media power in every privatization tender they entered and won many privatization tenders in this way. In fact, Veysel Candan, a Konya Deputy of the time, in a speech he made in the Turkish Grand National Assembly on the privatization of electricity distribution services, reveals how media owners were included in a system of privilege in terms of privatization practices as follows.

"Çukurova and Kepez Electricity Enterprises were given to Rumeli Holding with a 70-year concession; the concessions given now are for 30 years, dear friends. Currently, this belongs to the bosses of Star Television. The situation is working against the administration (...) Dear friends, unfortunately, despite all the objections of the Council of State, these contracts were transferred to an upper board. Now I would like to read you the companies that received the tenders: Bursa-Yalova region to TGRT, Tekirdağ-Kırklareli to Show, Samsun-Ordu-Sinop to ATV, Trabzon-Rize-Artvin to Doğan Group, i.e. Kanal D, Çatalağzı Termik to Cine5, Istanbul European

side to Doğan Group again, Antalya-Adana-Mersin to Star." (TBMM, 1999; as cited in Adaklı, 2003, p. 180)

As can be seen from this, companies that provide public services that the state is obliged to provide, such as electricity distribution, started to be sold to capital groups led by media capital throughout the 1990s. The table below shows this relationship between media capital and privatization in detail. It is also possible to say that these developments, which are the most important indicators of the fact that neoliberal economic policies based on the doctrines of the elimination of the state's effectiveness in the economic sphere and the deification of the market became dominant in Turkey in the 1990s, were also effective in the formation of the intellectual basis for the privatization of many public services, especially telecommunications, in the following years.

Table. 10: Some Privatizations Involving Media Companies

Name of Organization	Transfer Public Share (percent)	Public Share Sold (percent)	Purchasing Person/Organization	Media Group	Date of Sale	Sale Price	
						TL	US \$ ⁸
Ray Insurance	49,65	49,65	Doğan Companies G.	DOĞAN	04.05.1992	69.000.000.000	10.376.455
Gaziantep Cement	99,73	99,73	Rumeli Holding	UZAN	16.11.1992	434.266.895.418	52.695.898
Trabzon Cement	100,00	100,00	Rumeli Holding	UZAN	16.11.1992	268.252.782.759	32.551.000
Ladik Cement	100,00	100,00	Rumeli Cement	UZAN	21.04.1993	553.062.592.574	57.598.687
Şanlıurfa Cement	100,00	100,00	Rumeli Cement	UZAN	21.04.1993	551.212.296.776	57.405.988
Bartın Cement	99,78	99,78	Rumeli Cement	UZAN	06.05.1993	200.544.522.750	20.568.669
Çukurova Electricity	11,25	11,25	Rumeli Elct. Inv.	UZAN	16.02.1993	740.332.586.781	81.096.791
Kepez Electricity	25,39	25,39	Rumeli Elct. Inv.	UZAN	16.02.1993	302.708.401.452	33.158.988
Çeştaş	2,29	2,29	Çukurova Elct. Inv.	UZAN	18.05.1994	250.000.000	8.069
HAVAŞ	60,00	60,00	Yazeks A.Ş.	CİNER	17.04.1995	1.530.540.000.000	36.000.000
Van Cement	100,00	100,00	Rumeli Cement A.Ş.	UZAN	12.06.1996	1.937.558.000.000	24.500.000
Lalapaşa Cement	100,00	100,00	Rumeli Cement A.Ş.	UZAN	14.06.1996	10.037.713.260.000	125.890.000
Ergani Cement	100,00	100,00	Rumeli Cement A.Ş.	UZAN	03.04.1997	5.971.062.000.000	46.700.000
Etibank	100,00	100,00	Medya-İpek Holding ⁹	BİLGİN	02.03.1998	35.702.800.000.000	155.500.000
HAVAŞ	40,00	40,00	Turgay Ciner	CİNER	30.03.1998	6.527.577.000.000	27.100.000

(Adaklı, 2006, p. 219)

In addition, media companies in Turkey have not only made profits as buyers in privatization practices, but also earned huge revenues by actively participating in the state's public relations and advertising activities within the scope of privatization. In fact, approximately 10% of the \$100 million IMF loan received for privatization in 1994 was transferred to media outlets for privatization advertisements. Moreover, in 1995, a loan of 5.1 million dollars was received from the World Bank for privatization advertising and promotion expenditures within the scope of the "Privatization Practices Technical Assistance and Social Safety Net Project" and this money was distributed to media companies for the promotion of privatization practices. (Adaklı, 2003, p. 177)

In addition to these, when the privatization processes in Turkey, especially in the 1990s, are carefully examined, it is possible to say that the media has become an ideological apparatus for propagandizing the logic of privatization and creating mass consent for privatization. In this period, when the Turkish bourgeoisie saw its future in sharing public investments with foreign capital groups and expanding the areas of joint investment with them, a massive campaign of support for privatization practices was launched through the content produced by the media. Throughout this support campaign, in which the rhetoric of globalization and EU standards was frequently used, privatization practices were presented as the credo and the only way to overcome Turkey's liberalization, development and economic crises that had become chronic (Adaklı, 2006, p. 225). However, with these privatization news that evaluated privatization policies on the axis of social benefit and accordingly presented the interests of certain classes as the interests of the whole society, the social reality was actually reproduced in favor of the ruling classes. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 161) In other words, the media in Turkey played a vital role in spreading the logic of privatization to the grassroots and creating social consent against privatization practices in favor of the ruling classes.

From this point of view, privatization practices, which are at the heart of neoliberal policies implemented in Turkey, have achieved a complete consensus between political powers and media organizations. This complete consensus between the media and political powers is clearly demonstrated in the news produced by media outlets on privatization practices. In fact, in the majority of the news reports on

privatizations, the statements of large capital owners, senior executives of national and international financial institutions and political powers are accepted as true and an attitude towards the continuation and reproduction of the pro-privatization dominant economic order is displayed. In addition, the privatization of public services was presented as the most important criterion of economic growth and efficiency and the dominant discourse of neoliberalism on the privatization of public services was reproduced. (Şen & Avşar, 2012, p. 56)

As can be seen from this, privatization-related developments have generally been covered in the media in the form of news reports and news reports have been used to a great extent in the process of building social consent for privatization policies. In other words, the main actor in the relationship between privatization and the media has been news. However, these news reports, the main objective of which is to create social consent against privatization practices, bring along debates on the concept of news. Because these privatization news, which present the interests of certain capital groups as the interests of the whole society and reproduce the truth by distorting it, have caused great damage to the concept of news, which is presented by media organizations as a symbol of truth. For this reason, in the next section of the study, the concept of news will be discussed on the axis of reality and the relationship between news and reality will be analyzed in detail.

4. 4. News and Reality

The concept of news, which emerged as a result of the human need to know and receive news, has been one of the most important facts of daily life throughout human history. In every period of history, people have been curious about the events and developments taking place around them and have felt the need to learn about them. Especially with the socialization process that started after the Agricultural Revolution, news has become even more important in people's daily lives and has become an indispensable part of life. (Ekinci, 1991, p. 1)

From this point of view, it is possible to reach certain assumptions in the definition of the concept of news, whose main function is to inform people. However, there is no universal definition of the concept in the literature. This is because

political, economic, social and cultural differences among scholars interested in the definition of the concept lead to differences in the definition of news. H. Schlapp defines news as the presentation of a current and interesting event in an objective and truthful manner. (Schlapp, 2013, p. 6) On the other hand, Rigel defines the concept of news as the reconstruction of the reality that will develop the knowledge and interest of the society according to the structure, technology and ideology of the media organization to be broadcast. (Rigel, 2000, p. 177) In other words, while according to Schlapp, news represents an objective and real phenomenon, according to Rigel, it is considered as a reconstruction of reality according to the structure and ideology of the media organization.

In this context, it is possible to say that the debates on the definition of the concept of news generally focus on the relationship between news and reality. Theorists from the liberal tradition see news as an important force in mass communication and define the concept of news in terms of principles such as impartiality, balance, accuracy and reality by evaluating it within the scope of social responsibility. (Girgin, 2000, p. 25) However, theorists, especially those from the critical theory and cultural studies tradition, argue that news cannot be considered as an objective and independent reality, but as a reality produced by certain interpretive practices and the journalist's interest. Accordingly, in order to make news, the journalist makes a selection among the events and tries to place the event in question within a framework. In doing so, he/she is naturally doomed to produce meaning based on the realities behind the events (Merril, 1997; as cited in Yurdigül, 2011, p. 19).

As can be seen, theorists from the liberal and critical traditions have handled the phenomenon of news with an opposite approach. However, when the news in the media is taken into consideration, it is clearly understood that the definitions made by theorists from the critical theory tradition are more functional. This is because it is known that news in the media is the product of a certain production process through personal and ideological filters. Therefore, the news that reaches the reader/viewer/listener actually reflects the reality produced within the framework of the ideology of the journalist or the media organization he/she works for. For this reason, it does not seem possible to talk about the principles of impartiality and truth

in news put forward by liberals. Because the reality in the news has been intervened within the framework of the ideology of individuals or institutions and the reality in the news has been reconstructed according to the ideologies of these individuals or institutions. Evaluating this adventure of the news as an intervention in the reality dimension of the news, Talu expressed this intervention as follows;

"In its theorized form, the filtering-sifting, processing sequence called gatekeeping in the media world takes raw information, kneads it and turns it into a product or kills it. Can the news be called (what happened) in this form anymore? News is a reproduction, a product, a construct, a political representation, a montage, a presentation. At worst it is a manipulation, at best a reproduction. I would say it is a stunt double of reality. We can also say that imitation is reality."(Talu, as cited in Yurdigül, 2011, p. 20)

As can be understood from Talu's statements, it is not possible to talk about an objective reality in the news. This is because news appear as ideological products of the construction process shaped by the hegemonic discourses of the ruling classes in society and through which certain meanings are reproduced. For this reason, it is necessary to accept the reality in the news as a phenomenon that is constructed, continuously reproduced and defined by media organizations in a certain style and within the framework of ideology. (Akca, 2009, p. 97)

4. 5. Methods and Results

As is known, a major neoliberal transformation process was initiated in Turkey following the January 24th Decisions and the September 12th coup d'état, and as a result of this process, the political, economic and social structure in Turkey was reshaped within the framework of neoliberalism. Undoubtedly, the most important tool used in this process of reshaping Turkey in many respects on the basis of neoliberalism has been privatization practices. In Turkey, as in many other countries where neoliberal ideology was imposed, privatization practices were seen as the most important method of realizing the objectives of withdrawing the state from the economic sphere and leaving the market to the private sector, which constitute the basis of neoliberalism.

In addition, the media has been one of the most important social actors in the neoliberal process in Turkey since the 1980s. In fact, media outlets, which became conglomerates through vertical, horizontal and diagonal mergers after the economic system in Turkey moved to a neoliberal line, strongly supported neoliberal economic policies, especially privatization practices, and played an active role in the process of creating social consent against these policies. However, these neoliberal policies implemented in the 1980s could not be fully implemented due to the opposition of a large segment of the public to privatization practices and the lack of a well-established legislation. However, with the acceleration of the EU accession process in 1999 and the AKP Government coming to power in 2002, the neoliberalization process in Turkey has accelerated again on the basis of privatization practices. (Temuroğlu & Mazıcı, 2018, p. 48)

If we examine the news articles published in newspapers in Turkey during this period, it is possible to say that there was no questioning or opposition to privatization practices, which are the most important tool of neoliberal economic policies, on the contrary, a complete discursive closure was carried out in order to establish social consent for privatization practices. The news texts published during the privatization process of Türk Telekom, which is the subject of this study, constituted a typical example of this discursive closure and the related processes of social consent generation. This is because the majority of the media in Turkey showed great interest in the privatization of Türk Telekom between 2004 and 2005, when the privatization process started and ended, and tried to design the public perception of the privatization process through the language and visual elements used in the news reports on the subject. In fact, the news produced by the media within the scope of these efforts, which aimed to build a common sense in the society about the privatization of Türk Telekom, were compressed into news frames shaped around neoliberal doctrines, and thus a common understanding of this privatization practice was tried to be built in the society. In other words, the news about the privatization of Türk Telekom in the media during the period in question were conveyed using certain ideological frames, and by making use of the shaping function of the news frames used, it was attempted to produce social consent towards neoliberalism and privatization practices, one of its most important instruments. Moreover, it is known that conveying media texts using frames shaped around a certain ideology has an

important place in the construction of the meaning of the news. For this reason, it is necessary to consider news frames, which are accepted as interpretation schemes, as a practice of signification. (Durur, 2011, p. 21)

In this context, according to R.M. Entman, communicators consciously or unconsciously produce news frames by making use of certain key words, phrases, cliché images and information sources in order to thematically reinforce certain judgments in news texts (Entman, Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm, 1993, p. 52). In such a way that data that is incompatible with the news story can be covered up by repeating the meaning frames that were originally intended and therefore made noticeable, and by using words and visual elements associated with these frames. In this way, the established ideas of categories, stereotypes and stereotypes created in the recipient's mind guide the recipient in making sense of the message. (Entman, 1991, p. 12) In other words, through the frames used in news texts, both the signification strategies of individuals are guided and social reality is constructed and reproduced. (Durur, 2011, p. 26) Therefore, it is possible to see news frames, which are the carriers of the dominant ideology, as tools that reproduce the dominant ideology and legitimize it by providing a new social consensus around this ideology. (Durur, 2011, p. 25) In this context, J.W. Tankard considered news frames, which are one of the leading methods used by media professionals in the ideological structuring of news texts, as an important system that helps us understand the effects of mass media and identified 11 focal points that constitute the working mechanism of the framing method. These are;

- 1) Titles
- 2) Subtitles
- 3) Photos
- 4) Photo Captions
- 5) The beginning of news stories
- 6) Selection of connections and welds
- 7) Citation selection
- 8) Especially emphasized quotations,
- 9) Logos
- 10) Statistics and graphs

11) Conclusion of paragraphs

(Tankard, 2001; as cited in Erdoğan İ. , 2008, p. 40)

As can be understood from these focal points identified by Tankard in order to explain the working mechanism of the framing method, the framing of the news around a certain ideology does not only involve a process related to the text of the news. In the framing process, all visual and symbolic elements of the news are designed in accordance with the ideology that is being constructed or reproduced in the text. Accordingly, media professionals choose the photographs, logos, statistical data and sources used in the news according to the ideology that is effective in the framing process and construct the news accordingly. This situation plays an active role in highlighting or excluding some features and elements of the main organizing idea in the news content, which is aimed by framing. (Tankard, 2001, p. 95) In this context, Coleman stated that written and visual elements should be evaluated as a whole in studies analyzing news frames. (Coleman, 2010, p. 235) Because the visual elements in the news often support the ideological construction process, which is the purpose of the news, and in some cases even override the text. Therefore, it is necessary to consider news frames as a set of written, visual and symbolic elements that reduce the preferences of the viewer/listener/reader about the subject of the news and emphasize the arguments to be focused on. (Tankard, 2001, p. 100)

On the other hand, when we take into consideration the focal points that Tankard identifies regarding the working mechanism of the framing method, it becomes clear that the introductory and concluding paragraphs of the news items have an important place in the news framing process. Because in the framing process, the introductory and concluding paragraphs are generally determined as the sections where the main idea to be conveyed in the news is conveyed. This not only causes the introduction and conclusion paragraphs to differentiate from the rest of the news story, but also ensures that the ideas conveyed in these sections stand out in the narrative of the news story. In addition, this situation is also effective in focusing the attention of the viewer/listener/reader on the thoughts conveyed in these sections of the news story. In this context, in a study conducted by Neuman et al. in 1992, news

texts were divided into two as sections containing frames and sections containing facts. According to the data obtained from this study on the effects of framing, the introduction and conclusion sections that carry frames are decisive in terms of how people perceive the news. (Erdoğan İ. , 2008, p. 40)

From this point of view, it is possible to say that the main purpose of the frames constructed in the news, supported by written, visual, symbolic and statistical elements, is to enable people to concentrate on certain aspects and consequences of an issue while ignoring other aspects and consequences. (Tankard, 2001, p. 96) Thus, Gitlin defined news frames as a continuous pattern of selection, emphasis and exclusion made by symbol processors while constructing written and visual discourse (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7). 96) In fact, Gitlin defined news frames as a continuous pattern of selection, emphasis and exclusion made by symbol processors while constructing written and visual discourse. (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7) As can be seen, this definition made by Gitlin is very important in explaining the structural features of news frames. Because in this definition, on the one hand, the elements of the content of the news frame concept are explained, and on the other hand, how meaning is produced through frames is explained by referring to E. Goffman's (1974) "picture frame" metaphor (Tankard, 2001, p. 98), which has a great influence on the emergence of the concept of framing with the use of the words selection, exclusion and emphasis.

To summarize, the news in the mass media are interpreted and interpreted using ideological frames. Thanks to news frames, which are concretized by the use and repetition of keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols and visual elements within the framework of a certain understanding, some ideas are brought to the forefront and these ideas are made more remarkable in the eyes of the masses. Therefore, it is possible to accept the essence and purpose of framing in news texts as dimensioning. Because with news frames, some elements of the reality depicted in the news text are enlarged or reduced in order to make them more or less remarkable. (Entman, 1991; as cited in Seyidov, 2014, p. 62) In this context, it is possible to say that the information in the framed news does not have its own original meaning, some meanings are selected and emphasized, or some meanings are deliberately ignored. Therefore, instead of seeing these news as texts that convey accurate and unbiased

information to the public, it is necessary to think of them as texts that tell ideological stories about the world. (Gamson, 1989, p. 157)

When all the above-mentioned issues regarding news frames are carefully examined, we see that media professionals construct the news around certain ideological frames and determine not only "what people should think" about issues but also "how they should think" (Scheufele & Tewskbury, 2007; as cited in Özarslan & Güran, 2015, p. 36). In this context, it is possible to come across many studies in the literature in which the framing method is used and the media coverage of political crises and events is examined. For example, Entman (1991) used the framing analysis method to compare the news about the downing of Korean Airlines Flight 007 by Soviet warplanes in 1983 and the shooting down of Iran Airways Flight 655 by an American navy ship in 1988. In this context, Entman analyzed media outlets such as the Times and Newsweek magazines, CBS, the New York Times and the Washington Post, which are very popular in the United States. According to the data Entman obtained as a result of this analysis, the news reports on the downing of the Korean passenger plane by Soviet warplanes were conveyed using certain ideological frames, both visually and verbally, and the incident in question was harshly criticized. On the other hand, the news about the downing of the Iranian plane by an American navy ship was covered in a more moderate manner thanks to the news frames used (Seyidov, 2014, p. 64).

From this point of view, this study examines the privatization news in *Hürriyet*, *Sabah* and *Yeni Şafak* newspapers, which represent different political tendencies in the privatization process of Türk Telekom, between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 in detail within the framework of framing theory and draws attention to the ideological frames used in the news on the subject. However, before proceeding to this stage, some statistical data will be provided for a clearer understanding of the subject. This is because these statistical data are very important in terms of understanding how news frames built on repetition and drawing attention are concretized.

Accordingly, a total of 562 privatization news items, including the privatization of Türk Telekom, Erdemir, Tekel, Petkim, Seka, Seydişehir Aluminum

Plants and vehicle inspection stations, were covered in these three newspapers between the aforementioned dates. However, 308 of these 562 news items were related to the privatization of Türk Telekom. In other words, 54.8% of the privatization news in the issues of Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak published between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 was about Türk Telekom.

On the other hand, the distribution of these 562 privatization news items among the newspapers was as follows: 172 news items in Hürriyet, 225 news items in Sabah and 165 news items in Yeni Şafak. 95 out of 172 news items in Hürriyet, 147 out of 225 news items in Sabah and 66 out of 165 news items in Yeni Şafak were related to the privatization of Türk Telekom. Accordingly, 55.2% of the privatization news in Hürriyet, 65.3% of the privatization news in Sabah and 40% of the 165 privatization news in Yeni Şafak were about the privatization of Türk Telekom. A schematic description of the news items on the privatization of Türk Telekom that appeared in these newspapers between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 is given in Table 11.

Table. 11: Number of Privatization News in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak Newspapers

Newspapers	Number of News	Number of News About Türk Telecom	Rate
Hürriyet	172	95	%55.2
Sabah	225	147	%65.3
Yeni Şafak	165	66	%40.0
Toplam	562	308	%54.8

In addition to these, the monthly distribution of news on the privatization of Türk Telekom in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers also provides important information. When the privatization news in these newspapers are analyzed, it is observed that there has been an increase in the number of news items in parallel with the developments regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom. For example, in

October 2003, a total of 24 privatization news items were published in Hürriyet, 6 in Sabah, 9 in Yeni Şafak and 9 in Yeni Şafak. Only 4 of these news items were related to the privatization of Türk Telekom. On the other hand, in November 2003, when the Council of Ministers meeting was held to decide on the block sale of at least 51% of Türk Telekom's shares, a total of 101 privatization news items, 25 of which were related to the privatization of Türk Telekom, were encountered: 37 in Hürriyet, 36 in Sabah and 28 in Yeni Şafak. This situation, which is a typical behavior of the process of producing social consent through the media, is very important in terms of revealing the effective role of the media in the process of producing social consent. For this reason, a detailed analysis of the monthly distribution of privatization news in these newspapers between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 is very important for a clearer understanding of the efforts to produce social consent for privatization practices through media organs.

Table. 12: Monthly Distribution of Privatization News Covered in Hürriyet,

Newspaper	Number of Newspaper News/Number of News Related to Türk Telekom											
Months	October 2004	November 2004	December 2004	January 2005	February 2005	March 2005	April 2005	May 2005	June 2005	July 2005	Total	Rate
Hürriyet	10/5	9/7	7/2	3/2	14/6	21/6	22/9	5/3	23/10	58/45	172/95	55,2
Sabah	6/5	13/9	9/3	14/11	13/7	15/5	29/14	30/22	35/20	61/51	225/147	65,3
Yeni Şafak	8/5	10/6	5/2	15/6	19/5	16/1	16/5	25/10	22/8	29/18	165/66	40,0

Sabah and Yeni Şafak Newspapers between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005

As can be seen, the media outlets in Turkey have shown a keen interest in privatization practices in the country and have closely followed these privatizations. In fact, between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005, the sample newspapers Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak published a total of 562 privatization news items (172 in Hürriyet, 225 in Sabah and 165 in Yeni Şafak) in 304 issues each. Accordingly, it is possible to conclude that these newspapers covered privatization practices in Turkey every two days on average. This is a clear evidence of the intense interest shown by media outlets in privatization practices.

On the other hand, an analysis of the privatization news in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers between the aforementioned dates reveals that the media showed much more interest in the privatization of Türk Telekom than other privatization practices carried out in the same period. As a matter of fact, although the privatization of some of Turkey's largest SEEs such as Tüpraş, Petkim, Tekel, Seka, Erdemir, Seydişehir Aluminum Plants and vehicle inspection stations were on the agenda between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005, 308 out of 562 privatization news items published in these newspapers were about the privatization of Türk Telekom. In fact, 95 out of 172 privatization news items published in Hürriyet, 147 out of 225 privatization news items published in Sabah and 66 out of 165 privatization news items published in Yeni Şafak were about the privatization of Türk Telekom. In other words, half of the privatization news that appeared in these newspapers every two days on average was about the privatization of Türk Telekom. This privileged attitude of media organs towards the privatization of Türk Telekom is shown in detail in Table 13.

Table. 13: Distribution of Privatization News Covered in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak Newspapers between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 by Company

	Company Name/Number of News/Rate									
Newspaper	Türk Telekom	Erdemir	Tüpraş	Petkim	Tekel	Seka	Seydişehir A.	Vehicle Inspection S.	Others	Total
Hürriyet	95	22	15	8	8	7	5	2	10	172
	%55.2	%12.7	%8.7	%4.6	%4.6	%4.1	%2.9	%1.4	%5.8	%100
Sabah	147	22	14	7	8	4	3	4	16	225
	%65.3	%9.7	%6.4	%3.2	%3.5	%1.7	%1.4	%1.7	%7.1	%100
Yeni Şafak	66	20	14	10	6	12	3	3	31	165
	%40	%12	%8.4	%6	%3.6	%7.3	%2	%2	%18.7	%100

Based on the information given in Table 13, it is possible to say that the majority of the privatization news in these newspapers between 2004 and 2005, when many important SEEs in Turkey were in the process of privatization, was about the privatization of Türk Telekom. In fact, 54.8% of the 562 privatization news items published in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers between the relevant dates were about the privatization of Türk Telekom. In fact, this is clear evidence of the effective role of the media in generating social consent for the privatization of Türk Telekom. In this period when the media openly supported privatization policies, every news item was used to reshape the public's attitude towards privatization practices according to the neoliberal understanding. As a result of this situation, which is a typical example of the process of generating social consent through the media, a positive understanding of the privatization of Türk Telekom prevailed in the society and no major social reaction was encountered against this privatization despite its many drawbacks. Moreover, the criticisms of the privatization by opposition parties, trade unions and some professional associations were not taken into consideration by the media organs, and the people or institutions making these criticisms were even accused of being reactionary, anti-western and outdated.

In this context, an analysis of the news reports on the privatization of Türk Telekom in the newspapers in question reveals that the thematic structure that gives the news the main idea is also shaped around a certain ideology. Accordingly, the thematic structure of the news reports about the events, facts or people in the privatization process of Türk Telekom was shaped within the framework of a certain ideology and the events or people that were the subject of the news were handled around this ideology. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about the existence of different and independent themes in these news items that emerged as a product of the ideological construction process. As a matter of fact, it is clearly understood that the news items on the privatization of Türk Telekom in these newspapers focus on similar themes by using certain discursive closure tactics. This situation is shown in detail in Table 14.

Table. 14: Distribution of News on Türk Telekom Privatization According to Themes

	Themes/Number of News												
Newspaper	Explanations of Tendered Companies and Authorities	Process and Operation	Lawsuits and Protests	Foreign Investment	TT's Pro-Privatization	Against Privatization of TT	Criticism of Bureaucracy	SEE Criticism	Presenting TT's Services in a Positive Light	Negative Representation of TT's Services	Statements by International Financial Institutions	Sale of TT	Total
Hürriyet	20	15	7	4	22	11	1	3	2	5	2	3	95
Sabah	32	21	6	8	39	12	5	4	6	6	5	3	147
Yeni Şafak	16	10	3	2	15	1	1	1	6	3	1	3	66

As can be seen in Table 14, a total of 308 news items on the privatization of Türk Telekom in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 were covered under 12 themes. However, when the table

given above is analyzed, it is understood that the pro-privatization of Türk Telekom was covered more than the other themes. In fact, 76 out of 308 news items (24.6%) published in these newspapers between the specified dates on the privatization of Türk Telekom explicitly supported the privatization practice. On the other hand, only 24 (7.7%) news items (24.6%) used a theme opposing the privatization in question. Moreover, the opposing stance exhibited in these news items did not object to the privatization of Türk Telekom, but only criticized the purchaser and the sale price of the company. In other words, even in the few news items that were considered as oppositional, there were no structural criticisms of privatization practices, and the criticisms made were limited to superficial issues, especially the sale price. Therefore, this situation not only shows that even the news items that are considered as anti-privatization implicitly support the privatization approach, but also clearly demonstrates the attitude of the Turkish media towards privatization practices. As a matter of fact, it is clearly understood that the thematic structure of the privatization news in the newspapers in question is constructed within the framework of neoliberal ideology, despite the fact that they publish in ideologically different understandings, and for this reason, a pro-privatization attitude is displayed in almost all news.

Of course, the most important factor in the emergence of such a situation is the production of news texts using certain news frames. Thanks to these news frames shaped around a certain ideology, the thematic structure that media professionals want to put forward in the news is strengthened. Therefore, the news frames produced consciously or unconsciously by media professionals directly affect the thematic structure of the news and play an active role in constructing social reality and producing a new social consensus around this reality.

From this point of view, it is possible to say that the news reports on the privatization of Türk Telekom in the Turkish print media were produced within the framework of a similar understanding, and as a result of these news reports, a new area of social consensus was created regarding the privatization understanding. In fact, thanks to these news articles framed in line with the discourses of neoliberal ideology, social consent was produced for the privatization approach. For this reason, in this study, these news reports, which are among the most prominent examples of the neoliberal ideology and the efforts to produce social consent for privatization

practices, one of the most important instruments of this ideology, were examined using the framing analysis method. As a result of the analysis of these news reports within the scope of this method, it is clearly understood how great the power of the media in the production of social consent towards neoliberalism and privatization practices is.

On the other hand, in the newspapers examined within the scope of this study, many columns written about the privatization of Türk Telekom were encountered. Moreover, in these columns published in these newspapers, the privatization of Türk Telekom was supported and the readers were directed towards a certain area through these columns. Of course, objectivity was not sought in these columns. However, some of the columns published in these newspapers made very striking statements about the privatization of Türk Telekom. As a matter of fact, when these columns were analyzed in detail, it was understood that the news frames analyzed within the scope of the study were also used effectively in these columns. In fact, in some of these columns, it is clearly seen that positive or negative attributions are made about social and political actors related to the privatization of Türk Telekom. Therefore, it is possible to say that these columns about the privatization of Türk Telekom will provide a broader information about the political stance of the newspapers in which they are published. This is because in these columns, the news frames used for the privatization of Türk Telekom are presented with more distinct and clearer expressions. In this context, within the scope of this study, some columns published on the privatization of Türk Telekom were evaluated as news and these columns were analyzed.

4. 5. 1. News Analysis

As mentioned earlier, within the scope of this study, 308 news articles on the privatization of Türk Telekom published in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 were analyzed and the ideological frames used in these news articles were analyzed. The reason for choosing these newspapers for the study is that the ownership and ownership structures of these newspapers are composed of people belonging to different ideological circles and their editorial policies differ according to this situation in the ownership structure. In

addition, the scope of the study was limited to the period between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 because this was the period during which the debates on the privatization of Türk Telekom started, intensified and diminished.

In this context, the research conducted in this study to analyze the frames used in the news reports published during the privatization process of Türk Telekom consists of two stages. In the first stage, issues such as the source and actor of the news were analyzed quantitatively. This is because these issues are the most important instruments used by media professionals in the news production and framing process. In the second stage of the research, the dominant frames used in the news reports were first identified and then the impact of these frames on the efforts to produce social consent regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom was analyzed.

In this study, the sources in the news articles published in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom were divided into two main categories: institutional sources and news agencies. In the category of institutional sources, reporters and writers working for the newspapers in question are the sources. In the news agency category, the sources are news agencies operating across Turkey such as Anadolu Agency (AA), İhlas News Agency, Doğan News Agency, Anka News Agency (ANKA). In this context, Table 15 shows the sources used in the production phase of the news published in these newspapers during the privatization process of Türk Telekom.

Table. 15: Sources Referred to in News on the Privatization of Türk Telekom

Newspaper	Corporate Sources	News Agencies	Total
Hürriyet	92	3	95
Sabah	147	0	147
Yeni Şafak	66	0	66

As can be seen in Table 15, almost all of the news items published in these newspapers between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 on the privatization of Türk Telekom made use of institutional sources. Accordingly, it is understood that sources within the existing structure of the newspapers were effective in the framing

process of the news reports on the subject, rather than external sources. As a matter of fact, this situation is of great importance in terms of revealing the approaches of these newspapers towards the privatization of Türk Telekom. In fact, these news articles, in which institutional sources are effective in the news framing process, clearly reveal the stance of the newspapers in terms of both organizational structure and editorial policy regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom. This is because media professionals take into account the editorial policies of the organization they work for in the news production process and frame the news in the context of this editorial policy.

On the other hand, another effective factor in the framing process is the main actor in the news. In fact, the actors mentioned in the news appear as the most important power centers that play a role in shaping the social reality in the news (Saraç, 2018, p. 170). Of course, these people or institutions whose opinions are consulted are selected from the segment of society that supports the idea defended in the news and is considered politically, economically and culturally elite in society. Moreover, these individuals, who are usually government officials, experts and representatives of relevant institutions, are presented as the most reliable sources. Thus, the meaning framed in the news article is supported through the opinions of these individuals or institutions, and social consent is also produced. In this context, the distribution of the actors in the news on the privatization of Türk Telekom is shown in Table 16.

Table. 16: Actors in News on the Privatization of Türk Telekom

	Actors/Number of News/Rate					
Newspaper	Government Officials	Expert Opinions	Mandates of International Financial Institutions	Companies and Authorized Persons who will participate in the tender	Groups Opposed to Privatization of TT (Opposition Parties, NGO and Trade Union Officials)	Total
Hürriyet	29 (%30,5)	30 (%31,5)	2 (%2,1)	25 (%26,5)	9 (%9,4)	95
Sabah	46 (%31, 5)	36 (%24,4)	5 (%3,4)	41 (%27,8)	19 (%12,9)	147
Yeni Şafak	24 (%36,3)	18 (%27,2)	1 (%1,5)	19 (%28,7)	4 (%6,3)	66

As can be seen in Table 16, the main actors in the news reports on the privatization of Türk Telekom were generally composed of individuals or institution officials who supported the privatization. In fact, in 90.6% of the 95 news items published in Hürriyet, 87.1% of the 147 news items published in Sabah and 93.7% of the 66 news items published in Yeni Şafak, individuals or institutions in favor of the privatization of Türk Telekom were the main actors. On the other hand, the proportion of news items in which the circles opposing the privatization of Türk Telekom were the main actors remained at 9.4% in Hürriyet, 12.9% in Sabah and 6.3% in Yeni Şafak. This shows that the news reports on this privatization practice almost never include actors other than the dominant opinion and that the news reports are mostly framed in line with the views of individuals or institutions that support this privatization practice. In other words, through these news reports, the views of the dominant one were confirmed by the dominant one (Chomsky, 2010, p. 47) and thus, social consent was tried to be produced for the privatization practice in question.

On the other hand, one of the most important stages of news framing research is to determine which frames are used in the analyzed news. Determining which frames are used in the news analyzed within the scope of the research is very important in terms of understanding how the society is manipulated and persuaded through the news in line with which ideological purposes. In this context, within the scope of the study, 8 main frames that were frequently used in the shaping of the news on the privatization of Türk Telekom were identified. These are; 1) economic growth and stability, 2) The revenue from the sale of Türk Telekom, 3) foreign capital and foreign currency inflows, 4) competition and monopolization, 5) profitability and efficiency, 6) corruption and 7) portraying opponents in a negative light. From this point of view, it is necessary to explain what these frames mean in terms of content. Accordingly, the seven news frames and their definitions are as follows;

1) Economic Growth and Stability Framework: Within the scope of this framework, the news reports emphasized that the privatization of Türk Telekom would be an important step in terms of integrating into the dominant economic system in the world, that the privatization would increase the confidence of international financial and political institutions such as the EU, IMF and WB in the Turkish economy, and that this would have a positive impact on Turkey's economic growth and stability.

2) Revenue Framework for the Sale of Türk Telekom: In these news reports, it was emphasized that the privatization of Türk Telekom would generate a large amount of revenue. In addition, in the news items using this frame, it was explained that the privatization should have been carried out earlier because the market value of the corporation in the past years was much higher.

3) Foreign Capital and Foreign Exchange Inflow Frame: In the news articles using this frame, it was stated that the privatization of Türk Telekom would encourage foreign capital groups and thus pave the way for foreign capital to come to the country in the future. In addition, it was emphasized that the main need of the Turkish economy was foreign currency inflow and that the most important instrument for this inflow was privatization practices. In this context, in these news reports, it was stated that there is no harm in the privatization of even strategic institutions such

as Türk Telekom by foreign capital groups; on the contrary, the foreign currency that will enter the country as a result of privatization will contribute positively to the Turkish economy.

4) Competition and Monopolization Framework: In the news items under this framework, it is stated that Türk Telekom's activities as a state institution have a negative impact on the competitive environment. Accordingly, through these news reports, it was stated that Türk Telekom is not sufficiently audited due to its status as a state institution, that the company has a monopoly in the field of telecommunications by using the state's means, and that this situation renders other companies operating in the same field unable to compete with Türk Telekom.

5) Profitability and Efficiency Framework: In these news reports, it is generally emphasized that the state will earn much more profit after the privatization of Türk Telekom. Accordingly, with the profit that is "estimated to increase" after the privatization, the state will both generate more revenue and collect more taxes from the company due to the increased profit. Therefore, these news reports argued that the privatization would be a highly profitable business for the state.

In addition, within the scope of this framework, it was stated that Türk Telekom's services would become more efficient after privatization and this would have a positive impact on the people receiving services from the company. In addition, through the news articles in which this framework was used, it was explained that the state-owned companies could not keep up with the times in terms of management approach and working conditions, were inefficient and cumbersome, and accordingly, the privatization of Türk Telekom was supported.

6) Corruption Framework: In general, it was claimed in these news reports that state-owned SEEs were not sufficiently supervised for political reasons, that they were used as election tools by the governments, that some bureaucrats were employed in these institutions with high salaries, that some state officials made unfair gains through these institutions and thus the state was harmed. In this context, it has been argued in the news reports that the only way to eliminate these alleged corruptions is

the privatization of SEEs and therefore all SEEs, especially Türk Telekom, should be privatized.

7) Framework of Negative Representation of Opponents: In the news items shaped within the scope of this frame, people and institutions against the privatization of Türk Telekom were portrayed as negative examples. In fact, through the news reports in this context, people or institutions opposed to the privatization are portrayed as those who are trying to hinder Turkey's growth and stability, those who want to make easy money through state institutions, and even those who are responsible for the economic crises experienced in the past.

On the other hand, while analyzing the news on the privatization of Türk Telekom, it was found that some news items fell outside the framework defined above. These news items, which were categorized as "other" in the study, included developments in the privatization process, information about the companies that would participate in the tender, changes in Türk Telekom's services and criticisms of the privatization process. In these news articles, which are generally short texts without photographs, direct information is provided without any commentary. Therefore, these news items were evaluated outside the framework given above. In the context of all these issues, Table 17 shows in detail the frequency of use of the frames used in the formatting of news on the privatization of Türk Telekom according to the number of news items.

Table. 17: Frames Used in News on the Privatization of Türk Telekom

Newspaper	News Frame/Number of News								
	Economic Growth and Stability	Revenue for the Sale of TT	Foreign Capital and Foreign Exchange Inflows	Competition and Monopolization	Profitability and Efficiency	Corruption	Negative Representation of Opposites	Others	Total
Hürriyet	7	14	13	10	10	6	17	18	95
Sabah	12	25	20	6	24	3	29	28	147
Yeni Şafak	5	5	12	4	2	1	14	23	66

As can be seen in Table 17, the majority of the news items on the privatization of Türk Telekom were produced using certain frames. In fact, when the news items in the other category, which were excluded from framing, are separated, 77 (80%) out of 95 news items in Hürriyet, 119 (81%) out of 147 news items in Sabah and 43 (65%) out of 66 news items in Yeni Şafak were shaped within the scope of various frames. Furthermore, when the information given in Table 19 is analyzed, it is understood that the most frequently used frame in all newspapers is the "frame of portraying opponents negatively". Accordingly, 18% of the news items in Hürriyet, 20% of the news items in Sabah and 21% of the news items in Yeni Şafak regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom were formatted using the frame of portraying opponents negatively. On the other hand, the second most used frame in Hürriyet and Sabah, apart from portraying opponents in a negative light, was "the frame of income to be obtained from the sale of Türk Telekom". On the other hand, in Yeni Şafak, "foreign capital and foreign currency inflow frame" was the second most used frame. The other frames used and their frequency of use according to newspapers are shown in the table above.

4. 5. 2. Analyzing News Frames

As mentioned before, a total of 308 news articles about the privatization of Türk Telekom were published in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005. As a result of the analysis, 8 frames that were frequently used in these news articles were identified. This section of the study will focus on the analysis of these news articles by using the framing analysis method. Accordingly, the sample news articles on the privatization of Türk Telekom will be classified under the previously mentioned frame headings and analyzed in the context of the 11 focal points put forward by Tankard to demonstrate the working mechanism of the framing method.

Framework for Negative Representation of Opposites

As indicated in Table 19, the most frequently used frame in the news on the privatization of Türk Telekom was the frame of portraying the opponents negatively. As a matter of fact, Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers have encountered many news items shaped within this frame. In this context, a total of 6 news items, 2 from Hürriyet, 2 from Sabah and 2 from Yeni Şafak, were analyzed within this frame. However, when these news items were analyzed, it was understood that they did not include some of the focal points that Tankard put forward for analyzing news frames. For this reason, in each news analysis, it will be stated in the context of which focal points the news item in question was analyzed.

Hürriyet Newspaper

Analysis 1: This news article was published on page 10 of the July 1, 2005 issue of Hürriyet Newspaper. The news article generally provides information about the protests that took place during the privatization tender of Türk Telekom. In analyzing the news article in this context, elements such as the title, photograph, the beginning of the news story, the choice of links and sources, and the conclusion of paragraphs were utilized. This is because the news item in question does not contain any analysis elements such as subtitles, photo captions, quotations, logo statistics and graphics.

Title: "Egg Secrecy in Türk Telekom Tender"

Since the title of the news article is devoid of information, the event that is the subject of the news cannot be understood only by looking at the title. In fact, the expressions used in the title do not provide any information about the fact that an action was taken against the privatization of Türk Telekom, the people or institutions that carried out this action and the reasons for the action. This is because the title only provides information about the decision taken by the authorities as a result of the event that is the subject of the news. Therefore, it is not possible to say that the title in question makes a certain announcement about the incident in the news content.

In addition, one photograph was used in the news article. (Image 1) This photograph, which seems to have been taken during another privatization tender - since the tender had not yet taken place at the time the newspaper was printed - shows Metin Kilci, the then President of the Privatization Administration. In the photograph in question, Kilci is shown explaining the bids submitted in a tender, the privatization of which is unclear. At first glance, the photograph in question does not seem to have a direct connection with the event described in the news article. However, it is possible to interpret the use of such a photograph in a news article describing the protests against the privatization of Türk Telekom as an emphasis on the fact that the public officials conducting the tender are only focused on their jobs, while the protesters are groups trying to prevent these officials from doing their jobs.



Figure. 3: Hürriyet Newspaper News dated July 1, 2005

At the beginning of the news article published under the title "Egg Secrecy in Türk Telekom Auction", the reason for these statements in the title is explained. Accordingly, at the beginning of the news article, the following statement was made: *"In the tender for the privatization of 55 percent of Türk Telekom's shares, the time of the final negotiation meeting to be held today has been changed because last week's bidding session was protested by throwing eggs at the buyers"*. As can be understood from this statement, the news article cited the protests that took place in the past as the most important factor in changing the time of the tender. With these statements, it was intended to create a meaning such as "if there had not been some protests against the buyers in the past, the time of the tender would not have had to be changed".

As is known, one of the most influential factors in the news framing process is the news source. This is because news is shaped according to the sources utilized in the production process. As a result of the analysis in this context, it was observed that the sources that were effective in the production of this news item were the people or institutions in favor of the privatization of Türk Telekom. In fact, from the expressions used in the news story, it is understood that the source of almost all of the information provided in the news story is the people or institutions in charge of the privatization tender in question. For example; the sentence at the beginning of the news story, "The time of the final negotiation meeting to be held today has been changed in the tender for the privatization of 55 percent of Türk Telekom's shares, as

last week's session in which bids were received was protested by throwing eggs at the buyers", clearly indicates that the source of the news story is the Privatization Administration. This is because it is clear that the information about the aforementioned tender was not obtained through the newspaper's own institutional sources, but was obtained from the statements made by the Privatization Administration.

On the other hand, this news article consists of three paragraphs. As is known, the final paragraphs in news articles are the paragraphs in which the information given is summarized within the framework of the news article. Accordingly, the concluding paragraph of this news article ends with the following statement: *"While the Privatization Administration announced the tender time as 14:00 in last week's session, it decided to change the time due to the protests and the explosion of a sound bomb in front of the administration building a few days ago"*. As can be understood from these statements, the concluding paragraph in question has a theme that the protests organized by the circles against the privatization of Türk Telekom caused the tender time to be changed and hidden from the public. Moreover, within the scope of these statements in the last paragraph, the sound bomb that exploded a few days ago in front of the administration building was associated with the protesters without any evidence and an attempt was made to create a perception that the people who participated in the demonstration were dangerous people.

Analysis 2: This column on page 25 of the July 7, 2005 issue of Hürriyet Newspaper was written by Fatih Altaylı, one of the most influential writers of Hürriyet Newspaper during the period in question. There are no analysis elements such as subtitles, photo captions, quotations, logos, statistics and graphics in this article. Therefore, these elements could not be utilized in the analysis of the frame in which the column was formatted. In this context, in this column, Altaylı expresses some views that the privatization of Türk Telekom was deliberately prevented by some politicians who were in office in the past.

Title: ""It is a crime to do, but not to do"

First of all, it should be noted that the wording used in the title provides important information about the content of the article. In this column, which is written under the title "It is a Crime to Do, But Not to Do", it is generally argued that Türk Telekom should have been privatized in previous years and those who opposed the privatization in the past are portrayed as criminals. Therefore, it is possible to say that the main idea of the text is clearly stated in the title.

However, this situation also provides very important information in terms of analyzing the framework used in the column in question. This is because the expressions used in the title indicate that the author has focused on portraying the opponents of privatization in a negative light from the very title stage and has shaped his column within this framework. As a matter of fact, when the entire column in question is analyzed, it is understood that this understanding of the opponents of privatization, which was revealed at the title stage, dominates the entire text. In this context, the title of the column is an important element in analyzing the framework within which the text is shaped. For it is clear that there is a relationship between the title and the framework in which the text is shaped, which aims to complement and support each other.

At the beginning of this column, Altaylı provides some information about the privatization of Türk Telekom. Accordingly, in the introduction of the column, it is stated that *"Türk Telekom was privatized with a delay of about 10 years. The company, which was valued at 20 to 30 billion dollars in the mid-1990s, transferred some of its shares last week at a value of 12 billion dollars. If this company had been sold in the mid-1990s at a price of \$20 billion, we would have been able to eliminate Turkey's total foreign debt with the money obtained. The money obtained now is about 3 percent of Turkey's total foreign debt. From where to where..."* As can be seen, at the beginning of the article, some information is given without any reference to its accuracy and reliability. It is possible to say that the main purpose here is to create a basis for the ideas to be put forward in the rest of the article. This is because these statements at the beginning of the article create a perception that the privatization of Türk Telekom was delayed and that this delay caused great damage to

the national economy. This perception created at the beginning of the article helps the reader to form negative opinions about those who oppose the privatization of Türk Telekom and to more easily believe the arguments to be put forward in the rest of the article. In this context, it is possible to say that the beginning of the article was written in accordance with the framework in which the text was formatted.

In addition, it is understood that none of the statements in the text are based on a specific source. This is because it is clear that the author himself is the source of all the ideas put forward by the expressions in the article. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about the existence of any external factor in the framing of the article.

On the other hand, as a result of the analysis conducted within the scope of this article, it has been understood that the statements in the last part of the article are very important in terms of analyzing the frame in which the text is shaped. Because the statements in the last paragraph of the article clearly reveal the framework within which the text is shaped. Accordingly, the concluding paragraph of the article in question contains the following statements;

"After the delayed privatization of Türk Telekom, a name appeared on the scene again. Mümtaz Soysal. He is again trying to block the sale. Just like he did about 10 years ago. I don't know whether he will be able to block it or not, because what Soysal is doing today is child's play compared to what he did 10 years ago. If that sale had been made then, perhaps the whole outlook of Turkey would be different today. Who knows, maybe if the foreign debts had been paid off then, Turkey would not have been caught in an interest rate spiral, and there would not have been one crisis after another. We do not have a 'historical table of possibilities' to draw a picture of how this dynamic process might have unfolded. But the magnitude of the damage done is clear. The amount of damage Mümtaz Soysal alone caused to the country is at least 10 billion dollars. When the economic effects of this are taken into account, it is perhaps ten times that amount. And is the total damage of all the politicians we are trying in the Supreme Court today more than that? I don't think so, but they are being held accountable before the judiciary for what they did. Mümtaz Soysal, on the other hand, is walking around. As a "monument of honor". We can hold those who have harmed this country with what they have done to account. But what

do we do to those who have harmed this country with what they 'did not do' and what they 'did not have done'? Nothing! A big "nothing"! That is why the longest political lives in this country are those who 'do nothing'. As long as we cannot hold those who do nothing to account, we will never be able to do anything."

As can be understood from these statements, some of the thoughts in the introduction are repeated in the conclusion of the article. Accordingly, in the last paragraph of the article, the privatization of Türk Telekom is again presented as a delayed implementation and those who opposed this privatization in the past are accused of harming the national economy. In fact, Mümtaz Soysal, who took the privatization tender of Türk Telekom to the Constitutional Court in 1994 and had it annulled, was presented in this article as the most important cause of the economic crisis that occurred in 2001. In this context, Soysal was even accused of causing 10 billion dollars of damage to Turkey, even though, in Altaylı's own words, he did not have any "historical probability tables". In this context, some criticisms were made against the portrayal of people like Soysal, who had opposed the privatization of Türk Telekom in the past, as "monuments of honor" in society. Moreover, it was argued that those who had opposed the privatization in the past and prevented it through legal means, including Soysal, should be tried before the Supreme Court.(AYM-SC)

On the other hand, in this article written by Altaylı, there is no mention of why the tender for Türk Telekom was canceled by the "Constitutional Court" in the past. Accordingly, it is possible to say that the article in question ignores and dismisses "in advance" the reasons for the opposition to the privatization of Türk Telekom. In fact, in Altaylı's article, he argued that Türk Telekom would have generated much more revenue in the past and that all of Turkey's debts at that time could have been paid off with this money. However, the Constitutional Court, in its reasoned decision dated 28.02.1996 on the suspension of the execution of the Türk Telekom tender held in 1994 and the cancellation of the tender, clearly stated that "although the expected income from privatization was expressed in billions of dollars, the privatization process in question would create irreversible losses for Turkey, far beyond even the concept of irreparable damages". (Constitutional Court, 1997, p. 510) Furthermore, the Constitutional Court stated that the privatization tender held in 1994 was contrary to the Law No. 4107 in force at the time and decided to cancel the tender.

Accordingly, although Article 1, paragraph 1 of the relevant law clearly states that a maximum of 49 percent of Türk Telekomünikasyon A.Ş. shares can be transferred, 50 percent of the company was transferred in the aforementioned tender and the Constitutional Court canceled the sale for this reason. (AYM, 1997, p. 590)

Sabah Newspaper

Analysis 3: This text, which appeared in the issue of Sabah Newspaper published on July 10, 2005, was written in the form of a column. Accordingly, the article in question contains analysis elements such as title, subtitle, beginning of the news story, selection of links and sources, selection of quotations, especially emphasized quotations and conclusion of the paragraph. However, no analysis elements such as photographs, photo captions, logos, statistics and graphics were found in the article. Therefore, these elements were not utilized in the analysis of the article in question.

In this context, in this column published under the signature of Muharrem Sarıkaya, just like in Fatih Altaylı's column, people who opposed the privatization of Türk Telekom in the past were criticized and the theme was that these people should be held to account.

Title: "Account will be asked..."

This title is directed against those who tried to prevent the privatization of Türk Telekom in 1994 and 2000 and had these tenders annulled by taking them to the judiciary. Accordingly, the article attempts to portray the anti-privatization circles in a negative light from the very beginning and emphasizes that these people should be "held to account". This is clear evidence that the article portrays the opponents of privatization as people who harm the country and declares them guilty in advance. Therefore, it is possible to say that the choice of title in this column is in line with the framework in which the text is formatted.

In addition, there is a subtitle in this column. However, in the column in question, a total of 4 subtitles, which are important for the analysis of the text, were

encountered. First of all, just below the main heading, the subtitle "those who did not let it be sold in the past should be held to account" is used. It is understood that this subtitle was used to compensate for the lack of information in the main heading and to reinforce the idea in the main heading. This is because the statements in this subtitle explain who the people to be held accountable are, which were not included in the main heading.

The second subtitle of the article in question is titled "grounds for annulment". Under this heading, some excerpts from the petitions submitted in the annulment lawsuits filed for the privatization of Türk Telekom in previous tenders were included. Accordingly, the statements in the petitions regarding the Armistice of Mondros and the economic independence of the state are given in bold font, emphasizing that these justifications do not have any importance in today's conditions and that they are outdated. Through the emphasis made to ensure that the people in question are portrayed as negative figures in the minds of the readers, it is attempted to create bases for the idea put forward throughout the text. Moreover, when the expressions used under this subtitle are analyzed, it is understood that this subtitle attempts to create a perception that the grounds for the cancellation of the privatization of Türk Telekom in the past were "insignificant" and "ridiculous".

The third subtitle in the text is titled "signatories". Under this heading, the names of politicians who opposed the privatization of Türk Telekom in the past are given. However, when the article in question was examined, it was understood that some leading statements were made before these names were listed. Accordingly, before the names of the politicians mentioned in the article were mentioned, the phrase "let's talk about those who should be held to account" was written in bold font. Following this statement, the politicians in question were listed as if they were criminals. This clearly shows that these politicians, who had opposed the privatization of Türk Telekom in the past, were targeted in the article and declared guilty in advance.

The fourth subtitle of the article was titled "Is the teacher the only culprit?". Under this heading, some sentences taken from an interview the author conducted with Mehmet Ağar, the leader of the DYP at the time, and Nevzat Ercan, Deputy

Chairman of the DYP. Accordingly, Ercan stated that it was not only Mümtaz Soysal who had prevented the sale of Türk Telekom in the past, but that even some deputies and ministers currently serving in the ruling party had made great efforts to prevent the sale. In addition, the article states that in parallel to Ercan's statements, Ağar said, *"We are the only ones who will not be held accountable. Let them account for it now"*. As a matter of fact, the author's use of these statements made by the then leader and deputy chairman of the DYP, which had an important role in the processes related to the privatization of Türk Telekom in the past years, is very important in terms of analyzing the framework in which the article is shaped. By including these statements, the author has tried to show that he is not alone in the ideas he puts forward in the text and that these people are also considered guilty by many politicians.

On the other hand, this column states that *"After the sale of Telekom last week, Prime Minister Erdoğan and the relevant ministers in his cabinet, in particular, said that those who did not allow it to be sold in the past should be held to account. The people they wanted to be held to account were also clear. Those who prevented the sale of Telekom in 1994 and 2000 when it was put on the market. Although no names were given, it was understood by implication who the target was; Prof. Dr. Mümtaz Soysal, the DSP MP of the time. Now, let's go through a time warp and look at the documents of that period in order to identify the other names "to be held to account."* In the paragraph in question, some statements made by ruling party officials are given first. The author then makes some inferences about the meaning of these statements. Accordingly, in these statements made by the ruling party officials of the time, the author explains that all politicians who prevented the privatization of Türk Telekom in the past, especially Mümtaz Sosyal, are the ones who should be held accountable. This undoubtedly shows that these people are declared guilty at the very beginning of the article. In fact, the statement in the last sentence of the paragraph, *"Now, let's go through the tunnel of time and look at the documents of that period to identify the other names "to be held accountable"*", reveals the attitude of the author towards the opponents of privatization. This is because this sentence clearly shows that the author accepts the guilt of these people in advance and believes that these people should be held accountable. Therefore, it is possible to say that the article in question tries to portray the opponents of privatization in a negative light from the

very beginning. The main reason for the emergence of such a situation is that the text is shaped within a framework that aims to portray the opponents of privatization negatively.

Furthermore, in this article written by Muharrem Sarıkaya, it is seen that many different sources are utilized. However, as a result of the analysis of the text, it was understood that all of these sources were selected from pro-privatization figures. This is because the sources in the article in question are the ruling party officials who carried out the privatization of Türk Telekom and other politicians who supported this privatization. In fact, the author cited the Prime Minister and the Minister of Transport of the period, who were in charge of the privatization of Türk Telekom, as sources to support his arguments in the text and shaped the text in line with the arguments he obtained from these sources. Of course, this situation is important in terms of analyzing the framework in which the text is shaped. Based on these sources used in the production of the article in question, it is possible to say that the text is shaped around a framework that aims to portray the opponents of privatization negatively.

On the other hand, it was observed that the column quoted some statements made by politicians of the period. In this context, firstly, in the section where the author criticizes the cancellation of the tender in 1994, Binali Yıldırım's statement regarding this tender is quoted as "*at that time, Telekom did not yet have many elements like today*". Indeed, with this quote from the statement of Binali Yıldırım, one of the main actors in the privatization of Türk Telekom, the author has tried to reinforce the discourse claimed by the pro-privatization advocates that "the sale of Türk Telekom would have yielded more profit with less cost in the past". In his statement from which this sentence is quoted, Yıldırım states that Türk Telekom was worth "20-30 billion dollars" in 1994 by providing only telephone, fax and partially internet services, whereas in 2005 the company was worth "at most" 6.5 billion dollars due to the developments in telecommunications in the last decade. (Sabah, 2005)

Other excerpts in the article include sentences taken from interviews with Mehmet Ağar, the leader of the DYP at the time, and Nevzat Ercan, Deputy Chairman

of the DYP. Accordingly, the article first quotes Ercan's statement regarding the 1994 tender: *"I participated in the Telekom sale as Deputy Group Deputy Chairman. At that time, we had a foreign debt of 18.5 billion dollars. Telekom was to be sold 49%, not 51% as it is today. In return, twice as much as the foreign debt, i.e. 36-38 billion dollars, was to be obtained."* Immediately following this quote, the article in question quoted Ağar's statement regarding the opponents of privatization: *"They want to get out of it by pretending that the nation has no memory and blaming someone else. We are the only ones who will not be held accountable, now let them all be held accountable"*. As can be understood from this, a story has been created in the context of a cause-effect relationship through these back-to-back quotations. For, the author firstly states what the "crime" of the opponents of privatization is by using some sentences from the interview with Ercan, and then "condemns" them with sentences selected from the interview with Ağar.

In addition to these, the statements in the concluding paragraph of the article in question are also very important in terms of analyzing the framework in which the text is formatted. Accordingly, the relevant article concludes with the following sentence: *"yes, this is the reaction of the opposition... What do you think about the account; should it be taken or postponed? Or an apology with the courage to say that what we did in the past was a mistake?"* As can be understood from this sentence, the author asks the reader whether the opponents of privatization should be held accountable or not. However, when the text is considered as a whole, almost every part of the article contains harsh criticism of the opponents of privatization and statements that these people should be put on trial. This shows that the article first creates a negative perception of the opponents of privatization and then tries to make the reader share this perception by posing certain questions. As a matter of fact, when these questions in the concluding paragraph of the article are analyzed, it is understood that the answers to all of them are the same. For example, in the sentence *"What do you think about the account; should it be taken or postponed?"*, the guilt of the opponents of privatization is accepted in advance in both questions and the reader is only left with the choice of when the account should be taken. Therefore, it is possible to say that these questions in the concluding paragraph of the article in question were asked in order to support the framework in which the text was formatted by involving the reader.

Analysis 4: This news article is on page 8 of the July 3, 2005 issue of Sabah Newspaper. In this news article, which does not contain analysis elements such as logos, statistics and graphics, the statements made by the Prime Minister of the time, R. Tayyip Erdoğan, to the employees of Türk Telekom are included.

Title: "They will not be able to lie around"

As stated above, this news article was produced in the context of R. Tayyip Erdoğan's speech to Türk Telekom employees. These expressions in the title of the news article are also taken from the speech in question. Accordingly, in his speech, Erdoğan used the phrase "from now on, they will not lie down" in reaction to the protests organized by the employees of the company after the privatization of Türk Telekom and the people who supported these protests. These statements of Erdoğan were used as the title in the news article.

On the other hand, the use of such a title in the news article is an important argument in analyzing the framework in which the text is formatted. This title emphasizes the discourse of the ruling party officials that Türk Telekom employees were "lying on the sidelines" before the privatization and that they made "unfair gains" in this way. Undoubtedly, this emphasis in the title causes negative thoughts about Türk Telekom employees to emerge in the reader's mind. This situation makes it easier for the reader to be convinced in line with the ideas claimed in the content of the text. Therefore, it is possible to say that the news title in question attributes some negative meanings to the circles against the privatization of Türk Telekom and thus directs the reader in line with the framework in which the news is formatted.

In addition, one subtitle was used in the news article in question. This subtitle, which is also understood to have been taken from Erdoğan's speech, reads as follows: *"Erdoğan stated that Telekom employees will not be thrown out on the streets, but they will not be able to sleep around either. It is as simple as that".* As can be understood from this, there is a progression from general to specific between the title and subtitle used in the news article. This is because the expression *"they will not be able to lie around"* stated in the title is explained and reinforced in the subtitle. This situation shows that these titles are used to support and complement each other.

It is known that media professionals emphasize the most important information of the event in the news production process by giving it in the title or subtitle. (Özer Ö. , 2011, p. 90) In this context, the media professionals involved in the production of this news article, the main subject of which was a speech made by Erdoğan, saw the statement that Türk Telekom employees could no longer *"they will not be able to lie around"* as the "most important" information of the speech in question and emphasized this statement by using it in the title and subtitle. However, this situation causes negative images of people who oppose the privatization of Türk Telekom to come to the reader's mind. This is because the titles used in the news article create a perception that Türk Telekom employees are "lying around" and that this is the main reason for their opposition to privatization.

On the other hand, the news article in question is accompanied by a photograph of R. Tayyip Erdoğan. In this photograph, which is right in the middle of the news report, Erdoğan is standing in front of a lectern and explaining something with his hands spread to his sides. (Image 2) It can be said that the main purpose of using such a photograph in the news report is to increase the credibility of the news report. Because, as mentioned before, the news article in question was produced within the context of a speech made by R. Tayyip Erdoğan. Thus, with this photograph, it was emphasized that the sentences in the news content really belonged to Erdoğan and thus the credibility of the news was tried to be increased. However, when the photograph in question is analyzed, it is not clear whether this photograph belongs to Erdoğan's speech or not. This is because there is no explanation on this issue either in the text or on the photograph.



Figure. 4: Sabah Newspaper News dated July 3, 2005

As can be seen in Figure 2, under the photograph used in the news report, there are some expressions apparently taken from Erdoğan's speech. Accordingly, under the photograph in question, the *statement "Prime Minister Erdoğan said that he did not understand what the people filling the squares wanted"* was used. As can be understood from this, the photograph in question is almost made to speak within the context of the sentence written below it. As a matter of fact, S. Sontag states that news photographs have a language and that the photographs used in the news speak through the mouth of the text written underneath. (Sontag, 1999, p. 128) In this context, it can be said that the sentence under the photograph in the news article fulfills such a function. Because when the photograph in question is analyzed as a whole, it is understood that Erdoğan is made to speak through the expressions written under the photograph. Moreover, in the photograph in question, Erdoğan is seen making a speech in front of a lectern with both hands spread to his sides. Therefore, it is possible to say that the written and visual elements in the photograph in question were constructed within the scope of a certain mise-en-scene aiming to direct the reader's view of the news.

On the other hand, it is possible to say that the statements in the introductory paragraph of this news article provide very important information in terms of analyzing the framework in which the text is formatted. This is because the news article starts with the sentence *"Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan stated that the result of the Türk Telekom tender, which was technically won by Oger Telekom, showed the confidence of the Turkish economy in international markets"*. Accordingly, in the introduction of the news article, the privatization of Türk Telekom is linked to the confidence in the Turkish economy in international markets and an emphasis is placed on the fact that this privatization has made significant contributions to the Turkish economy. Undoubtedly, this situation shows that the reader's perception was tried to be shaped for a certain purpose in the introduction of the news article. This is because these statements in the introduction create a positive perception of the Türk Telekom tender in the reader's mind and direct the reader perceptually towards the claims that will be put forward in the rest of the news article. Therefore, it is possible to say that the introduction of the news article in question is written to prepare the reader for the framework in which the text is formatted.

In addition to these, when the news article in question is analyzed, it is understood that the only source utilized in the production phase of the text is Prime Minister Erdoğan. This is because the news article was produced based on Erdoğan's speech. This situation caused all the allegations put forward in the text to be shaped in line with Erdoğan's statements. Therefore, it is possible to say that the news article in question conveys the opinions of Prime Minister Erdoğan, not the author of the text.

On the other hand, it was observed that many quotations were made in the news article in question. As a matter of fact, there is a direct relationship between these quotations and the source of the news item. This is because all the quotations made within the scope of the text in question consist of the statements of Erdoğan, the sole source of the news. In fact, in all sections of the news report, the allegations put forward are conveyed by quoting Erdoğan. For example, in the first paragraph of the news article, a quotation is made as follows: *"Prime Minister Tayyip Erdoğan said that the result of the Türk Telekom tender, which was technically won by Oger Telekom, shows the confidence of the Turkish economy in international markets"*. This was followed in the second paragraph by a quote that read, *"Undoubtedly, behind this confidence is the political stability that comes with our government"*. In the third and final paragraph, Erdoğan is quoted as saying *"I find it difficult to understand what those who filled the squares want. Türk Telekom employees will not be thrown into the streets. But from now on they will not be able to lie down, it is as simple as that"*. As can be seen from this, these quotations were deliberately selected in accordance with the framework within which the news article was formatted. When these quotations in the text are read one after the other, it is understood that the reader is directed in a certain direction with regard to those who oppose the privatization of Türk Telekom. Such that, these quotations in the news article within a certain fiction cause the reader to see the people or institutions opposing the privatization practice in question as a negative subject. Therefore, it is possible to say that the quotations made in the news report were deliberately selected in line with the framework in which the text was formatted, and that the semantic fiction of the news report was constructed within the scope of these quotations.

On the other hand, the statements in the last paragraph of the news article are very important in terms of analyzing the framework in which the text is formatted.

Because, as mentioned before, the paragraph in question includes Erdoğan's statement that *"I have difficulty understanding what those who filled the squares want. Türk Telekom employees will not be thrown out on the streets. However, they will no longer be able to lie on their backs, it is as simple as that"*. These statements in the concluding paragraph of the news article clearly reveal the framework within which the text is formatted. Because, when we consider the news article as a whole, firstly the "contributions" of the privatization of Türk Telekom to the Turkish economy are mentioned, and then the above-mentioned statements about those who oppose this privatization are included in the concluding paragraph. Thus, the reader is convinced about the privatization of Türk Telekom at the beginning of the news article, and then the people who oppose this privatization are portrayed as negative figures. Therefore, with these statements in the concluding paragraph of the news article in question, it is clear that the reader is tried to be directed and persuaded in line with the framework in which the text is formatted.

Yeni Şafak

Analysis 5: This news article, which was published in Yeni Şafak Newspaper on November 8, 2004, was first given on the front page and then detailed on page 6 of the newspaper. In the news article, which does not contain some analysis elements such as photographs, quotations, graphics, logos and statistics, the disagreements between the Telecommunications Authority (TK-TA) and the Competition Authority (RK-CA) during the privatization process of Türk Telekom are mentioned.

Title: Two titles were used in this news article on pages 1 and 6 of the newspaper. Accordingly, while the title "Telekom's path is paved if the status quo does not put any stones in the way" was used in the news introduction on the first page, the title "Telekom's path is paved" was used on page 6, where the details of the news were given.

In this context, it is seen that the title used on the first page is particularly important in analyzing the framework in which the news is formatted. In fact, in the said title, opponents of privatization were accused of being status quoists. As a matter of fact, through this expression used in the title, it is emphasized that people or

institutions opposed to the privatization of Türk Telekom are closed to innovation and lag behind the times. According to TDK, a status quoist is someone who tends to preserve the status quo and resists change (TDK, 2021). Therefore, it is possible to say that the title in question attempts to portray the circles opposing the privatization of Türk Telekom as outdated, negative figures who are against progress and innovation.

Moreover, it is understood that the title on page 6, where the details of the news are given, is a continuation and complementary to the title used on page 1. This is because the phrase "Telekom's path was paved" in the title on page 6 is an abbreviated version of the title used on the first page. This proves that the titles in question are a continuation and complement of each other. On the other hand, when these titles used on the main page and page 6 are read one after the other, it is clear that there is an attempt to portray people or institutions opposing the privatization of Türk Telekom as negative figures. This is because these titles emphasize that the circles opposing the privatization of Türk Telekom are obstructing the institution by supporting the status quo. Therefore, it is possible to say that the titles try to direct the reader in line with the framework in which the news story is formatted at the title stage.

In addition, at the beginning of the news story, it is understood that a summary of the text is made by detailing the titles within the scope of the news. Accordingly, the news story in question starts with the statement *"There are no obstacles left in front of the privatization of Türk Telekom except the possibility of a lawsuit by the anti-privatization status quo heads pointed out by Minister Yıldırım"*. As a matter of fact, through this statement used at the beginning of the news article, the ideas claimed in the title are elaborated and the text is summarized. When the entire news article is taken into consideration, it is seen that these expressions used at the beginning of the news article are the main idea or summary of the ideas put forward in detail in the entire text. Moreover, the expression "status quo heads" used at the beginning of the news item against the opponents of privatization is very important. Because with this expression, a connection is established between the title and the news entry, and a continuity is provided in the text to the thought that is intended to be conveyed to the reader.

On the other hand, when the news article in question is analyzed, it is understood that the Presidents of the CA and TA of the period are shown as the source of the information conveyed in the news article. As is known, the CA and TA fall into the category of "independent" supreme boards. However, when the organizational structure of these institutions is taken into consideration, it is understood that they actually operate as institutions affiliated to the government. In fact, 4 members of the CA, which consists of 11 members, one of whom is the chairman and one is the second chairman, are appointed by the Council of Ministers, 2 members are appointed by the Ministry of Industry and Trade, 1 member is appointed by the State Planning Organization Undersecretary and 1 member is appointed by the relevant State Minister. (Resmi Gazete, 1997, p. 6) A similar situation is observed for the TA. Accordingly, all members, including the chairman, of the TA, which consists of 7 members in total, are appointed by the Council of Ministers. (Resmi Gazete, 2011, p. 5786) In this context, it is not possible to say that these institutions act independently from the government, and it seems largely impossible for the officials of these institutions, who are elected by a pro-privatization government, to make an anti-privatization statement. Therefore, it is possible to say that in the news article in question, people who fit the framework in which the source text is formatted have been selected.

In the concluding paragraph of the text, it is emphasized that the dispute between the CA and TA in the privatization process of Türk Telekom, which constitutes the main subject of the news article, has been resolved. Accordingly, in the last paragraph of the news article, based on a statement made by Ömer Arasıl, the President of the TA at the time, it was stated that the dispute between the CA and TA in the privatization process of Türk Telekom had come to an end and thus no bureaucratic obstacle remained in front of the privatization of Türk Telekom. Thus, a perception was created that there were no obstacles to the privatization of Türk Telekom except for the opponents of privatization, who were accused of being status quoists in the previous sections. Of course, this situation clearly shows that the reader is being directed in line with the framework in which the text is formatted through the statements in the concluding paragraph of the news article. This is because the statements in the relevant paragraph create a perception in the reader's mind that the government has removed all bureaucratic obstacles to the privatization of Türk

Telekom and that the only obstacle to this privatization is the "status quo" pro-privatization opponents.

Revenue Framework for the Sale of Türk Telekom

As previously stated in Table 17, the second most frequently used frame in the news articles on the privatization of Türk Telekom published in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 was the frame of revenue to be obtained from the sale of Türk Telekom. In this context, in this section of the study, a total of two news items, one from Hürriyet and one from Sabah, will be analyzed.

Hürriyet

Analysis 6: This news article was published in Hürriyet on October 31, 2004. In this news article, which was produced in line with the statements made by Ömer Arasıl, the then TA President, there is a clear emphasis on the fact that the revenue to be obtained from the privatization of Türk Telekom is very important for the national economy. On the other hand, this news article does not contain any analysis elements such as subtitles, photographs, logos, graphics and statistics. Therefore, Tankard's other analysis elements were utilized in the analysis of the news item.

Title: "You cannot put privatization revenue in the second plan "

It is understood that this title used in the news article is based on information omission and generalization. This is because the title used in this news article, the main topic of which is the privatization of Türk Telekom, does not contain any statement about Türk Telekom. This situation shows that the title is based on information omission. Moreover, the expression "privatization revenue" in the title is a typical example of generalization. As a matter of fact, this expression is a general concept that covers all privatization practices. However, in the news article in question, other privatization practices were not mentioned in any way, and only the privatization of Türk Telekom was mentioned. Therefore, it is possible to say that the

reader is directed to read the news article in line with a certain understanding through the information omission and generalizations made in the title in question.

In addition, it is understood that there is a direct relationship between the title used in the news article and the frame in which the news article is formatted. So much so that even when the title in question is read alone, it makes certain connotations regarding the content of the news article. Moreover, the title clearly emphasizes that privatization revenues are very important and cannot be put on the back burner. Therefore, it should be noted that the title makes a certain announcement regarding the framework in which the news is formatted and directs the reader in this direction.

On the other hand, it is understood that the introduction of the news article in question includes the statements of Ömer Arasıl, the President of the TA at the time, and in this way, the expressions used in the title are explained. Accordingly, at the beginning of the news article, *"Telecommunications Authority (TA) President Ömer Arasıl said that even if it is said that privatization is not only about revenue, revenue is an important goal in countries like ours. You cannot put this in the second plan"*. As can be understood from this sentence, the statements in the title are repeated and explained in detail in the introduction of the news item. This situation shows that the ground was laid for the statements in the title at the beginning of the news item. Thus, the ideological meaning intended to be given in the title of the news item was supported through the sentences used in the introduction. On the other hand, it is understood that the statements in the introduction of the news item in question, just like in the title, generalize and omit information. This is because there is no clear information about which privatization tender is mentioned in the statements used at the beginning of the news item.

On the other hand, it is observed that Ömer Arasıl, the President of TA, is the most important source in this news article. In fact, the text of the news article consists almost entirely of sentences quoted from Arasıl's statement. Therefore, it is possible to say that this news article is in fact in a position like the text of Arasıl's statement. Moreover, this situation shows that the newspaper does not report the events in a critical or impartial manner. Moreover, when the sources used in the news article are

taken into consideration, it is understood that the newspaper used pro-privatization sources in order to prevent the formation of an opposing meaning in the news article.

In addition to these, as mentioned above, the news article in question quoted many quotes from the relevant statement of TA President Arasıl. In fact, the text is entirely composed of quotations from these statements. Accordingly, in the first paragraph of this news article consisting of three paragraphs, it is understood that Arasıl's speech is quoted as follows: *"Telecommunications Authority (TA) President Ömer Arasıl said that even if it is said that privatization does not only have a revenue target, revenue is an important target in countries like ours. You cannot put this in the second plan"*. Furthermore, in the second paragraph, where Arasıl responds to criticism that Türk Telekom will become a private monopoly after privatization, he says: *"If it is thought that privatization can be prevented only by the threat of competition, we ask why we exist. TA exists for this. As I am struggling now, I will struggle even more when a private company buys it"*. In the third and last paragraph, in response to criticism of the privatization of Türk Telekom as a whole together with its services such as Cable TV, Arasıl said, *"They will already provide this service by using Türk Telekom's infrastructure. Either it remains in the hands of Telekom or it goes elsewhere. What matters is our regulations"*. As can be seen, in this news article, which is based on Arasıl's statement, all the criticisms against the privatization of Türk Telekom are answered with a pro-privatization approach. In addition, the news article emphasizes the income to be obtained from the privatization and tries to create a perception that the reader will support this privatization.

As mentioned above, in the last paragraph of the news article, TA President Arasıl responds to the criticisms against the privatization of Türk Telekom through Cable TV. In this context, the news article reports Arasıl as saying, *"They will already provide this service by using Türk Telekom's infrastructure. Either it remains in the hands of Telekom or it goes elsewhere. What matters is our regulations"*. As a matter of fact, these statements imply that no problems will arise after the privatization of Türk Telekom, and that if they do, TA has the power to eliminate these problems. As a matter of fact, this emphasis at the end of the news article has a very important place in terms of the framework in which the text is shaped. In the news article, the reader's perception is first drawn to the income to be obtained from this privatization and the

contribution of this income to the national economy. Then, a commitment was given that no problems would arise after the privatization was realized. Thus, a perception has been created in the reader's mind that there is no problem with the privatization of Türk Telekom, on the contrary, the revenue to be obtained from the privatization will make significant contributions to the national economy.

Sabah

Analysis 7: In this news article on page 7 of Sabah Newspaper's issue dated January 16, 2005, it is emphasized that the privatization of Türk Telekom will result in a revenue of 5 billion dollars. On the other hand, this news article does not contain a photo caption and logo, which are among Tankard's news analysis elements.

Title: "Telecom Generates 5 Billion Dollars in Revenue"

As can be seen, there is a direct relationship between the title used in the news and the frame in which the news is formatted. So much so that the title used in the news directly reflects the frame in which the news is formatted. Of course, this situation shows that the news item has been shaped within a certain ideological framework from the title stage onwards. This is because, through the expressions in the title, it is understood that the emphasis is placed on the fact that the state will gain a large income as a result of the privatization of Türk Telekom. Therefore, it is possible to say that the title used in the news article has certain connotations about the framework within which the news article was formatted and that it was chosen in accordance with this framework.

On the other hand, two subtitles were used in this news article consisting of three paragraphs. The first of these subtitles contains the expression "the prince of privatization". This expression shows that the subtitle in question emphasizes that the privatization of Türk Telekom is much more important than other privatization practices in Turkey. Moreover, the content of the subtitle in question also contains expressions that strengthen this narrative. Accordingly, the content of the relevant subtitle includes the statement that *"sector analysts point out that Türk Telekom, touted as the prince of privatization for Turkey, will be a good reference for other*

privatizations". As can be understood from this, the subtitle in question was used to support the frame in which the news article was formatted and to strengthen the message that was intended to be conveyed. This is because the statement in this subtitle emphasizes that the privatization of Türk Telekom has a very important place in terms of other privatization practices in Turkey. This situation provides support to the message desired to be conveyed within the framework in which the news article is formatted.

The second subtitle used in the news article in question contains the statement "*Türk Telekom is worth 9 billion dollars*". Accordingly, the content of the subtitle in question emphasizes the analysis conducted by a Netherlands-based bank and states that the total value of Türk Telekom is 9 billion dollars. Thus, through these statements in the subtitle in question, the statement in the title of the news article that "Türk Telekom will generate 5 billion dollars in revenue" is reinforced by citing foreign institutions as evidence. This is because the expressions in this subtitle emphasize that the 55% stake in Türk Telekom, which was opened for privatization, is worth around 5 billion dollars. Thus, the statement in the title of the news article that the privatization of Türk Telekom would generate 5 billion dollars in revenue was reinforced.

In this context, it is possible to say that the subtitles in the news article in question are used to reinforce and support the discourse in the title of the news article. Because these subtitles are the continuation of the statements in the title of the news article. In fact, when the relevant news text is analyzed as a whole, it is clearly understood that these subtitles are used to reinforce the discursive continuity in the text. Therefore, it is possible to say that the subtitles in question were chosen in accordance with the message to be conveyed within the framework in which the news item was formatted.

In addition to these, one photograph was used in the news article in question. In this photograph, there is an image of a news article from the Wall Street Journal. (Image 3) The news article in this image states that the privatization of Türk Telekom, which has been on the agenda of the Turkish government for many years but could not be realized due to some legal problems, will take place in 2005. At first glance, it

seems that there is no connection between the photograph and the news content. However, when the related news article is analyzed as a whole, it is understood that the photograph in question is one of the elements used to support the perception created in the news article. Because, through this photograph, which includes the image of a foreign newspaper's news report on Türk Telekom, it is emphasized that the privatization of Türk Telekom is also attracting attention abroad. This, of course, creates a positive perception about the privatization of Türk Telekom and thus indirectly supports the frame in which the news is shaped.



Figure. 5 : Sabah Newspaper Article dated January 16, 2005

On the other hand, the introduction of the news article in question contains some statements about the photograph used in the news article. Accordingly, the news article reads as follows: *"The privatization project of Türk Telekom (TT), which has been on the agenda of Turkish governments for the last 10 years, has received wide coverage in the foreign press. The Wall Street Journal devoted a wide coverage to Türk Telekom in its European edition over the weekend. In 2005, the privatization of Türk Telekom is most likely to take place, and the article begins with a paragraph stating that the sale will bring in \$5 billion to Turkey's coffers."* As can be seen from this paragraph, the privatization of Türk Telekom is supported by citing a news article in the foreign press. Moreover, by emphasizing the statements in this news article that the sale of Türk Telekom will generate a revenue of 5 billion dollars, the frame in which the news article is formatted is referred to. Furthermore, the phrase *"the privatization project of Türk Telekom, which has been on the agenda of Turkish*

governments for the last 10 years" at the beginning of the news article creates a perception that the privatization is too late. As a matter of fact, all of this shows that the news text is shaped around a certain ideological discourse from the very beginning and in this way, an attempt is made to create a positive perception towards the privatization of Türk Telekom.

On the other hand, it is understood that the sources utilized in the writing of the news article and the quotations made from these sources were also selected in accordance with the framework within which the news article was shaped. Accordingly, as a result of the analysis of the related news article, it is seen that two different sources were utilized in the writing of the news article. The first of these is the news article in *The Wall Street Journal*. In fact, this news article is the primary source of the news report in question. This is because the information contained in this news article is emphasized and quoted in almost all parts of the news article. For example, in the opening part of the news article, *"The Wall Street Journal evaluated the privatization process of Telekom. According to the newspaper's report, Turkey could earn about 5 billion dollars from the sale of Türk Telekom"*. As can be understood from this statement, the main source of the news article is the news article in *The Wall Street Journal*, and through these quotations from this article, an attempt is made to create a perception in the minds of the readers that Turkey will gain a large income from the sale of Türk Telekom.

In addition, a second source named as "sector analysts" was utilized in the said news article. In fact, in line with the information said to have been obtained from this source, some statements were made in the news article that Turkey would carry out successful privatization practices with the acceleration of the European Union (EU) accession process and that Türk Telekom would be the prince of these privatization practices. However, the news article did not provide any information on who these "sector analysts" were, where they worked and their competence on privatizations. This, of course, makes the source used in the news article controversial and reduces its credibility. On the other hand, when the sources used in the news report are analyzed together, it is understood that these sources were deliberately selected to support a certain ideology. This is because all of the sources utilized in the production phase of the news report contain arguments that will support the framework in which

the text is formatted and create certain perceptions within this framework. In this case, it is possible to say that the sources used in this news report and the quotations made from these sources were consciously selected to fit the frame in which the news was formatted.

In addition, one graph was used in the related news article (Figure 4). This graph shows the sales amount and net profit of Türk Telekom for the years 2001, 2002 and 2003. Accordingly, Türk Telekom was valued at 5.58 billion dollars in 2001, 5.00 billion dollars in 2002 and 4.77 billion dollars in 2003. The graph also shows that Türk Telekom made a profit of USD 750 million in 2001, USD 410 million in 2002 and USD 926 million in 2003. According to the graph, Türk Telekom has been losing value every year despite increasing its profits, except for the period of great economic crisis in 2002. As a matter of fact, this information in the graph in question is in line with the framework in which the news article is formatted. When the information given in this graph is taken into consideration, it creates a perception that Türk Telekom should be privatized as soon as possible. This makes the graphic in question an argument that supports the perception that the news article tries to create in the minds of the readers. Moreover, this graph is also highly questionable in terms of reliability. The source of this graph, which shows that the value of Türk Telekom, a company that has not made a loss even during the crisis period, has decreased every year, is not mentioned in the news article. This situation reduces the reliability of this graph, which provides precise information about Türk Telekom's financial data, and makes it controversial.



Figure. 6: Graphic in Sabah Newspaper Article dated January 16, 2005

On the other hand, the statements in the concluding paragraph of the news article in question also contain very important information in terms of analyzing the framework in which the text is formatted. Accordingly, the concluding paragraph of the news article reads as follows: "*Bert Siebrand, an analyst at Amsterdam-based Bank Oyens, emphasized that Türk Telekom would be worth between \$7 and \$9 billion if calculated by the same standards as OTE, the Greek telecom company in the process of privatization. Siebrand thus predicted that the 55% of Türk Telekom's shares to be privatized would generate revenues of \$5 billion*". As can be understood from these statements, the sentences in the concluding paragraph of the news item in question directly reflect the idea that is intended to be conveyed to the reader within the framework in which the news item is formatted. In fact, the concluding paragraph of the news article is formed in line with the information obtained from foreign sources, thus increasing the credibility and impact of the idea to be conveyed through the news article.

Foreign Capital and Foreign Exchange Inflow Framework

One of the most frequently used news frames in the coverage of the privatization process of Türk Telekom was the foreign capital and foreign currency inflow frame. In Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers, many news items were encountered that were shaped within this frame. In this context, three news items, one from Hürriyet, one from Sabah and one from Yeni Şafak, will be analyzed under this heading.

Hürriyet

Analysis 8: This news article published in the July 11, 2005 issue of Hürriyet was based on an interview with Emre Berkin, who was the Middle East and Africa President of Microsoft at the time. Accordingly, the news article in question contains allegations that Bill Gates, one of the richest businessmen in the world, made his investment decisions based on the privatization of Türk Telekom. In addition, since the news article does not contain any analysis elements such as photo captions, logos, statistics and graphics, these elements could not be utilized in the analysis of the news article.

Title: "Gates Makes Investment Decisions Based on Telecom"

First of all, it is clear that there is a lack of information in the title in question. This is because the title implies that the most important factor affecting Bill Gates' investment decisions is the privatization of Türk Telekom. However, when the rest of the news article is examined, it is understood that these statements in the title are not directly related to Türk Telekom, but are actually used in relation to the privatization of telecom companies in the countries where Gates plans to invest. As a result of this information omission in the title, a perception has been created that Bill Gates is closely interested in the privatization of Türk Telekom and that he makes his investment decisions based on this privatization. Thus, a connection was established between the news title and the frame in which the news was formatted. In this context, it is possible to say that the news title was organized in accordance with the frame used in the news article.

On the other hand, three subtitles were used in the news article in question. Accordingly, the first of these subtitles contains the statement "If we had not sold it, we would have given it for the price of copper". The content of this subtitle, which is understood to be a sentence taken from an interview with Emre Berkin, includes statements that the privatization of Türk Telekom was too late and that this situation caused 10-15 billion dollars of damage to the national economy. Of course, these statements are not directly related to the frame in which the news article is formatted. However, when the statements in the content of the subtitle in question are analyzed

as a whole, it is understood that these statements were made to provide a basis for the statements to be made later. For in the last part of this subtitle, it is stated that "...first of all, with the sale of Türk Telekom, Turkey proved its maturity. Turkey has shown that it is very serious about privatization and attracting foreign capital". As can be seen, through the statements apparently taken from the interview with Berkin, it is emphasized that Turkey's prestige in the world markets increased after the sale of Türk Telekom and that this situation paved the way for foreign capital to come to Turkey. Thus, within the scope of the subtitle in question, a perception is first created that the developments in the past during the privatization process of Türk Telekom harmed the country's economy and then, with this perception, it is emphasized that the sale of Türk Telekom paved the way for foreign capital to come to Turkey. This, of course, shows that the subtitle is in absolute harmony with the frame in which the news is formatted.

On the other hand, the second subtitle of the news article contains the statement "we did not sell our grandfather's medal of independence". As can be understood from these expressions, the content of the subtitle in question responds to the criticisms made about the sale of Türk Telekom to a company with foreign capital. Accordingly, the following statements were made by Berkin under the relevant subtitle: "There is a voice from every head regarding the sale of Türk Telekom. There are discussions about the sale of national capital. No one sold their grandfather's medal of independence. This value is still in this country. The employees are Turkish, the employment provided, the services provided and the value provided will be made to Turkey. On top of that, foreign capital and foreign currency enter your country." As can be seen, this subtitle first responds to criticism of the sale of Türk Telekom to a company with foreign capital. Then, the foreign capital that will enter the country after the sale of Türk Telekom is emphasized. Thus, a perception was created both that the criticisms against the sale of Türk Telekom to a company with foreign capital were "unwarranted" and that this sale provided the country with a large amount of foreign currency. Of course, this clearly shows that the subtitle in question and the content conveyed within the scope of this subtitle are compatible with the framework in which the news is formatted.

The last subtitle used in the news article contains the following statement: "There is money in the Middle East, we need to attract it". This subtitle, which is directly related to the frame used in the news article, includes Berkin's following statements: "There is a great wealth accumulated in the Middle East. Middle Eastern countries are making huge investments to spend this money. We need to draw more from this source." Considering that this news article was published after the sale of Türk Telekom to the Lebanese-owned company Oger Telecoms, it is understood that the content under this subtitle is directly related to the sale of Türk Telekom. Moreover, in the section in question, Berkin, who is the main source of the news, states that among the peoples of the Middle East, Lebanese people are the most inclined to establish and manage businesses. Therefore, within the scope of the relevant subtitle, it is understood that the sale of Türk Telekom to a company with foreign capital is supported on the grounds of the foreign currency that will enter the country. This shows that in the section in question, the reader is clearly emphasized the framework in which the news is formatted.

In addition to these, one photograph is used in the related news article. (Image 5) In this photograph, which is not clear when and where it was taken, Bill Gates is holding a device in his hand and making a speech. However, it is clear that this photograph has nothing to do with the news story. It is understood that the photograph in question was not taken at a time related to the issue mentioned in the news article, and that such a photograph was used only because Bill Gates' name was mentioned in the news article. On the other hand, it is seen that by using such a photograph in the news article, the perception of reality in the news article is tried to be reinforced. Because in this news article, which is based on the statements made by a person working at Microsoft, the use of Gates' photograph creates a perception that the statements made by this person are also approved by Gates. As a matter of fact, this creates a perception in the reader's mind that the statements conveyed in the news article are true. For this reason, it is possible to say that this photograph, which at first glance does not establish a direct relationship with the news, is actually quite important in terms of the framework in which the news is shaped.



Figure. 7: Hürriyet Newspaper Article dated July 11, 2005

On the other hand, in the introduction part of the news article, Emre Berkin, who is the main source of the news article, was first introduced and then Berkin's close relationship with Bill Gates was emphasized. Accordingly, in the introduction part of the news article, "Emre Berkin, Microsoft's Middle East and Africa President responsible for 79 countries, stated that Turkey had proved its mettle with the sale of Türk Telekom and that this sale was a milestone for Turkey. ... Berkin stated that telecom privatizations were also important for Bill Gates, the founder of Microsoft, and that he visits many countries every year with Bill Gates." As can be understood from these statements, the introduction section of the news article introduces the main source of the news and emphasizes his close relationship with Bill Gates. It is clearly understood that the main reason for such an emphasis is to increase the reader's trust in Emre Berkin, the main source of the news, and the statements made by Berkin. Accordingly, in the opening paragraph of the news article, a memory of Berkin with Bill Gates is included. Accordingly, the following statements are made in the following introductory paragraph of the news article;

"Berkin records that they talked to businessmen, government officials and leaders in every country they visited and that they all asked Bill similar questions about investing. Berkin says that Bill Gates responded to these questions with the question "Has your telecom been privatized?" and when he got the answer no from the other side, he avoided the issue of investment: "I first thought that he had no intention of investing, that he was not interested in investing, so he made up telecom as a handle and avoided it. But when we asked the same thing in every country we

visited, I asked Bill "are you making up telecom as a handle?" He said, "No, I'm serious. Everybody talks about it, but I understand the difference between the talkers and the doers, especially in governments. Anybody with a brain knows that selling telecom is a good business. This is my criterion in a country." Berkin said that Bill Gates had also asked him about the sale of Türk Telekom during his visit to Ankara in the past months and added, "I will go to the US next week and I will tell him in detail then."

As can be seen, in the introductory paragraph of the news article, by quoting this alleged moment between Bill Gates and Berkin, it is emphasized that the privatization of telecom companies is the most important factor that determines Gates' investment decisions and even his opinions about the executives in the countries he visits. Indeed, these statements in the introduction create a perception that Bill Gates will now invest in Turkey after the privatization of Türk Telekom. In fact, at the end of the introductory paragraph, Berkin's statement "I will go to America next week and I will tell him in detail then" reinforces this perception. Thus, emphasis is placed on the fact that the privatization of Türk Telekom paved the way for foreign capital to come to Turkey. Of course, this shows that the introductory paragraph of the news article was written in line with the framework within which the text was formatted. Moreover, these statements in the introductory paragraph lead to the perception that Berkin, who is the main source of the news, is a reliable source and therefore the statements made by Berkin should be seen as true. In this context, it is possible to say that these statements in the introduction manipulate and direct the reader in line with the framework in which the text is formatted.

On the other hand, many quotations were found in the news article in question. The common feature of these quotations is that they are taken from the statements of Emre Berkin, who supports the sale of Türk Telekom. For example, in the fourth paragraph of the news article in question, an excerpt from an interview with Emre Berkin includes the following statements: *"I have always been pessimistic about Turkey's development in the field of informatics. For the first time in years, I have started to look optimistically. There is light at the end of the tunnel and the biggest light is the sale of Türk Telekom. This sale is very important both in terms of technology and for the country. Domestically, it will bring liberalization in the sector,*

service richness will increase and prices will become cheaper." As can be seen, the quotations in the news article in question support the privatization of Türk Telekom. In fact, this quote strongly emphasizes that the privatization will contribute to the Turkish economy and improve Türk Telekom's services. As a matter of fact, the situation is similar in the other quotations made in the news article. In this context, it is possible to say that the quotations made in the news article in question, just like the other elements of the news article, emerged as a product of a manipulative and directive selection process.

In addition, it is clearly understood that the main source of the news is Emre Berkin. Moreover, the news article in question is a news report of the interview with Emre Berkin. Therefore, Berkin is cited as the source of all the information conveyed in the news article. Of course, this situation is very important in terms of analyzing the framework in which the news is formatted. Considering Berkin's statements about the privatization of Türk Telekom, it is possible to say that the news article is formatted using a pro-privatization frame.

In the concluding paragraph of the news article, the frame in which the text was formatted is clearly emphasized. In fact, the concluding paragraph of the news item in question includes the following statements: *"Noting that the period of Türk Telekom's making money on minutes just by installing lines is over, Berkin said that from now on, value-added products, services and content will be provided. Emre Berkin said, "First of all, with the sale of Türk Telekom, Turkey has proven its competence. Turkey has shown that it is very serious about privatization and attracting foreign capital."* As can be seen, these statements in the concluding paragraph of the article clearly support the privatization of Türk Telekom and emphasize the importance of this privatization practice in terms of attracting foreign capital to Turkey. As a matter of fact, this situation reveals the ideological framework within which the news article is shaped. Therefore, we can say that the concluding paragraph of the news article is written within a certain ideological framework, just like the other parts of the news article.

Sabah

Analysis 9: In this news article on page 10 of the April 30, 2005 issue of Sabah Newspaper, the statements made by Ali Babacan, Minister of State at the time, regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom were included. Analysis elements such as logos, statistics and graphics were not found in the news article. Therefore, these elements could not be utilized in the analysis of the news article.

Title: "We don't listen to local or foreigners, we sell to the best bidder."

As can be seen, the title of the news item is a sentence taken from a statement made by the then State Minister Ali Babacan. This sentence used as the title provides very important arguments to deconstruct the news story. This is because through this sentence taken from Babacan's statement regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom, the framework in which the news was shaped was clearly revealed at the title stage. Of course, this situation leads to the formation of certain perceptions in the minds of the readers from the title of the news article. Therefore, it is possible to say that this title used in the news item is in parallel with the frame in which the news item is formatted and is an important argument supporting the frame in which the news item is formatted.

On the other hand, in the news article in question, "*State Minister Ali Babacan said that making a distinction between local and foreign in privatization would lead the country to dangerous points and added: Whoever pays the most gets the most*". As can be understood from this, the subtitle used in the news article reinforces the ideas put forward in the main title of the news article. In other words, the subtitle is complementary to the main title and it is not possible to consider the subtitle separately from the main title. Therefore, all the analyses made above regarding the main title are also valid for the subtitle. This is because the subtitle in question is an instrument of the perception construction initiated in the title within the framework in which the news is formatted.

In addition to these, one photograph was used in the related news article (Image 6), which shows Ali Babacan, the main actor of the news article. However,

when the photograph in question is analyzed, it is understood that it is not related to the frame in which the news is formatted, and that it is only used to increase the credibility of the news. This is because this photograph used in the news coverage does not make a direct association with the content of the news, but only visually indicates who the main actor of the news is. The phrase "Ali Babacan" written under the photograph is a clear proof of this situation.



Figure. 8: Sabah Newspaper Article dated April 30, 2005

Another important issue in analyzing this news story is the statements at the beginning of the news story. Accordingly, in the opening paragraph of the news story, it is stated that *"Minister of State Ali Babacan stated that they do not discriminate between local and foreign investors who are suitors for the companies to be privatized. Babacan said that for the companies to be privatized in the first stage such as Türk Telekom, Tüpraş and Ereğli Demir Çelik, whoever pays the most money will get them all."* As can be understood from this, the expressions in the introductory paragraph of the news article are used to reinforce the meaning presented in the main and subtitle. In addition, the companies that are the subject of the news item are also clearly explained in the introduction. Thus, the expressions used in the introduction of the news item summarize the news text and provide a basis for the expressions used in the titles. As a matter of fact, this situation ensured the connection between the titles and the text and the ideological meaning that was tried to be created through the titles was carried into the text.

In addition, as a result of the analysis of the news text, it is clearly understood that the main source of the news is the statements made by Ali Babacan. In fact, almost all the statements in the news article are quoted from Babacan's speech. This, of course, paves the way for the framework within which the news is formatted to be revealed in the text. For example, the news article quotes statements such as *"whoever pays the most money will take it all"*, *"making a distinction between local and foreign in privatization will lead the country to dangerous points"*, and *"15 billion dollars of foreign investment will come to Turkey in 3 years"*. As can be understood from this point, the quotations made in the news article do not go beyond the framework in which the news article is formatted, on the contrary, they support and reinforce this framework.

The concluding paragraph of the news article reads as follows: *"The company that buys Türk Telekom will not take it back to its country. On the contrary, it will grow and create more employment with the investments it will make. Imports exceeded 10 billion dollars for the first time in March. Turkey is growing, the numbers will grow too. Let's get used to it."* Through these statements in the concluding paragraph of the news article, two different meanings connected to each other through a cause and effect relationship have been produced. Accordingly, it was claimed that the privatization of Türk Telekom would lead to an inflow of foreign currency into the country, increase employment and thus lead to growth in the national economy. As a matter of fact, these claims are in absolute harmony with the framework in which the news article is formatted.

Yeni Safak

Analysis 10: In this news article on page 6 of Yeni Şafak Newspaper published on July 11, 2005, the statements of Şaban Erdikler, the then President of the Foreign Capital Association (FCA), were included. In fact, the news article emphasized that the privatization of Türk Telekom had a very important role in the inflow of foreign capital to Turkey and stated that this privatization was a "historical record" in terms of foreign currency inflow to the country. In addition, the news article in question does not contain a logo, which is one of the elements of analysis. Therefore, this element could not be utilized in the analysis of this news item.

Title: "Historic Record Broken in Foreign Capital"

As can be seen, through these expressions in the title of the news article, it is emphasized that a "historic record" has been broken in the inflow of foreign capital to Turkey and the inflow of foreign currency into the country. Of course, this situation is directly related to the frame in which the news is formatted. Therefore, it clearly shows that the related news article is limited to a certain ideological framework as early as the title stage. Moreover, the title in question creates a certain meaning in the reader's mind and causes the reader to consider the rest of the news in line with this meaning. Thus, the reader is directed in line with the framework in which the news is formatted from the title stage onwards. In this context, it is possible to say that the title used in the news article in question is "compatible" with the frame in which the news is formatted.

In addition to these, it is observed that two subtitles are used in the related news article. The first subtitle reads as follows: *"Erdikler, President of FCA, said, 'With the privatization of Türk Telekom, foreign capital inflows have now broken a historical record'. The second subtitle reads 'Capital inflow in 2005 was 8-10 billion dollars'".* Accordingly, the first subtitle is a repetition of the expressions used in the main heading of the news article. Thus, a semantic transition was made between the main title and the text. In other words, the meaning in the main title of the news item is carried into the news text with the expressions in the first subtitle.

In the second subtitle in the middle of the news text, it is emphasized that Türk Telekom and all privatized or to be privatized companies in Turkey will generate 8-10 billion dollars in foreign currency in 2005. Thus, the frame in which the news was formatted was repeated in the news text and a semantic integrity was ensured in the minds of the readers. As a matter of fact, when the news article in question is analyzed, it is understood that the frame used in the news article is repeated in various parts of the text in order to prevent semantic shifts in the reader's mind. Therefore, it is possible to say that the subtitles used in the related news article are a continuation and reinforcement of the expressions in the main title of the news article. For this reason, it is not possible to handle these subtitles semantically separately from the main title, which is directly linked to the framework in which the news is formatted.

In addition, 1 photograph was used in the related news article. (Image 7) In this photograph, which was taken at the moment when Oger Telecoms won the Türk Telekom tender, it is seen that Oger Telecoms officials are smiling with joy and some of them are even celebrating by raising their hands in the air. Of course, this situation is of great importance in terms of what is described in the news report. Because thanks to this photograph used in the news report, the privatization of Türk Telekom is portrayed as an event to be "celebrated" and thus the ideological meaning hidden in the news report is affirmed. Therefore, it is understood that this photograph in the news story supports the frame in which the news story is formatted, albeit indirectly. Therefore, it is possible to say that the photograph in question is a supportive/complementary element of the meaning that is tried to be conveyed to the reader through the news.



Figure. 9: Yeni Şafak Newspaper News Dated July 11, 2005

On the other hand, the statements at the beginning of the news article are also very important. Accordingly, in the opening paragraph of the news article, it is stated that *"Şaban Erdikler, President of the Foreign Investment Association (FCA), stated that the privatization of Türk Telekom is very important in terms of foreign capital inflow and that this privatization is a historical record in terms of foreign capital inflow"*. As can be seen from this, these statements in the opening paragraph of the news article are almost identical to the statements in the main and subtitle of the news article. This situation shows that the ideological meaning in which the news is shaped is consciously repeated in all parts of the text and thus the reader's perception is tried to be drawn in a certain direction.

Moreover, when the news text is analyzed, it is clearly seen that a single source is utilized in the production process of the news. In fact, in all sections of the news article, the statements and comments of Erdikler, the then President of FCA, regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom were included. In fact, Erdikler's statements were quoted 7 times in total in all sections of this news article, including the titles, which consists of 4 paragraphs. Thus, the news article in question has been limited within a certain ideological meaning from the very production stage. In this context, we can say that the news item was produced in accordance with a certain ideological framework in terms of both source and quote selection. Because in the production of the news item in question, no source that could go beyond the framework in which the news item was formatted was utilized.

On the other hand, there is one graph in the related news article (Figure 8), which shows the distribution of foreign investments in Turkey between 1995 and 2005. According to this graph, it is estimated that around 10 billion dollars of foreign investment will be realized in Turkey in 2005. As can be seen from this figure, the information presented in the graph used in the news article was used to increase the credibility of the frame in which the news was formatted. However, the information given in the graph in question about foreign investment in Turkey amounting to 10 billion dollars in 2005 is not based on any concrete source. In other words, the graph used in the news article contains some information that is purely assertive. Moreover, the other information in this graph, which is an argument to increase the credibility of the news item, is also conveyed without any reference to any source. As a matter of fact, this situation shows that some information in need of proof within the scope of the news article in question was used to support the framework in which the text was formatted and to increase its credibility.



Figure. 10: Graphic in Yeni Şafak Newspaper Article dated July 11, 2005

In addition to these, in the concluding paragraph of the news article in question, "*Şaban Erdikler reminded that the government's foreign capital inflow target for 2005 was 4 billion dollars and FCA's target was 5 billion dollars, and said: After this privatization, the foreign capital inflow will go towards 8-10 billion dollars. TÜPRAŞ, ERDEMİR, Yapı Kredi Bank and Uzan Group companies are next in line*". As can be understood from these statements, the concluding paragraph of the news article repeats the allegations made throughout the text of the news article. In fact, just like in the introductory paragraph of the news article, the expressions used in the title of the news article are almost identical to the expressions used in the concluding paragraph. Undoubtedly, this situation clearly shows that the arguments and claims put forward in the news article in question are "consistently" continued in all parts of the news report. Moreover, this situation proves that the analyzed news item is shaped around a certain ideology from the title to the conclusion paragraph.

Profitability and Efficiency Framework

One of the most used frames in the news articles published during the privatization process of Türk Telekom was the profitability and efficiency frame. In this context, in this part of the study, a total of 3 news articles, 1 from Hürriyet, 1 from Sabah and 1 from Yeni Şafak, will be analyzed in order to analyze the frame in question.

Hürriyet

Analysis 11: In this news article published on page 8 of the October 21, 2004 issue of Hürriyet, there is an interview with Ercan Kumcu, one of the economics writers of the newspaper. In this news article, Kumcu states that privatization policies through the sale of Türk Telekom are the easiest way to increase efficiency and profitability in SEEs.

In addition, the analyzed news article did not contain any analysis elements such as photographs, subtitles, logos, statistics and graphics. Therefore, these elements could not be utilized in the analysis of the news item in question.

Title: "With Privatization, The Hat Will Fall Off and The Bald Will Appear"

The title of the news item includes an idiom frequently used in daily language. This idiom is defined in TLA's online dictionary (TDK, 2022) as "the revelation of the truth when the thing covering a shame is removed". As can be understood from this, this expression in the title of the news article created a negative perception of state-owned SEEs. Accordingly, the "inefficiency and unprofitability" of state-owned Türk Telekom would be more clearly understood after privatization and the "truth" would be revealed. However, it has been explained in the previous sections of the study that this was not the case and that Türk Telekom was one of the most profitable and efficient companies in the country before privatization. Moreover, the profitability and efficiency of Türk Telekom before privatization has been the subject of many reports and articles. Therefore, it is possible to say that the title in question does not reflect the truth and that this title creates a negative perception of Türk Telekom in the minds of the readers and supports the privatization of the company.

On the other hand, the statements in the opening paragraph are of great importance in analyzing the related news article. Accordingly, in the introductory paragraph of the news article in question, Ercan Kumcu stated that "*... Privatization is a very important pillar of the structural reforms in the economy. Privatization will reduce the weight of the public sector in the economy and increase the productivity of SEEs. In addition, since public debts will be paid with the income obtained from*

privatization, the debt burden of the public sector will decrease". As a matter of fact, Kumcu's statements are in line with the framework in which the news article is formatted. In fact, in the introduction of the news item, the "positive" effects of privatization practices in terms of the economy were first mentioned, followed by an emphasis on the fact that these practices "increased the efficiency" of SEEs. Thus, both a "positive" perception of privatization policies was created and the environment in which the news was formatted was positioned within the news text.

In addition, it is understood that only one source was utilized in the production process of the news article in question. Moreover, almost all the information given in the news article in question was quoted from Ercan Kumcu's statements. In fact, in the first paragraph of the news article, which consists of 25 lines, 23 lines are composed of quotations from Kumcu's statements. In addition, it is observed that some of the quotations are written in a darker color. This shows that the quotations in question have been emphasized. For example, in the first paragraph of the news article, the statements such as "... efficiency in SEEs will increase, in the second paragraph "... privatization of Türk Telekom will be one of the most important topics of the stand-by arrangement with the IMF for the next three years, and in the third paragraph "... the UK privatized the companies it nationalized in the past relatively quickly" are written in darker color. Of course, the main reason for this is to draw the reader's attention to these sections of the news report. As a matter of fact, in these highlighted quotations, there are statements that efficiency in SEEs will increase, that the agreements between the IMF and Turkey depend on the privatization of Türk Telekom, and that the UK, a country with a high level of economic prosperity, has privatized public companies. Undoubtedly, this situation is directly related to the framework shaped by the news article. Because, while creating a positive perception towards privatization policies with these quotations, the privatization of Türk Telekom is given a special meaning. In this context, it is possible to say that the source and the quotations used in the news article directly reflect the frame shaped by the text.

In addition to these, in the concluding paragraph of the related news article, Ercan Kumcu is quoted as saying: "*The dramatic improvement in public finances in the UK after privatizations is forcing other European Union countries to plead with the UK not to receive the contribution it should receive from the EU's general budget.*"

The privatizations in the UK and the increase in the efficiency of SEEs as a result of these privatizations are making the continental Europe look up. I think that a similar situation will occur in Türk Telekom and other SEEs after privatization." As can be seen, these statements made by Kumcu are completely in line with the frame in which the news article is formatted. In fact, in the concluding paragraph of the news article, information on privatizations in the UK was given first and the "positive" effects of privatization practices in this country on the UK economy were mentioned. Of course, this situation has created a "positive" perception in terms of privatization practices within the news text. Then, with this "positive" perception, unfounded assumptions were made about Türk Telekom and other privatization practices in Turkey.

Sabah

Analysis 11: In this news article published in Sabah Newspaper on February 12, 2005, Türk Telekom's services are criticized and it is emphasized that Türk Telekom should be privatized as soon as possible in order to "improve these services according to today's conditions". On the other hand, the news article in question does not contain any analysis elements such as photographs, subtitles, logos, statistics and graphics. Therefore, these elements were not used in the analysis of the news article.

Title: "Telekom in Winter Sleep"

According to TLA, the expression "being in hibernation" is used in figurative expression to describe the period when a living thing or an institution/organization is stagnant and inactive. In this context, it is possible to say that these expressions used in the title emphasize that Türk Telekom is a company that cannot keep up with technological developments, is closed to innovation and is inefficient. Moreover, these expressions in the title in question cause the reader to form the perception that Türk Telekom is an inactive, stagnant and inefficient company. Therefore, it is possible to say that this title used in the news article is the product of a certain ideological framework. This is because these expressions in the title of the news article cause the formation of a negative perception about Türk Telekom and emphasize that the privatization of the company is a "necessity". Therefore, it is

clearly understood that the title in question creates a parallel meaning with the frame used in the news article.

In addition, the statements in the introductory paragraph of the news item are also very important in analyzing the news item in question. Accordingly, the introductory paragraph of the news article reads as follows: ***"Telekom General Manager Mehmet Ekinalan introduced Telekom's ADSL service, which provides internet access, with campaigns. He explained how fast it provides internet access and how cheap it is. However, it seems that the number of people who are satisfied with ADSL service is rapidly decreasing. Because it is not possible for ADSL subscribers to access the internet"***. As can be seen, some of these statements in the introductory paragraph of the news article are written in bold font and it is aimed to draw the attention of the reader to these lines. However, the news article in question does not cite any sources to verify the accuracy of these bolded statements. In other words, in the introductory paragraph of the news article, some information was conveyed about the inadequacy and inefficiency of Türk Telekom's products/services, but no explanation was made as to the source from which this information was obtained. Moreover, these allegations in the introductory paragraph of the news article are unfounded. In fact, the information contained in the Telecommunications Authority's 2005 Annual Report clearly demonstrates that the statements in the news article do not reflect the truth.

Table. 18: Number of Türk Telekom ADSL Subscribers in 2002-2005

Years	Number of Subscribers	Rate of Increase Compared to the Previous
2002	2.999	-
2003	56.624	%1788
2004	452.398	%698
2005	1.539.477	%240

(Telecommunications Authority, 2005, p.)

As can be seen from the information provided in Table 18, the number of ADSL subscribers of Türk Telekom has not decreased as claimed in the news article, on the contrary, it has been increasing every year. In fact, even in 2005, the year in which the news article was published, the number of ADSL subscribers of Türk Telekom increased at a very high rate of 240%. Therefore, it is possible to say that these statements in the introductory paragraph of the news article semantically carry the claim made in the title of the news article into the text of the news article. In other words, the title and the introductory paragraph of the news item are produced and interconnected within the framework of a certain ideological meaning.

On the other hand, the news item in question has different characteristics from the other news items analyzed in terms of source selection. Because the allegations put forward in the news article in question were not based on the statements of any person or institution, but were written within the framework of the opinions of the reporters/news producers of the newspaper. Moreover, there is no signature or name in the relevant news article indicating who produced the text. Therefore, it is possible to say that the allegations made in the news article in question are not based on any source.

On the other hand, it was observed that the news article quoted statements made by Mehmet Ekinalan, the then General Manager of Türk Telekom. However, these quotations from some of Ekinalan's statements were used as a subject of criticism rather than a source for the allegations made in the news article. For example, in the second paragraph of the news article, "**Mehmet Ekinalan, General Manager of Telekom**, takes every opportunity to praise Telekom's *"marvelous" activities. However, Telekom's services and the activities described by the general manager do not match*". As can be understood from this statement, Ekinalan's statements were not cited as a source for the allegations made in the news article, but were used as an element of "insult" to support the framework in which the text was formatted. Therefore, it is understood that the quotations made in the news article in question were inserted into the news text in accordance with the frame in which the news was formatted.

Apart from these, the sentences in the concluding paragraph of the news item are also extremely important in analyzing the news item. Because the statements in the concluding paragraph of the news item in question clearly reveal the framework within which the news item is formatted. In the last paragraph of the news article, it is stated as follows: *"Since the general manager and his mentality have not changed in order to get rid of these problems, I think the best solution is to sell Türk Telekom quickly. Then we will see how different the quality of service will be after privatization"*. As can be understood from this statement, in the concluding paragraph of the news article, the main reason for the "problems" at Türk Telekom is the fact that the company is managed by the state, and the solution is that it should be "rapidly" privatized. In this context, the news article first created a perception that Türk Telekom's products and services were inefficient, and then emphasized that the only solution to this situation was to privatize the company. Of course, this situation clearly reveals the framework within which the related news article was formatted.

Yeni Şafak

Analysis 12: In this news article published in the January 22, 2005 issue of Yeni Şafak Newspaper, the statements of the then Minister of Transportation Binali Yıldırım were included. Accordingly, the news article drew attention to the interest of foreigners in Türk Telekom through Yıldırım's statements and emphasized that the company could not compete with other companies with its current structure. In addition, the news article in question does not contain any analysis elements such as photographs, photo captions, logos, statistics and graphics. Therefore, these elements were not utilized in the analysis of this news item.

Title: "Foreign Interest in Telecom Raises Hopes"

As can be understood from these statements in the title of the news article, there is no direct connection between the title of the news article and the frame in which the news text is formatted. This is because the title of the news article mentions the interest of foreign capital in the Türk Telekom tender. However, in the following sections of the news article, a connection is established with the frame in which the text is formatted according to the flow of the narrative. In fact, through these

expressions in the title of the news article, it is attempted to create a positive perception about the privatization of Telekom at the beginning of the news article, and a perceptual ground is created for the claims that will be put forward in the following sections in line with the framework in which the news article is formatted. Therefore, it is possible to say that this title, which at first appears to be unrelated to the frame in which the news is formatted, is in fact directly related to the frame used in the news report.

In addition to this, it has been observed that 2 subtitles were used in the news article in question. The first of these subtitles includes the statement "The public wants it to be sold as soon as possible". As can be understood from this, it is clear that the main purpose of this subtitle is to support and reinforce the statements in the main title of the news article. This is because the positive perception that is tried to be created about the privatization of Türk Telekom through the main headline used in the news article is supported by the statements in the sub-headline. In fact, the statements in the subtitle in question emphasize that not only the government but also the public supports the privatization of Türk Telekom. Therefore, it is possible to say that the main task of the subtitle in the news article is to support and sustain the meaning of the main headline. Therefore, it is impossible to consider this subtitle used in the news article separately from the main title of the news article.

The second subtitle, again quoted from Binali Yıldırım's statements, reads "Telekom cannot compete with private sector companies in its current state". This sub-heading emphasizes that the current situation of Türk Telekom cannot compete with private sector companies. This, of course, creates a perception in the reader's mind that the current situation of Türk Telekom is not good, that the private sector would manage Türk Telekom better, and therefore the company should be privatized. As it will be remembered, a similar situation was encountered in the news items analyzed previously within the scope of this framework. In fact, in other analyzed news articles, an attempt was made to create a perception that Türk Telekom's services and products were cumbersome and inefficient, and then the privatization of Türk Telekom was presented as a necessity. Therefore, it is possible to say that similar language and narrative features were used in the news items formatted within this framework.

On the other hand, in the opening paragraph of the news article in question, *"Minister of Transportation Binali Yıldırım evaluated the applications of many local and foreign companies for the pre-qualification for the block sale of 55% of Türk Telekom to Yeni Şafak. Pointing out that the privatization adventure of Telekom had been going on for more than 10 years, Yıldırım said, "We have seen that this privatization adventure has not been for the benefit of the country."* As can be understood from these statements, the opening section of the news article in question emphasizes that the privatization of Türk Telekom is long overdue and that this company should be privatized as soon as possible. Of course, this situation draws the reader into a certain ideological framework regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom and causes the reader to evaluate the rest of the news article within this perception. Therefore, these expressions at the beginning of the news item on the privatization of Türk Telekom directly support the framework within which the news item is shaped.

In addition, it is understood that only one source was utilized in the production process of the news item in question. Accordingly, the relevant news article was prepared and published in line with the statements made by the then Minister of Transportation Binali Yıldırım. Naturally, it is not possible to say that the information and documents conveyed to the reader in this news article are the product of an objective and critical perspective. This is because Binali Yıldırım was one of the most prominent supporters of the privatization of Türk Telekom at the time. Moreover, Yıldırım, as the Minister of Transportation, is one of the most authorized people in charge of the privatization of Türk Telekom. Therefore, it is possible to say that the principle of impartiality, one of the most important principles of journalistic ethics, was ignored in the selection of sources during the production of this news report.

On the other hand, it was observed that many quotations were made in the related news article. When these quotations were analyzed, it was understood that all quotations made within the scope of the news article were taken from the statement made by Binali Yıldırım. In this context, in the second paragraph of the related news article, it is stated that *"The public thinks that this work is taking a long time and expects these works to be done as soon as possible. The government is also acting in this direction"*. In addition, in the last paragraph of the news article, Yıldırım is again

quoted as saying *"Because it cannot compete. Decision mechanisms cannot work very freely ..."*. From this point of view, it is understood that these quotations made within the scope of the news article in question were made in a certain order and sequence. Namely, these statements quoted from a statement made by Yıldırım actually reveal the main idea of the news article. Accordingly, the news article first includes quotations that support the privatization of Türk Telekom, followed by quotations that criticize the current structure of Türk Telekom. Of course, this situation completely reflects the language and narrative features of the news article in question. Therefore, it is understood that the main purpose of these quotations is to direct the reader within a certain ideological framework in accordance with the narrative style of the news article.

In the concluding paragraph of the news article, Yıldırım emphasized that *"Türk Telekom will continue with its current structure: Because it cannot compete. Its decision mechanisms cannot work very freely. ... This means that you will race with 100 kilograms of stones tied to your feet. This is not possible"*. As can be seen, in the concluding paragraph of the news article, Yıldırım's statements are utilized to create a perception that the current structure of Türk Telekom could not work efficiently. In fact, this section of the news report is presented as the basis on which the propaganda for the privatization of Türk Telekom is based from the title onwards. In the first part of the news article, the privatization of Türk Telekom was supported, and in the concluding paragraph, Türk Telekom's "inefficient and cumbersome" structure was shown as the reason for this support. Therefore, we can consider the concluding paragraph of the news article in question as the part of the news article in which the framework in which the news text is shaped is clearly visible.

Corruption Framework

One of the most frequently used frames in the news articles published in the context of the privatization of Türk Telekom was the corruption frame. Therefore, in this section of the study, a total of 2 news items, 1 from Sabah and 1 from Yeni Şafak, will be analyzed.

Sabah

Analysis 13: In this news article published in the July 4, 2005 issue of Sabah, SEEs in Turkey are criticized through Mümtaz Soysal, a former Minister of Foreign Affairs known for his opposition to privatization. In addition, the news article in question does not contain any analysis elements such as subtitles, photographs, photo captions, logos, statistics and graphics. Therefore, these elements could not be utilized in the analysis of this news article.

Title: "Is PTT Left?"

As is known, many criticisms were made during the privatization process of Türk Telekom. One of the most prominent criticisms was that the company was one of Turkey's most strategic institutions and therefore should not be privatized. In this context, Mümtaz Soysal was the most criticized person. He became one of the symbolic figures of the opposition to privatization in Turkey, especially due to his stance against the privatization law enacted by the DYP-SHP government in 1994. After the privatization of Türk Telekom as a result of the tender held on July 1, 2005, Mümtaz Soysal was the first person to announce that he would file a lawsuit for the annulment of this tender. In fact, Soysal made a statement to the press on July 3, 2005, saying that "those who privatized Türk Telekom will be tried in the Supreme Court". Subsequently, this news was published in the July 4, 2005 issue of Sabah Newspaper.

From this point of view, it is possible to say that the news article in question was actually written to criticize Mümtaz Soysal. Moreover, the statements in the title of the article directly target Mümtaz Soysal. This is because Soysal, in the lawsuit he filed for the annulment of the tender held in 1998 for the privatization of Türk Telekom, cited the critical tasks undertaken by the company, then called PTT, during the War of Independence as the reason for the annulment. However, as stated above, when Türk Telekom was privatized as a result of the tender held on July 1, 2005, Mümtaz Soysal was one of the first people to take action to cancel this tender. In response to this incident, the news article in question has been headlined by quoting statements made by Soysal in previous years regarding the privatization of Türk

Telekom. Therefore, these expressions in the headline in question target the opponents of privatization through Mümtaz Soysal and criticize them in a sarcastic manner. Therefore, it is possible to see the headline as an argument indirectly used to support the framework in which the text is formatted.

In addition to this, the expressions in the introductory paragraph of the news article are also quite striking. For in the introductory paragraph of the news article in question, it is stated that *"Mümtaz Soysal is preparing for another resistance against the privatization of Telekom. In the first resistance, the justification was that Hamdi Efendi from Manastır had informed Atatürk in Ankara about the British occupation of Istanbul by telegram. Therefore, the PTT is sacred. However, the "T" of PTT, which stands for telegraph, was first privatized by fax and then by e-mail."* As can be understood from these statements, in the introduction section of the news article, the answer to the question asked in the title was given and a connection was established between the title and the news article. Moreover, through these expressions in the introduction of the news article, Mümtaz Soysal's opinions on the privatization of Türk Telekom were criticized in a sarcastic manner and a negative perception was created in the minds of the readers about Soysal. In fact, these expressions in the introduction of the news item portray Soysal as a backward-minded figure who is far from technological developments. In this context, through these expressions in the introductory paragraph of the news item in question, both the semantic connection between the title and the text is established and the frame in which the text is formatted is actively supported.

On the other hand, it was understood that only one source was utilized in the production phase of the news article, just like the other news articles analyzed. Accordingly, all the information and documents conveyed in the news article in question were based on Mehmet Barlas' statements. However, Mehmet Barlas was one of the most prominent writers who supported the privatization of Türk Telekom during the period in question. In fact, in his article titled "Is the Real Conflict Between the IMF and the TAF?" in the 07.07.2001 issue of Yeni Şafak, Mehmet Barlas claimed that the main reason why Türk Telekom could not be privatized until that date was the (Turkish Armed Forces) TAF and the current government and therefore the government should resign. In this context, it is understood that the

person chosen as the main source in the production phase of the news article in question is a highly radicalized figure on the privatization of Türk Telekom. Indeed, it is possible to understand how eager Barlas is about the privatization of Türk Telekom by his demand for the resignation of the current government. Therefore, it is clearly seen that the person chosen as the main source during the production of this news article does not comply with the principle of impartiality of the news. Moreover, this mistake made in the selection of the source can be shown as the main reason why the opponents of privatization are ignored in the related news article and the opinions of these people are treated in a cynical manner.

In addition, it has been observed that the news article in question contains many quotations. The common characteristic of these quotations in the news article is that they are all taken from Mehmet Barlas' statements. Accordingly, in the introductory paragraph of the news article, Mehmet Barlas is quoted as saying "*Since Manastırlı Hamdi Efendi did not phone Atatürk, Mümtaz Hoca should give up this job*". As can be seen, this quotation criticizes those who oppose the privatization of Türk Telekom and supports the privatization of the company. In fact, a careful examination of the news text reveals that all the quotations made in the news report support the privatization of Türk Telekom. However, it is understood that these quotations in the news report are not made randomly, but are included in the text in line with a certain ideological framework. This is because all the quotations in the news article in question were selected in accordance with the framework within which the news article was formatted and in this context, they support the privatization of Türk Telekom.

On the other hand, the statements in the concluding paragraph of the related news item appear as the section where the frame in which the news item is formatted is revealed. This is because the frame in which the news item is shaped is expressed in the concluding paragraph of the news item. In this context, the final section of the news article includes an alleged memory between İsmet İnönü, a former president and prime minister, and bureaucrats of the period. Accordingly, the concluding paragraph of the news article reads as follows: "*When the State Planning Organization (SPO) was being established, İsmet İnönü, who was prime minister at the time, asked **how many SEEs there were in Turkey**. He was surprised when he was told the number of*

existing State Economic Enterprises and their subsidiaries. **"Why so many?"** he asks. He was told that the reason for this was that appointments were made to the boards of directors of subsidiaries in order to provide additional income for the senior managers of SEEs. İnönü then makes the following comment. **"So you can say that what we call statism has become a scam"**. As can be seen, these statements in the concluding paragraph of the news report clearly emphasize the corruption framework within which the news report is shaped. In fact, in this section of the news report, it is clearly stated that the sole purpose of SEEs, including Türk Telekom, is to provide additional income to senior executives and thus to engage in corruption in these institutions. This, of course, portrays the SEEs in Turkey as the center of corruption in the state. In fact, in order to draw the reader's attention, the sentences in which these allegations are made are written in bold font in the text. Therefore, through these statements in the concluding paragraph of the news article, a negative perception about SEEs is created in the minds of the readers and thus the reader is directed towards a certain area in terms of supporting privatization practices. Therefore, it is possible to evaluate the concluding paragraph of the related news article as the section in which the framework in which the text is formatted is revealed and the reader is directed in the context of this framework.

Yeni Şafak

Analysis 14: In this news article published in Yeni Şafak Newspaper on November 20, 2004, the allegations made in the report prepared by the Supreme Auditing Board (SAB) on the Privatization Administration are included. In this report, it is alleged that the administrators of the Privatization Administration have committed corruption through SEEs in Turkey. Moreover, in this news article, all SEEs in Turkey were discussed from a holistic perspective and corruption was alleged in all SEEs. Therefore, the news article in question also claimed that corruption was committed at Türk Telekom, which was an SEE at the time. In addition, this news article does not contain analysis elements such as photographs, logos, statistics and graphics. Therefore, these elements were not utilized in the analysis of the news article.

Title: "Privatization Farm"

As can be seen, these expressions used in the headline are in direct relation with the framework in which the text is formatted. In fact, the word "farm" in the headline conveys the institutions and organizations that were within the scope of privatization at the time as places where easy profits were made and corruption was practiced. Therefore, it is possible to say that this headline attempts to direct the reader in line with a certain ideological framework. Moreover, these expressions in the headline make important announcements about the framework in which the text is formatted. However, the headline in question has been information-reduced. Therefore, it is not clear which SEEs are meant by the expressions in this headline emphasizing "corruption".

In addition, one sub-heading was used in the related news article. In this sub-heading, it is stated that *"In the report prepared by the Supreme Audit Board on the Privatization Administration, it was emphasized that SEEs within the scope of privatization were used for some favored people to retire at high levels"*. These statements in the sub-headline are actually a continuation of the main headline. This is because the sub-headline provides details about the allegations made in the main headline of the news article and thus ensures the continuity of these allegations within the news text. Moreover, as stated above, the information omission in the main headline was attempted to be completed with the statements used in the sub-headline. However, in this section of the news report, no explanation was given as to which SEEs were accused of corruption. This situation shows that all SEEs in Turkey are dealt with and blamed with a wholesale approach in the news article in question.

On the other hand, in the introductory paragraph of the news article, it is stated that *"In the report prepared on the accounts of the Privatization Administration for the years 2002 and 2003, it was stated that the failure in privatization tenders put the Privatization Fund in great trouble. Emphasizing that the Fund has fallen under a significant debt burden, it was noted that in 2003, it became unable to pay even the debts it took from Türk Telekom, Tekel, THY and İGSAŞ"*. Accordingly, it is emphasized that the Privatization Administration, which is one of the most authorized institutions in the privatization of SEEs, has entered into a major financial crisis as a result of the cancellation of privatization tenders. However, the headlines did not include any explanation regarding the corruption allegations. On the contrary, it is

reported that some SEEs, including Türk Telekom, lent money to the Privatization Administration. In this case, it is understood that the allegations of "corruption in SEEs" made in the previous sections of the news article are baseless. It is not natural for an institution that has become a farm as a result of corruption to lend money to another institution. However, the news article in question ignores the fact that SEEs are under the authority of the Privatization Administration only in terms of privatization, and even the corruption in the Privatization Administration is blamed on SEEs. In fact, between 2002 and 2005, 4 billion 984 million dollars was transferred from SEEs to the coffers of the Privatization Administration. (Privatization Administration Annual Report, 2006, p. 28)

On the other hand, it is understood that only the report prepared by the NEA was utilized in the production of this news item. In other words, this report was used as the main source of the news report. In fact, the majority of the information and documents conveyed in the news report were quoted from this report. For example, in the second paragraph of the news article, the quotation reads as follows: *"Most of the tenders held by the Privatization Administration in the 9-month period of 2004 were canceled. Apart from these tenders, PETKİM, SEKA, Türk Telekom, Tekel, Kayseri Sugar Factories were also canceled in the previous period. ... On the other hand, in the same period, Privatization Administration spent 3 billion 648 million dollars for capital participation in these privatized enterprises and 1 billion 117 million dollars for loans"*. Accordingly, the quote in question emphasizes that the Privatization Administration gave money to SEEs, including Türk Telekom. This has led to the perception that the reason for the economic crisis that the Privatization Administration is in is the money transferred to SEEs, including Türk Telekom. However, as mentioned above, there is no explanation in any part of the news article as to which SEEs this money was given to and why. Therefore, this situation raises questions about the reliability and credibility of the news report.

In the concluding paragraph of the news report, examples of alleged corruption in SEEs are given. Accordingly, in the last part of the news article, "... the report of the Prime Ministry inspectors emphasized that the Privatization Administration made extra payments to advertising companies. The report also emphasized that SEEs within the scope of privatization were used for some favored

people to retire at high levels. According to the report, general managers and board members are continuously appointed to companies that should be liquidated and exist only on paper, allowing some people to retire at a high level." As can be understood from these statements, the concluding paragraph of the news article blames SEEs for the alleged corruption. However, a careful examination of the news article clearly reveals that none of these corruptions are related to SEEs. Indeed, it is the people in charge of the government who manage the Privatization Administration and SEEs who are responsible for the corruption alleged in the news article, such as overpayments to advertising firms and the retirement of some people from senior positions by using SEEs. Therefore, it is possible to say that the news article in question accuses SEEs with unconfirmed information and ignores those who are actually responsible for the "corruption".

Economic Growth and Stability Framework

In this part of the study, news articles claiming that the privatization of Türk Telekom contributed to the growth and stability of the Turkish economy will be analyzed. In this context, 3 news items, 1 from Hürriyet, 1 from Sabah and 1 from Yeni Şafak, will be analyzed.

Analysis 15: In this news article published in the July 18, 2005 issue of Hürriyet, statements and comments made by an Italian capital group named Unicredito regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom are included. Accordingly, the news article mentioned the "contributions" that the privatization of Türk Telekom would make to the Turkish economy. In addition, since there are no analysis elements such as photo captions, logos, graphics and statistics in this news article, these elements were not utilized in the analysis of the news article.

Title: "Unicredito: Privatization is Finally on Track"

As can be seen, the headline of the news item in question is a statement made by the Italian banking group Unicredito. It is understood that the headline is based on information omission and generalization. This is because the headline does not specify which privatization practice is "on track" and all privatizations in Turkey are

considered as a whole. Nevertheless, these expressions in the title of the news article have led to a positive perception of privatization practices at the title stage. Moreover, the words "finally" and "on track" used in the headline both criticized the privatization policies of the past and created a perception that the current state of privatization was supported by the whole country. Therefore, it is possible to say that the headline in question was produced in a language appropriate to the framework in which the text was formatted.

In addition, it was observed that one sub-heading was used in the related news article. In this sub-heading, the following statement was used: *"In the Unicredito report, it was emphasized that the major privatization initiatives, especially Türk Telekom, were watched with satisfaction by both national and international markets"*. As can be understood from this sub-heading, these statements elaborate and reinforce the allegations made in the main headline of the news article. In fact, the sub-heading in question emphasizes that the privatization practices in Turkey, particularly the privatization of Türk Telekom, are monitored by national and international capital groups and that these privatizations are welcomed by the relevant capital groups. This, of course, reinforces the positive perception created in the headline about the privatization of Türk Telekom. Therefore, it is possible to say that this sub-headline used in the news article is actually a continuation of the main headline of the news article. When the news text is considered as a whole, it is clearly understood that the main task of the sub-headline is to build a semantic bridge between the main headline and the news text.

On the other hand, one photograph was used in the news article in question. (Image 9) In this photograph, which was apparently taken during the tender for the privatization of Türk Telekom, Oger Telecoms officials are seen celebrating in joy. In this way, it is possible to say that the photograph in question is in harmony with the perception that the news article tries to convey to the reader. In fact, the photograph in question visually supports the positive perception created in the main headline and sub-headline of the news article regarding the privatization of Türk Telekom. Because, as mentioned before, in the main and sub-headline of the news article, it was claimed that the privatizations carried out in Turkey, especially Türk Telekom, had a positive impact on national and international circles. This photograph used in the

news article is used as a visual presentation of the positive perception that is claimed to have emerged in the said circles. However, it is almost impossible to draw such an inference from the photograph. This is because the photograph in question was taken during the tender for the privatization of Türk Telekom and reflects the joyful demonstrations of the winning party at the end of the tender. Therefore, it is not possible to say that the photograph in question reflects the attitudes and judgments of national and international capital circles.



Figure. 11: Hürriyet Newspaper Article dated July 18, 2005

In addition to these, the expressions used in the introductory paragraph of the related news item are also very important in terms of analyzing the news item. Accordingly, the introductory paragraph of the news article reads as follows: *"Unicredito, the Italian banking group and partner of Koç Financial Services, reported that privatizations in Turkey are 'finally on track'. ... In the report prepared by Unicredito, it was stated that major privatizations in Turkey are important for structural transformation and macroeconomic stability, and in this context, the Türk Telekom tender was a successful initiative"*. As it can be understood from this, in the introductory paragraph of the news article, the claims made in the title and sub-headline are repeated and it is emphasized that the large privatizations in Turkey, particularly Türk Telekom, are important for economic growth and stability. This, of course, shows that the opening paragraph of the news article reveals the framework within which the news text is shaped. This is because in this section of the news article, claims directly related to the frame in which the text is formatted are put

forward, and thus a perception is created in the minds of the readers that the privatization of Türk Telekom contributed to the national economy.

On the other hand, when the news article in question was analyzed, it was understood that only one source was utilized in the production of the news article. Accordingly, all information and documents quoted in the news article were based on a report prepared by the foreign capital group Unicredito. In fact, four paragraphs of this five-paragraph news report begin with the words "according to the report" or "in the report". This shows that the main source of all the information and documents quoted in the news report is the report prepared by Unicredito. This also proves that all the information provided in the news report is quoted from the report in question. This is because all the information provided in the news report is quoted with reference to the relevant report. Therefore, it is possible to say that the source utilized in the production phase of this news report is the most important factor influencing all parts of the news report, especially the quotations made in the news report. Moreover, this report, which is the main source of the news report, is fully compatible with the framework in which the text is formatted.

On the other hand, the concluding paragraph of the news report contains a long text. Therefore, this paragraph was analyzed by dividing it into two parts. Accordingly, in the first part of the concluding paragraph of the news report, it is stated that *"It was noted in the report that privatizations would contribute to the inflow of more foreign capital, that privatizations would encourage not only direct foreign capital coming from the privatized enterprise, but also foreign investors planning to enter Turkey with the support of privatization ..."*. In the second part of the concluding paragraph of the news article, it is stated that *"It was noted that Turkey showed a record level of growth last year, that this year's growth rates are still strong despite a decrease compared to last year, and that economic growth has stabilized and entered a sustainable trend"*. In this context, when these statements in the first and last sections of the concluding paragraph of the news article are considered together, privatizations are presented as the main reason for the growth and stability in the Turkish economy. In fact, the first part of the paragraph states that privatizations played a key role in attracting foreign investors to Turkey. Then, the developments in the Turkish economy during the period in question were mentioned

and a perception was created that privatization policies were the main reason for this "positive" situation. In other words, through the statements in the last part of the news report, privatization practices were shown as the reason for the economic growth and stability in Turkey. In this context, it is possible to say that the concluding paragraph of the news article in question reveals the framework within which the text is shaped and that this paragraph, together with all its elements, reflects the framework used in the news article.

Sabah

Analysis 16: In this news article published in Sabah Newspaper on November 19, 2004, the statements of Cahit Paksoy, the General Manager of Avea at the time, were included. Accordingly, Paksoy emphasizes that the sale of Türk Telekom is important for the Turkish economy. In addition, there are no analysis elements such as photographs, logos, statistics and graphics in the news article. Therefore, these elements were not utilized in the analysis of the news article.

Title: "It is important that Türk Telekom is sold in a short time"

As can be seen, the title of the news article emphasizes that Türk Telekom should be privatized as soon as possible. In fact, through this headline, it was tried to create a positive perception in the reader's mind about the privatization of Türk Telekom. Thus, from the title of the news article, the reader is drawn towards a certain area in terms of supporting the privatization of Türk Telekom. On the other hand, the headline in the news article in question has been de-informed. The headline in question does not provide any information on why Türk Telekom should be privatized as soon as possible. Of course, this situation shows that the news item was produced with a pro-privatization approach. This is because the news article explicitly supports the privatization of Türk Telekom through these expressions in the headline. Therefore, it is possible to say that this title used in the news article is in parallel with the framework in which the news article is formatted.

In addition, one sub-heading was observed in the analyzed news article. This sub-heading reads as follows: *"Avea General Manager Paksoy said: "It is vital that*

Türk Telekom is privatized in a short time. TIM is one of the potential buyers in the market". As can be seen, the sub-heading in question firstly states that Türk Telekom should be privatized as soon as possible, just like the main heading, and then emphasizes that a company of which Paksoy is a representative is one of the potential buyers of Türk Telekom. In this context, with these features, the sub-heading in question both reinforced the statements in the main title of the news article and introduced the Italian company TIM, which will participate in the Türk Telekom tender.

On the other hand, in the introductory paragraph of the news article, *"Avea General Manager Cahit Paksoy stated that one of Avea's partners could be Türk Telekom. Telekom Italia announced that they are working positively in this direction. They are also one of the potential buyers in the market. In addition, Paksoy underlined that the privatization of Türk Telekom in a short period of time was of vital importance and that this would have a positive impact on the economy and consumers, because it would pave the way for the sector."* When these statements are carefully analyzed, a detailed explanation of the sentences in the title and subtitle is given in the introductory paragraph of the news article. Thus, the transition between the headlines used in the news article and the text of the news article was ensured and the meaning framed by the news article was transferred into the text. In addition, in the introductory paragraph, the frame in which the text was formatted was emphasized for the first time. In fact, in the last part of the introductory paragraph, it is stated that the sale of Türk Telekom will have a "positive" impact on the economy and consumers. As a matter of fact, this situation ensured the semantic positioning of the frame in which the news was formatted within the text.

In addition to these, it was understood that only one source was utilized in the production of the news article in question. Accordingly, almost all the information conveyed in the news article was taken from the statements made by Cahit Paksoy, the General Manager of Avea at the time. In fact, 47 lines of the news article consisting of 49 lines were produced by quoting Paksoy's statement. Of course, this situation makes a certain announcement about the attitude and approach that is effective in the production of the news. This is because Cahit Paksoy, who is the sole source for the production of the news article, appears as a person who supports

privatization policies in Turkey, especially Türk Telekom. Therefore, it is not possible for this news article, which is mostly based on statements made by a pro-privatization person, to be objective about privatizations. Moreover, the sources and quotations used in the news article in question have led to the ignoring and disregarding of the opinions of people and institutions opposing privatization.

The concluding paragraph of the article reads, "*Türk Telekom is a distinguished company in Turkey. However, it is experiencing the difficulties of doing business with the state. After this privatization, the services and products to be offered by Telekom will be expanded. Türk Telekom will perhaps have the most positive impact in terms of the arrival of foreign capital, the closing of economic deficits, the confidence to be given to foreign and domestic markets, and the transition to a more stable economy.*" As can be understood from this statement, the concluding paragraph of the news article clearly emphasizes the framework within which the text was formatted. In fact, in the last part of the article, it is stated that the sale of Türk Telekom will solve all the problems in the Turkish economy and that economic stability will be achieved in Turkey after this privatization. This, of course, led to a positive perception of the privatization of Türk Telekom in the minds of the readers. Therefore, it is possible to see this part of the news report as the part where the reader is perceptually guided within the framework of the text's formatting. Moreover, the ideas conveyed in the conclusion section of the news article are directly related to the frame within which the news article is formatted.

Yeni Şafak

Analysis 17: This news article was published in Yeni Şafak Newspaper on October 8, 2004. In this news article, which was produced within the scope of the information obtained from the European Union Progress Report published in the said period, the "contributions" of privatization practices in Turkey, particularly Türk Telekom, to economic growth and stability were emphasized. However, there are no analysis elements such as photographs, subtitles, logos, graphics and statistics in the news article. Therefore, these elements were not utilized in the analysis of this news item.

Title: "EU Progress Report: Accelerate Privatization"

As can be seen, this headline used in the news article includes some information from the EU Progress Report published in the said period. Accordingly, in the relevant headline, the EU Progress Report was cited as a source and the need to accelerate privatization practices in Turkey was emphasized. Thus, a certain announcement about the content of the text was made in the headline and the reader was directed towards a certain ideological meaning at the very beginning of the news article. In fact, in this news article, which was published at a time when Turkey's EU accession process was "accelerating", it was emphasized through the expressions used in the title that the EU closely follows privatization policies in Turkey and that privatization is an important factor in the EU accession process. Therefore, it is possible to say that the main task of this title used in the news article in question is to prepare the reader perceptually within a certain framework of meaning. This is because this title is a summary of the information to be conveyed in the content of the news article.

On the other hand, in the introductory paragraph of the news article, it is stated that *"Turkey, which received a visa from the commission for the start of negotiations with the EU, is now preparing to fulfill the economic criteria during the negotiations. The economic management estimates that the Turkish economy will meet the Maastricht Criteria within five years with the economic program implemented"*. As can be understood from these statements, the introductory paragraph of the news article states that the most important issue in the negotiations between Turkey and the EU is the economy. In fact, the introduction of the news article emphasizes the Maastricht Criteria, which are considered as the basis of the economic policies implemented in EU countries. With this treaty, which was signed in Maastricht, the Netherlands on February 7, 1992 and entered into force on November 1, 1993, the stages of economic and monetary union in the EU, the economic policies to be followed at this stage and the institutional changes necessary for the implementation of these policies were regulated in detail. (Dilekli & Yeşilkaya, 2002, p. 3) In this context, in the introduction of the news article, it was clearly emphasized that the main subject of the membership negotiations between the EU and Turkey was the economic criteria. Thus, the reader's attention was drawn to economic issues in

accordance with the framework in which the news was formatted. Therefore, it is possible to say that these statements conveyed in the introductory paragraph of the news item prepared and guided the reader within the framework in which the text was formatted.

In addition to these, it is understood that a source was utilized in the production phase of the related news article. Accordingly, the news item was produced within the scope of the EU Progress Report published in the period in question. In fact, most of the information conveyed in the news article was based on this report. However, when the report in question is examined, it is seen that it was created with a pro-privatization attitude. This is clearly stated in the economic sections of the report. For example, in the concluding chapter of the report, it is stated that Turkey should make more efforts to restructure and privatize public enterprises. (European Union Progress Commission, 2004, p. 104) Therefore, it is clearly understood that the source used in the production of the news article in question is directly related to the framework in which the text is formatted. In addition, it was observed that all of the quotations made within the scope of the related news report were taken from this report. In fact, almost all of the paragraphs that make up the news report begin with statements such as in the report, according to the report. Of course, this situation shows that the majority of the information conveyed in the news report is quoted from this report and that the news is produced according to this report.

In the concluding paragraph of the news report, *"In the conclusion of the European Union Progress Report, in the economic criteria section, it was requested to accelerate the privatization of state-owned banks and companies, especially Türk Telekom. The report emphasized that sensitivities such as imbalances in the financial sector have been eliminated and the resilience of the Turkish economy against possible shocks has increased significantly. It was emphasized that Turkey will be able to cope with competitive pressures and market forces within the EU as long as stability policies are maintained and steps towards structural reforms continue to be taken."* As can be understood from these statements, the concluding paragraph of the news article cited the EU Progress Report as a source and stated that the privatization practices in Turkey, particularly Türk Telekom, would contribute to the growth and

stability of the country's economy. As a matter of fact, this situation directly reflects the framework in which the news article is formatted. Because through these statements in the conclusion section of the news article, privatization practices are shown as the most important step towards the growth and stability of the Turkish economy. Therefore, it is understood that this section of the news clearly expresses the framework in which the ethnicity is shaped.

Competition and Monopolization Framework

In this section of the study, news articles produced using the framework of competition and monopolization will be analyzed. In this context, a total of 2 news items, 1 from Hürriyet and 1 from Yeni Şafak, will be analyzed.

Analysis 18: In this news article published in Hürriyet on June 26, 2005, it is stated that Türk Telekom has a monopoly in communication services and this situation creates problems in terms of competition in the sector. Moreover, the news article in question does not contain any analysis elements such as photographs, subtitles, graphics, logos and statistics. Therefore, these elements could not be utilized in the analysis of the news article.

Title: "Privatization and Competition Problem"

As can be seen, this title used in the news article in question makes a direct announcement about the frame in which the news is formatted. So much so that these expressions used in the title of the news clearly reveal the framework in which the text is formatted at the title stage. Even when the title is read alone, it leads to a perception that there is a negative impact on competition in SEEs. Therefore, it is clearly understood that a certain ideological meaning is attempted to be produced in the news article in question as early as the title. Moreover, the word "problem" used in the headline is intended to emphasize that SEEs operating in Turkey harm competition. In this context, by creating a negative perception about SEEs through the title, the reader is drawn towards a pro-privatization area at the beginning of the news article.

On the other hand, in the introductory paragraph of the related news article, *"Türk Telekom is finally being privatized. ... Looking at the privatization journey of Türk Telekom, one wonders whether Turkey really wants to privatize. Various problems await the new owner of the company. According to experts, the company needs to make new investments. It is thought that some of the employees should be laid off due to the excess employment in the company"*. As can be seen, in the introduction of the news article, it is clearly understood that the main target of the news article is Türk Telekom. This is because, while the title of the news article uses general expressions to cover all SEEs, the introduction of the text contains more statements directly targeting Türk Telekom. In fact, in the introduction, Türk Telekom is presented as a problematic company that "finally" needs to be privatized. This, of course, leads to a negative perception of Türk Telekom in the minds of the readers. Therefore, it is possible to say that the expressions in the introductory paragraph of the news item in question semantically reinforce and support the framework in which the text is formatted. Moreover, these expressions in the introduction section of the news item prepare the reader perceptually in line with the framework in which the text is formatted and mold them into a certain mold.

In addition to these, it is not possible to say that a specific source was effective in the production phase of the news item. When the news item in question is considered as a whole, it is seen that the information given within the scope of the news item is conveyed without being based on any person or institution. Of course, this situation shows that the news item was shaped according to the ideological position of the newspaper in which it was published. Therefore, it is possible to say that the main source of this news item is the newspaper itself. In fact, the quotations made within the scope of the news also prove this situation. Because the quotations made within the scope of the news report are taken from the statements of the people working within the newspaper itself. For example, in the second paragraph of the news article, Ercan Kumcu, one of the writers of Hürriyet, is quoted as saying *"The privatization of Türk Telekom is not like the privatization of a cement factory. Because in the short and long term, the sale of monopoly rights in a part of the telecommunications sector is in question"*. Moreover, these quotations made within the scope of the news article are given in bold font. This, of course, shows that the quotations in question are intended to be emphasized and the reader's attention is

drawn to these quotations. As a matter of fact, these quotations directly reflect the framework in which the news is formatted.

In the concluding paragraph of the news article, Ercan Kumcu stated that *"The most crucial part of the privatization issue is competition problems. **Türk Telekom is a monopoly in fixed lines.** Long distance telephone service was opened to competition. **Türk Telekom increased prices in the monopoly market.** In the market opened to competition, it lowered prices. There was a kind of makeover. ... In the meantime, in the area opened to competition, it was another matter of not letting rival companies breathe. **As a monopoly in fixed lines, Türk Telekom can do as it pleases for the time being.** Because it is a state-owned enterprise, the **competition authority cannot interfere with Türk Telekom's practices.** But when it is privatized, Türk Telekom will also be under the supervision of the Competition Board. It will not be able to use its monopoly position as it does under the auspices of the state."* As can be understood from these statements, the concluding paragraph of the news article clearly emphasizes that Türk Telekom has a monopoly position, does not allow private companies the chance to compete and acts independently from supervisory mechanisms. In fact, in this section of the news article, Türk Telekom's activities were described as "running a horse". As a matter of fact, the sentences containing these criticisms and accusations against Türk Telekom were given in bold font, thus drawing the reader's attention to these statements. In this context, the news article portrayed Türk Telekom as an organization that uses the state's means to deny other companies in the sector a chance to survive. Of course, this situation has led to the emergence of a negative perception of Türk Telekom within the scope of the news article. Moreover, in the concluding paragraph of the news article, Türk Telekom and the services provided by Türk Telekom are described with negative expressions such as "running the horses" and "not letting them breathe".

Moreover, in the concluding paragraph of the said news article, privatization of Türk Telekom was presented as the only solution to "these problems". The news article claimed that after privatization, Türk Telekom's monopoly position in the sector would end and it would become an auditable institution. However, these claims in the news article do not reflect the reality. Because, contrary to what is claimed in the news article, SEEs in Turkey operate under the control of many supervisory

mechanisms. Accordingly, Article 165 of the Constitution titled "State Economic Enterprises" stipulates that SEEs will be audited by the Turkish Grand National Assembly based on the reports of the SAB and that the principles of this audit will be regulated by law. (Korkut, 2007, p. 12) Therefore, it is possible to say that these criticisms and accusations made against Türk Telekom in the concluding paragraph of the news article are incompatible with reality.

Yeni Şafak

Analysis 19: In this news article published in Yeni Şafak Newspaper on July 14, 2005 with Yılmaz Yıldız's signature, the statements made at the press conference organized by the Free Telecommunication Operators Association (TELKODER), which was established by private companies operating in the telecommunication sector in Turkey, are included. Accordingly, in the news article in question, the persons and institutions that are members of TELKODER criticize Türk Telekom in terms of monopolization and competition. In addition, there are no analysis elements such as sub-headings, logos, graphics and statistics in the news article. Therefore, these elements were not utilized in the analysis of the news article.

Title: "Telecom Monopoly Crushes the Smalls"

As can be seen, these expressions in the headline in question make a direct announcement about the framework in which the news item is formatted. In fact, in the headline, it is stated that Türk Telekom is a monopoly in the communication sector and due to this characteristic, it does not give other companies in the sector a chance to compete. As a matter of fact, this situation has led to the emergence of a negative perception about Türk Telekom at the beginning of the news article. Thus, the reader is directed in line with the framework in which the text is formatted in the title of the news article. In this context, it is possible to say that the headline used in the news article in question is compatible with the frame in which the text is formatted in terms of language and expression features. Moreover, through these expressions in the title of the news item, the frame in which the news item is formatted is clearly emphasized.

On the other hand, one photograph was used in the news article in question. (Image 10) In this photograph, officials of TELKODER member institutions are shown making a statement. In this context, it is understood that the photograph in question was used to increase the credibility of the news article. This is because this news article was produced in line with the statements of the persons and organizations in the photograph in question. Therefore, by including the photographs of these individuals and organizations in the news article, the credibility of the allegations made in the news article is intended to be supported by visual elements. In addition, under the photograph in question, the statement *"Telecom associations of private enterprises that came together after the privatization of Türk Telekom drew attention to the monopoly in the telecommunications sector"* was included. Thus, the people in the photograph used in the news article were made to speak. This made the visual elements in the news article more dynamic within the news text.



Figure. 12: Yeni Şafak Newspaper Article dated July 14, 2005

In addition to these, the introductory paragraph of the said news article states that *"Telecom associations established by private enterprises operating in the telecommunications sector, which was under the monopoly of Türk Telekom, came together to evaluate the future of the sector following the privatization of TT. The meeting held at Ceylan Hotel was attended by the executives of the Free Telecommunications Operators Association (TELKODER) and officials of many companies operating in the sector"*. As can be understood from this statement, the opening paragraph of the news article in question emphasizes in the very first sentence that Türk Telekom has a monopoly position in the telecommunications sector. As a matter of fact, this situation shows that the allegations made in the title of the news article are continued in the introductory paragraph of the news article. In other words, the allegations in the headline are carried into the text through these

statements in the opening paragraph of the news article. Furthermore, in the relevant paragraph, some information is provided about the associations and their officials who attended the meeting. Accordingly, it is stated that the people and institutions attending the meeting in question were officials of companies operating in the telecommunications sector, thus creating a perception that these people are experts on the subject. This, of course, has led to a positive perception of these people in the minds of the readers. Therefore, it is possible to say that these statements in the introductory paragraph of the news article in question support the framework in which the text is formatted, albeit indirectly.

As mentioned above, only one source was influential in the production of the news item in question. Accordingly, the news item in question was based on statements made at a meeting organized by TELKODER. However, the persons and organizations that participated in this meeting, which is the sole source of the news, acknowledge in advance that Türk Telekom is a monopoly and that it harms competition in the sector. Moreover, TELKODER, the organizer of the meeting in question, is an association established against Türk Telekom. Therefore, it is not possible to speak of the impartiality of the members of this association and the statements made by them.

In addition, the news article in question contains many quotations. However, the common feature of these quotations is that they are sentences taken from the statements of TELKODER members and organizations. In fact, in almost all sections of the news article, the information provided is quoted from the statements made by these individuals and organizations. For example, almost the entire second paragraph of the news article is based on the statements of Yusuf Ata Ariak, the then TELKODER President. In this context, it is possible to say that the quotations made in the news article in question were selected from individuals and institutions in accordance with the framework in which the news article was formatted. When the quotations in the news article are examined, it is seen that the statements of anti-privatization individuals and institutions are not included in any part of the text. Of course, this situation makes certain announcements about the ideological framework that is effective in the production phase of the news article in question.

In addition to these, in the concluding paragraph of the news article, "Ahmet Erkman, President of All Internet Association (TİD-TİA), underlined that no monopoly will give up its position and called the government to duty. Internet Technologies Association (İNET-İTA) Mustafa Akgül stated that local internet and telecom companies have become unable to provide services due to TT's obstacles. Consumers Union General President Av. Bülent Deniz emphasized that consumers are forced to pay for expensive and poor quality services due to TT's monopoly." As can be seen, the concluding section of the news article includes the statements made by the officials of the organizations participating in the meeting in question. The common feature of these statements is that they emphasize that Türk Telekom is a monopoly and that this situation has a negative impact on the sector. In fact, through these statements, a perception has been created that Türk Telekom is destroying other companies operating in the sector and that this situation reduces the quality of service. Therefore, these statements in the conclusion section of the news article prove that the news article was produced with a pro-privatization attitude. In this context, it is possible to say that these statements fully reflect the framework in which the text was formatted.

5. CONCLUSION

As is well known, the 1980s are the years when the economic transformation in the world gained momentum. In this period, Keynesian economic policies were abandoned under the pressure of countries led by the UK and the US, and a new period dominated by neoliberal economic policies was entered. Accordingly, in this period, concepts such as deregulation and liberalization were brought to the fore and economic policies around the world were reshaped within the scope of neoliberalism.

With the January 24, 1980 economic decisions, the economic system in Turkey was also reshaped in line with neoliberal policies. However, the political actors in power during this period could not put these decisions into practice because they were afraid of the negative effects of the January 24th Decisions on society. However, after the September 12, 1980 coup d'état, these decisions were rapidly put into practice and the political, economic and social structure in Turkey was subjected to a major transformation. In this context, the first objective was to reduce the effectiveness of the state in the economic sphere and it was emphasized that SEEs should be privatized in a timely manner. Accordingly, from this period onwards, a major campaign was launched to sell public enterprises in Turkey to domestic and foreign capital. The most important component of this state-led campaign was the media.

After 1980, the media was one of the most rapidly transformed sectors in Turkey. The media sector is the area in which the economic, political, social and technological transformation that started in Turkey during this period is most evident. As a result of this transformation after 1980, the media in Turkey has become industrialized, conglomerated and a large sector. Of course, these developments in the media were also reflected in the discourse of media organizations. After 1980, privatization policies were presented in Turkish media outlets as an "inevitable fate" of economic growth with extraordinary benefits for the national economy. Moreover, this narrative of inevitability regarding privatization policies was easily established

and kept in circulation through the meaning production of the major media organizations of the period. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 301)

In this context, this study examines the way in which an issue such as privatization, which creates tension in the socio-political sphere, is covered in newspaper news and its presentation in these news based on critical communication theories. This study aims to make visible the invisible links between social structure and meanings through privatization news. From this point of view, the main subject of this study is to reveal the strategies of production of meanings created in the newspaper news on the privatization of Türk Telekom. As a matter of fact, the point of departure for the analysis of this issue was found within critical media theories. critical media theories carry the possibilities of accessing a holistic perspective between communication, media and meaning. critical media approaches examine the content in the media according to the ownership and ownership structure of the media outlet, the relations between political powers and the media outlet, and the dynamics of the capitalist economy, which is the main element determining these relations. In this context, it is possible to say that the main purpose of critical media approaches, which have their roots in Marxist theory, is to draw attention to the nature of the media, in which the dominant forces in society and the ideology that dominates these forces are presented as a social reality. (Dursun Ç. , 2014, p. 303) Therefore, the news analyzed in this study, which was written with a similar approach, was analyzed within the framework of critical media approaches.

From this point of view, it is possible to say that the constitutional rights of individuals or institutions opposing the privatization of Türk Telekom are ignored in the news reports examined in this study. In fact, in the news items examined in this study, there was no mention of the fact that some social reactions to the privatization of a large-scale and strategic institution such as Türk Telekom would be normal both economically and sociologically, and that protests and demonstrations should therefore be considered within the scope of constitutional rights. Moreover, it is possible to say that in these news reports, people who opposed the privatization of Telekom were portrayed as negative figures without any evidence. In fact, in some of the news reports on this issue, people who objected to this tender by exercising their constitutional rights over a tender that was annulled by the Constitutional Court on the

grounds that it was "against the law" and would "cause irreparable damages" were harshly criticized and tried to be "criminalized" by associating them with bombings without any evidence.

On the other hand, some of the news items analyzed within the scope of the study criticized people working at SEEs, particularly Türk Telekom. In this context, in the news items in question, the employees of SEEs were portrayed as people who "earn a salary from where they sleep" and it was indirectly and directly emphasized that this was the main reason for their opposition to privatization. However, in these news items about the privatization of Türk Telekom, there is no explanation as to why SEE employees, who are the main subject of the news item, oppose this privatization practice. Moreover, the news reports in question emphasized the views of the circles supporting the privatization of Türk Telekom, thus presenting the pro-privatization supporters as "positive" figures and the opponents of privatization as "negative" figures. As a matter of fact, this situation shows that the circles opposing the privatization of Türk Telekom are ignored and presented as negative figures in these news reports. Moreover, in these news articles, which are generally based on the statements of pro-privatization circles, it is clearly understood that social consent for the privatization of Türk Telekom is tried to be established through the criticisms made against anti-privatization individuals or institutions.

As mentioned in the previous sections, one of the most commonly used frames in the news reports on the privatization of Türk Telekom is the frame that emphasizes the revenue to be obtained from the sale of Türk Telekom. In the news items produced within this frame, it was generally emphasized that the privatization of Türk Telekom would not cause any problems and that a large amount of revenue would be generated from this privatization. Thus, an attempt was made to establish a perception in the minds of the readers that the privatization was both profitable and problem-free. However, this information provided in these news reports is highly questionable in terms of reliability. Because, as a result of the examinations made, it has been understood that most of the information provided in the relevant news reports has been quoted without citing any sources. In the information that was cited, either ambiguous expressions such as "sector analysts" were used or statements made by pro-privatization figures were included. This, of course, has rendered the reliability of

the information conveyed in these news reports questionable. Undoubtedly, the most important reason for the emergence of such a situation is that these news reports were produced in line with the discourses of individuals or institutions in favor of the privatization of Türk Telekom.

The other most frequently used frame in the news articles analyzed in this study was the foreign capital and foreign currency inflow frame. In this context, it is possible to say that the news items analyzed in this study attempted to establish a relationship between the sale of Türk Telekom and the inflow of foreign capital to Turkey. In the news articles using this frame, a strong emphasis was placed on the fact that the sale of Türk Telekom would "increase Turkey's prestige" in the world and that foreign capital would flock to the country after this sale. This perception was supported by the sources cited in the texts of the news articles. However, all of these sources were pro-privatization individuals and institutions. Of course, this situation has brought along some problems. Because the selection of the sources used in the news produced within this framework from ideologically pro-privatization individuals or institutions has cast a shadow on the principle of impartiality of the news. Moreover, this situation has emerged as the most important obstacle to the inclusion of the views of anti-privatization circles in the news texts. Moreover, in these news articles, which were shaped within the framework of foreign capital and foreign currency inflow, it was observed that similar claims were repeated with similar sentences in a "consistent" manner. Undoubtedly, there is a reason for this situation. Accordingly, through this technique used in the narration of the news, the meaning and perception hidden in the news content was constantly directed and managed in line with a certain ideological framework. As a matter of fact, Callamari and Reveron explain perception management in news through repetition as follows. Accordingly, perception management in news texts generally consists of 4 stages. First, the attention of the reader/viewer is drawn towards a certain direction. Then, the reader/viewer is presented with information appropriate to the ideological meaning that is intended to be conveyed through the news. In the third stage, this information is made consistent with the social, political and cultural perceptions of the reader/viewer. In the fourth and final stage, this information, which carries the ideological meaning of the news, needs to be repeated in various parts of the text in order for it to remain in the same position. (Callamari & Reveron, 2003, p. 2) In this

context, a similar perception management was carried out in these news articles in line with the framework in which the text was formatted. The language and narrative features used in the news texts are clear evidence of this situation.

On the other hand, in the news items produced within the framework of profitability and efficiency, which is one of the most used frames in the news items published during the privatization process of Türk Telekom, it was emphasized that it was not possible to increase the profitability and efficiency of SEEs and it was argued that these companies should be privatized "as soon as possible". However, these news articles, which aimed to increase public support for privatization policies and to create a positive perception of privatization, were written as propaganda articles in terms of quality. Indeed, the news articles published within this framework exhibited the characteristics of propaganda articles in terms of both the language used and the way the news was constructed. In fact, in these news articles, many arguments of unknown origin and accuracy were used to reinforce the positive opinions about privatization practices. The most important of these arguments was that the SEEs in question were constantly making losses and not working efficiently. Moreover, the news reports produced within this framework emphasized that Türk Telekom should definitely be privatized in order to increase its profitability and efficiency. However, contrary to what was claimed in the news reports, before Türk Telekom was privatized;

- It is one of the rare telecom operators in the world that does not use foreign and domestic loans, has no debt and is content with its own resources.
- It has Social Security Institution and tax debts.
- It is the SEE that paid the highest corporate tax in 2000, 2002, 2003 and 2004.
- In 2004, its turnover was 9 quadrillion liras (9 billion TL), gross profit was 3.3 quadrillion liras (3.3 billion TL) and net profit was 2.2 quadrillion liras (2.2 billion TL)

(Tekbudak, 2018, p. 10).

As it can be seen from these data, contrary to the negative perception that is tried to be created about Türk Telekom's profitability and efficiency through these

news reports, Türk Telekom was a highly profitable and efficient company even before its privatization. Therefore, it is possible to say that the news reports in question are the product of certain ideological concerns and are limited to a certain news frame shaped around this ideology. On the other hand, another striking element in the news items produced within the framework of profitability and efficiency is the emphasis on Türk Telekom as an inefficient, cumbersome, stagnant and poorly managed company. In fact, in many news items produced within the framework of profitability and efficiency, Türk Telekom was portrayed as an inefficient company from the title to the conclusion of the text, thus causing negative thoughts about Türk Telekom to emerge in the minds of the readers. As a matter of fact, with this perception created in the news article in question, propaganda was made in various parts of the news texts that Türk Telekom should be privatized as soon as possible.

In addition to these, within the scope of the corruption frame, which is another frame frequently used in the news reports on the privatization of Türk Telekom, a perception was created that SEEs in Turkey, especially Türk Telekom, are the center of corruption in the state. However, these allegations were not based on any concrete evidence or documents. Only one news article included a quote supposedly attributed to former president İsmet İnönü, but no source was cited for the authenticity of this quote. Moreover, a similar narrative was observed in all news items produced within this framework. Therefore, in these news reports produced within the context of the news frame in question, question marks have been raised about the authenticity of these allegations about Türk Telekom and other SEEs. As a matter of fact, this technique and framework used in these news articles caused the news to move away from being scientific and became objectionable in terms of journalistic ethics.

In addition, some of the expressions used in these news reports are completely contrary to the principle of impartiality of the news. Accordingly, in some of the news items produced within this framework, expressions such as "farm", "barley field" and "hunchback" were used to create a perception that anti-privatization individuals or institutions support corruption in the state. Of course, this perception created through such news articles puts the opponents of privatization under suspicion. It is as if the people or institutions opposing the privatization of these companies, which are alleged to have become "farms" or "stables" in terms of corruption, want to take

advantage of this situation. However, none of the individuals or institutions opposing the privatization of these companies have ever benefited from SEEs or been involved in allegations of corruption in any SEE. Therefore, it is clearly understood that the news reports in question take a totalistic view of the opponents of privatization and accuse them of corruption in this context.

On the other hand, in the news articles produced in line with the economic growth and stability framework used in the news articles analyzed in this study, it was emphasized that there was a cause and effect interaction between the economic developments in Turkey and privatization policies. In fact, the news articles produced within this framework were shaped within this narrative framework with all their elements from the title to the conclusion paragraph. Moreover, these claims were based on the statements of international financial circles and capital groups. Accordingly, in these news articles, which were produced within the framework of economic growth and stability, statements made by international financial circles such as the EU, IMF and WB were included and it was emphasized that privatization policies would be an important actor in the growth of the Turkish economy. In other words, almost all the claims put forward in the related news articles actually reflect the perceptions and opinions of foreign financial circles towards privatization practices in Turkey. For example, in a news article published in Yeni Şafak Newspaper within this framework, all the claims and information put forward in the news text are quoted from the EU Progress Report published in 2004. However, when this report, which is the main source of the news article, is examined, it is seen that almost all of the economic section of the report is devoted to privatization policies. As a matter of fact, it was observed that the term "privatization" was used 33 times and "Türk Telekom" 10 times in the economic section of the report. This, of course, casts doubt on the objectivity and accuracy of the claims made in these news reports. This is because the opinions and statements of the anti-privatization circles were not included in these news reports in any way and these circles were ignored. Therefore, it is possible to say that the main purpose of these allegations in these news reports is not to contribute to the growth and stability of the Turkish economy, but to create a positive perception in the minds of the readers about the privatization of Türk Telekom.

The last frame used in the news articles analyzed in this study was the competition and monopolization frame. Accordingly, just like the other news items analyzed, it was observed that the news items produced within the scope of this news frame were also produced through a certain ideological construction process. In fact, in these news items produced within the scope of the news frame in question, it was emphasized that it was a necessity to reduce the effectiveness of the state in the economic sphere and for this reason, it was argued that SEEs should be privatized. In this context, in these news items produced within the scope of the frame in question, it was emphasized that SEEs held by the state were monopolies and had a negative impact on competition in the market. Privatization was presented as the only solution to this situation.

It is clearly understood that this news article was produced within a certain ideological framework. The language and narrative features used in the news article show that the news article was produced within the framework of a pro-privatization ideology. In fact, from the title to the conclusion, Türk Telekom is criticized in terms of competition and monopolization. It is emphasized that the only solution to this situation is the privatization of Türk Telekom. Therefore, it is possible to say that this news article is in complete harmony with the framework in which the text is formatted. Of course, this situation has led to a negative perception of Türk Telekom in the reader's mind and directed the reader towards a pro-privatization area. Accordingly, it is possible to say that this news item was produced within a certain ideological framework. Moreover, in almost all sections of the news articles in question, the propaganda of the framework in which the text was formatted was clearly made.

Based on all these considerations, it is seen that the news items published in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers between October 1, 2004 and August 31, 2005 almost completely reflect the claims that form the hypothesis of the study. In fact, the majority of the news articles in question supported almost all privatization practices carried out in the country at that time, especially Türk Telekom. In fact, 24 out of 308 news items about the privatization of Türk Telekom in the newspapers examined in the period in question can be considered as "anti-privatization" news. This means that only 7% of the news items about Türk Telekom consisted of anti-

privatization news. Moreover, in the majority of these anti-privatization news items, privatization practices were criticized, not the privatization concept. In other words, even in the news items that were considered anti-privatization, the reasons why Türk Telekom was privatized were not criticized, but only the problems that occurred during the privatization process and the value assigned to the company were criticized. As a matter of fact, this situation shows that the news articles published in the newspapers in question were not actually against privatization practices, but only expressed the "setbacks" that occurred during the privatization process.

It was also observed that the majority of the news items published in the newspapers in question were in support of the privatization of Türk Telekom. In fact, in these news articles, the privatization of Türk Telekom was supported by using a total of 7 different frames. Almost all of these frames emphasized the economic benefits of privatization. As a matter of fact, in Turkey, which had recently experienced a major economic crisis (2001 Crisis), the fact that such a large privatization was carried out and the income to be obtained from this privatization was constantly emphasized reduced the public's reactions to the privatization of Türk Telekom. It is possible to consider it as a natural reflex for a society that had experienced great difficulties in every aspect during the great economic depression of 2001 to display such an attitude towards a privatization practice that was stated in the news reports to be of "great benefit" to the national economy. Moreover, the most frequently used frames in the news reports in question were the "Framework of Income from the Sale of TT and the Framework of Foreign Capital and Foreign Exchange Inflow".

As can be seen from this, the privatization of Türk Telekom was explicitly supported in these news reports. In fact, news frames created in the context of the thesis that the sale of Türk Telekom would benefit the national economy were frequently used in these news reports, and social consent was produced for the privatization of Türk Telekom through news reports shaped within these frames. In this context, it is possible to point to these pro-privatization news reports in the media as the main reason why there was no major social reaction against the privatization of Türk Telekom during the period in question.

In addition to these, the newspapers in which the news items analyzed in this study were published are also very important. Because, as seen above, these news reports on the privatization of Türk Telekom were taken from newspapers positioned at different parts of the political spectrum. However, as a result of the analysis, it was clearly understood that these news items were not affected by the political preferences of the newspapers. In fact, during the period in question, there was almost no difference between the news items published in Hürriyet Newspaper, which appeals to the secular/secular masses of the society and is known to be anti-government, and the news items published in Yeni Şafak Newspaper, which is pro-government and has a political Islamist line. Moreover, the news frames, themes, language and narrative features used in these news items published in these newspapers are almost identical. Of course, this clearly shows that the vast majority of media outlets operating in Turkey, regardless of their political identities, support the privatization of Türk Telekom.

On the other hand, developments in the world and in Turkey after 1980 led to a change in the ownership structure of media outlets. In fact, in this process that started in the 1980s, large capital owners operating in non-media sectors expanded their investments into the media sector. Thus, the traditional media ownership approach was replaced by a new media ownership approach dominated by capital groups in non-media sectors. This has made the media sector one of the new favorite markets of the capitalist world. (Sönmez, 2004, p. 108) Thus, the media, whose primary purpose is to inform and educate the public, has become the mouthpiece of capital.

These post-1980 developments have also greatly affected the news content on privatization. Especially after 1990, when the media sector left the state control, the content of privatization news in the media organs changed completely. In fact, privatization practices in the Turkish media, which is owned by large capital groups, have started to be presented as a measure of economic growth and efficiency and improvement of public services. Of course, the most important reason for this situation is that the individuals and institutions that own the media organs are customers or parties in these privatization practices. Moreover, as we have already mentioned, a careful examination of privatizations in Turkey reveals that in the vast

majority of these privatizations, companies operating in the media were the buyers. As a matter of fact, this situation has led to the production of privatization news in the media according to the ideology and economic interests of large capital groups and to the ignoring of the rights of citizens and laborers. (Şen & Avşar, 2012, p. 56)

Considering all these issues, in the news articles published in Hürriyet, Sabah and Yeni Şafak newspapers between 1 October 2004 and 31 August 2005 on the privatization of Türk Telekom;

- 1) Privatization was emphasized as an inevitable and universal economic policy to solve the structural problems of the Turkish economy.
- 2) Privatization practices were presented as a scientific reality.
- 3) It was stated that the privatization of Türk Telekom was long overdue and that this delay was detrimental to the national economy.
- 4) Numerical elements such as graphs, statistics and expert opinions were used to rationalize all privatization practices, especially Türk Telekom.
- 5) People and institutions opposing privatization are portrayed as authoritarian, totalitarian and anti-democratic.
- 6) The structural defects of SEEs were mentioned and it was emphasized that this situation harms the economy.
- 7) It was alleged that large-scale corruption was taking place in SEEs and it was argued that the solution was to rapidly privatize these companies.
- 8) Through the metaphors used (shackles, hunchback, farm, etc.), a negative perception of SEEs was created and it was stated that the symbolic tool to get rid of this situation was privatization practices.
- 9) SEEs were shown as the cause of political and economic corruption in Turkey.
- 10) Privatizations were presented as the shortest way to integrate into the world economic system and to integrate with international economic circles.

As can be seen, the privatization of Türk Telekom has emerged as an issue closely followed by the Turkish print media. However, when an evaluation is made in

the context of the above-mentioned issues, it is understood that the print media in Turkey did not remain in an impartial position during the privatization process of Türk Telekom; on the contrary, it made efforts for the privatization to take place. Moreover, the news articles published during the privatization process of Türk Telekom and analyzed in this study are clear evidence of this situation. Indeed, in the news reports about the privatization of Türk Telekom in the Turkish print media, regardless of the political identity and capital structure of the newspaper, a pro-privatization attitude was displayed and privatization policies were supported in this direction. Of course, this is a result of the neoliberal evolution of the media sector in Turkey since the 1980s. Developments in the media sector after the 1980s transformed the media into a major industry and paved the way for media companies to operate in many different sectors ranging from energy to food. Thus, media organizations, whose primary duty is to inform and educate the public, have abandoned this duty and started to act and broadcast in line with the interests of the capital groups to which they are affiliated. The relationship between privatization and the media has been shaped precisely in this direction. Indeed, especially since the early 1990s, the most important buyers of privatization tenders in Turkey have been companies operating in the media sector. This situation led to biased news reports on privatization policies and undermined the principle of impartiality and credibility of the media.

On the other hand, this study, which reveals the relationship between privatization policies and the media based on the news reports published during the privatization process of Türk Telekom, is important for future studies on the triangle of media, economy and politics. In this study, the framing analysis method, which is a method that is rarely used in media research in Turkey, was used. Therefore, this study may be useful for researchers who want to use the framing analysis method in media research. In addition, in this study, where quantitative and qualitative research methods were used relatively together, the example of Türk Telekom was used to determine the relationship between media and privatization policies. However, this study can also be conducted for other privatized SEEs other than Türk Telekom. In addition, a similar study can be conducted to show the change in broadcasting policies of companies operating in the media sector after they are included as buyers in privatization practices.

In this context, the above-mentioned conclusions and recommendations have been reached according to the findings obtained in this study. However, more conclusions and recommendations can be reached by using different methods and techniques. Changing or increasing the sample, asking new questions, evaluating the relationship between media and privatization practices from a different perspective will lead to new results and recommendations.



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