A STUDY ON STATES USE OF MEDIA TOOL WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF ‘PROPAGANDA AND SOFT POWER’: TRT ARABIC CASE

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PROPAGANDA'DAN 'YUMUŞAK GÜÇ'E' DEVLETİN MEDYA AYGİTİNİ KULLANMASI TRT ARAPÇA ÖRNEĞİ

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ABSTRACT

States are in competition with each others for their benefits and purposes. Globalization and development in communication technology cause a necessity that governments should assure their societies when they want to make a decision. This study analyses governments how to use media as a soft power. States used to use propaganda as a tool for manipulating each other’s public opinion which nowadays is replaced by public diplomacy and soft power. Since the study was conducted under the soft power subject, the channels use for public diplomacy activities were discussed. Secondary sources were also used because of the limited number of academic studies available on these channels. In this context, the United States’ Al-Hurra, Britain's BBC Arabic, France's France 24, Iran's Al-Alem, Russia's RT Arabic, and TRT's Arabic channel which is the main sample of the research, were examined comparatively. Outlines of the research is comprised of the purposes of non-Arabic countries in making these publications, how they prepare the contents of the publications and the reflections of the countries' foreign policies in their works.

Key Words: International Broadcasting, Soft Power, Media, Middle East
Devletler uluslararası alanda çeşitli konularda, çıkar ve amaçları için birbirleriyle rekabet halindedirler. İletişim teknolojilerindeki gelişmeler ve küreselleşme, devletlerin veya yönetimlerin yürütüğü politikalarındaki karar alma süreçlerine kendi kamuoyuyla beraber bu politikalardan etkilenen ülkelerdeki toplumları da ikna etme gerekliliğini ortaya çıkardı. Propaganda, yoğun olarak ülkelerin birbirlerinin kamuoylarını etkileme aracı olarak kullanıyordu fakat günümüzde kamu diplomasisi ve yumuşak güç bunun yerini aldı.


Anahtar kelimeler: Uluslararası Yayıncılık, Yumuşak Güç, Medya, Ortadoğu
INTRODUCTION

RESEARCH PROBLEM

Broadcasting industry have had numerous innovations although it has not changed the source-message-channel factors a lot since the invention of television. At first, weak terrestrial TV transmitting antennas were used to broadcast a limited area but today, it is possible to cover every corner in the world with satellites, cable TV and digital transmission systems. In addition, number of channels have increased dramatically and they started to determine the contents of their programs based on its subject. Television channels who initially put raw footage and slices of life on air turned into platforms who stream in various fields such as news, cinema and programs for children. Today, every country in the world has television broadcasts and media giants have gone beyond borders and opened their contents to the international arena. In the past, TV channels were only broadcast by state funding and control, but today they are largely in the hands of the private sector. State channels, on the other hand, carry out broadcasting activities under the name of public broadcasting, either under state control, autonomous or semi-independent. These services are actively used by governments in the process of influencing the public opinions of foreign countries. Television channels which are considered as public diplomacy tools were established in this context. In this study, we will discuss the channels that broadcast in foreign languages with government support. In this context, we will study TRT Arabic, which is one of the foreign broadcasting channels in Turkey.

To sum up, the question of this research is: What are the possibilities and limits of TRT Arabic channel as a Turkey's public diplomacy tool towards the Middle East
and where does it stand when compared to the channels of other countries broadcasting in the same way?

**SCOPE AND AIM OF RESEARCH**

Television channels broadcasting in foreign languages are very diverse in terms of both content and number of languages. Especially the fact that English is the most spoken language in the World and it would widen the scope of this research too much, the research is limited to only the Arabic channels. The utilization of domestic and foreign literature during the information collection phase, the review of the doctoral and master thesis prepared in the subject, national and international books, interviews with various experts and examination of internet and periodicals are used within the boundaries of the research methodology. Since the study was conducted under the soft power subject, the channels use for public diplomacy activities were discussed. Secondary sources were also used because of the limited number of academic studies available on these channels. In this context, the United States’ Al-Hurra, Britain's BBC Arabic, France's France 24, Iran's Al-Alem, Russia's RT Arabic, and TRT's Arabic channel which is the main sample of the research, were examined comparatively. Outlines of the research is comprised of the purposes of non-Arabic countries in making these publications, how they prepare the contents of the publications and the reflections of the countries’ foreign policies in their works. TRT Arabic channel is especially discussed in a separate chapter. The organization, its objectives, programs and news flows of the channel have been evaluated as one of the instruments of Turkey's policy toward the Middle East.

Turkey's recently increased efficiency in the Middle East has been evaluated in the context of soft power. From this point of view, Turkey is in a different position than other countries broadcasting in Arabic for the Middle Eastern audience. Ibrahim Kalin, who played an active role in the establishment of the Coordination Office of
the Public Diplomacy, stated that "Turkey's potential soft power stems from the depth of history and culture that Turkey has inherited, rather than military power or technological superiority. The values, historical accumulation and cultural depth that Turkey represents in this region, enable the dynamics of mobilization on the one hand and provide new fields of interaction to emerge on the other." (Kalın 2010). Turkish administrators' purpose of emphasizing the coexistence of Arab countries with the common history is Turkey's will to use this potential. Compared to other countries, it is clear that Turkey has closer links with the countries of the Middle East. The aim of this research is to show that to what extent TRT Arabic uses its advantageous position among other channels who broadcast in a foreign language in shaping its broadcasting policy that is used by central countries to affect surrounding countries in their sphere of influence. Target population of the study includes seven different TV channels. These channels are followed systematically by ethnographic method. Programs, news and digital broadcasts are discussed separately in order to gather data and determine broadcasting policy. Content analysis of news and programs has been done comparatively. In Istanbul, Amman and Tunis offices, managers, producers and correspondents were interviewed intimately. All programs are classified regarding their numbers, topics, contents, types - being live-studio or actual. Information is classified after merging all datas and interviews.

**CONTENT OF RESEARCH**

The relationship between the state and the media from the past to this day will be discussed and exemplified along with the development of communication technologies in this work titled "The State's Use of Media, From Propaganda to Soft Power".
In the first chapter, concepts such as state, propaganda, public diplomacy, soft power will be explained under the heading of concepts. In the second part, we will determine the significance of mass media in the history of communication and examine how they are used by states with the advent technological developments. At the same time, we will investigate the foundation of today's communication technologies, examine our press history that began with the Tanzimat period in the Ottoman Empire, and examine how the concept of propaganda has changed and how it is used in international relations. We will refer to the establishment of public and private publishing during Tanzimat period and to the efforts to counter the increasing anti-Ottoman publications in Europe. We will examine the impact of innovations brought by radio and television to communication, states' effort to influence other countries' public opinions during the course of globalization and we will find out that state administrations focused their powers on propaganda production during the first and second world wars where the propaganda reached the peak of its power.

In the third part, with regards to our example, we will examine the television channels created in the context of states collecting their efforts to influence other countries' public opinions under the name of public diplomacy and soft power with the globalization process. All the TV channels examined in this study are used in their country as a tool of public diplomacy operations. Broadcasting in Arabic language throughout the Middle East is an important factor of operating their foreign policy directly. It is observed that channels produce contents key to their countries’ historical hinterland.

Channels determine their broadcasting policy regarding their

- Historical relations
- Foreign Policy
- Public diplomacy and soft power operations

While France 24 and BBC Arabic focus on their countries’ colonial regions, main focus of Al-Hurra channel which is American is on Iraq and main focus of TRT Al Arabiyya is on Syria and Yemen. While France 24 broadcasting is more
concentrated on North African countries (Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria). BBC broadcasting is concentrated on Egypt and Sudan, also preferring newsreaders from these countries. On the other hand, it seems that Al Hurra channel is trying to break the negative American image in Iraq by programs and broadcasting in Arabic language. RT channel broadcasting is key to its country’s presence in Syria and foreign policy for Yemen.

Finally, we will examine the TRT Arabic channel after referring to the actions of Turkey in this area. We will evaluate TRT Arabic's television structure, publishing understanding, news and programs which are based on the effective use of Turkey's soft power, and how it works as a public diplomacy activity in Turkey's proactive foreign policy towards the Middle East.
CHAPTER 1

1.1 PROPAGANDA

Propaganda was previously defined in various forms. Propaganda is an originally Latin word which is "propogane", means that a sprout is planted in the soil so that it provides new plants. Oxford dictionary defines it as supporting or envisioning a doctrin or an action. (Özsoy 6) According to Domenach, the word propaganda was used by the papacy to spread the Catholic religion. This word was first used by secular figures outside the clergy at the end of the eighteenth century, but by its very nature it was still used for religious subjects. (Domenach 10)

We can take the propaganda word as a process of convincing a society and using certain tools for the formation of an incident. Propaganda emerges as an interaction process in the science of communication. Propaganda as a result of social interaction is the expression of the messages that individuals receive from their environment and the orientation of these messages. Propaganda can be defined as behaviors aiming to change the attitudes, behaviors and beliefs of people consciously, with a certain aim; and when viewed from the point of view of communication, can also be defined as the type of convincing communication used in the transmission of ideas in religious, intellectual, social and political spheres. In other words, propaganda is promotional, advertising, influencing and directing activities of the political parties in order to win the public favor and thus to increase the voting rate or to only win the election. (Güz 286)

Based on the development of communicational technologies, it is possible to break the history of propaganda into two periods: It began with Greek City-States and continued with the Roman Empire. In Rome, propaganda has been implemented in a more systematic and planned manner. Propaganda, which was used mostly to excite people in the arena and to provide support for a certain side has been very effective on people. Political influence of orators like Cicéron has reached an advanced level in this period. Emperor Neron founded an organization of five
thousand people for this purpose and used this organization in order to provide effective support for the slaughter of Christians. In addition, the influence of ancient Greek civilization on Roman civilization has become another propaganda technique used to appeal to the public. There was also an organized and centralized news retrieval system in the Roman Empire, and an advertising system for commercial use. (Özsoy 24)

Until the emergence of written press in Europe various propaganda tools were used. Propaganda has become more effective and lasting with printed press. The power to create public opinion in mass media such as newspapers and magazines has only begun in the 18th century. The importance of the newspapers on the basis of the French revolution can not be denied. At the same time, even a commander with a great military power like Napoleon saw the power of the newspapers, and he ordered the publication of a newspaper for propaganda purposes and said, "Four enemy newspapers can do more harm than a hundred thousand people.” Propaganda's domain and power are increasing in direct proportion to the development of communication technologies. Reaching more people can be achieved through communication tools.

On the other hand, we can also call propaganda for one person speaking to another for the purpose of persuasion, as well as systematic efforts to influence the beliefs, attitudes, or actions of individuals or groups, through the use of symbols to spread real, semi-real or false information to influence public opinion. (Özsoy 7) All these definitions show us that propaganda and communication are connected in most ways. Even if we take into account the details of a specific purpose for propaganda, it can be included in the context of a certain or ambiguous purpose. So, if we read through source-message-channel factors, it seems hard to see the difference of propaganda in communication. Nevertheless, it seems difficult for us to consider communication as intentional behavioral change or action to get the desired response, by taking the negative effect of the propaganda word on us.
Radio is the first revolutionary device in mass communication. Looking at the history of the radio, the following main functions and objectives can be considered:

1. Used by governments to adopt, disseminate or reinforce their own ideologies in the national or international arena.
2. Used for education in many countries, especially in third world countries.
3. Used for the marketing of entertainment and private sector products.
4. Used to inform and raise awareness of the freedom and independence from repressive regimes like in Greece and in the independence wars such as in the case of Algeria.
5. To publicize the voices of communities with different identities who search for their rights.
6. Nowadays, thanks to the facilities provided by the internet, people can easily set up radio and use them to express themselves. (Kuruoğlu 26)

The invention of the radio and the telegraph spread all over the world have shortened distances. According to Joseph Nye, there has been no great change in the speed of communication between Europe and America since a hundred years. Change is an extension of communication and increasing the scope of data links. Network and data growth required military priorities in the use of communication technologies. Later on, military use left its place to civilian and especially commercial use. A century ago, the emergence of mass media and publishing in real terms (thanks to the cheap electricity beginning to be used at that time who accelerated the process) gave us some ideas about the possible social and political effects of development today. Roosevelt's use of radio has caused a major change in US politics in the 1930s. These effects can be mentioned in countries where they have become more powerful, especially with the emergence of totalitarian governments that suppress rival sources of information. (J. S. Nye 63). In times of war, Germans broadcasting English, English broadcasting German and Arabic and Russians broadcasting German on the radio shows us that they want to direct and influence the ways of thinking of other societies friend or foe. Goebbels, one of Hitler's deputies and one of the most specialized propaganda practitioners in
history, said in their own memory that "according to what the English war prisoners say, the propaganda of ours is much more prosperous than what we envision on England. The British also have given much notice to the news rather than the discussions. The program of radio broadcasts we have made to the UK will be changed to the news so that the emphasis will be taken from the extent of the discussions". (Goebbels 26). In the same way, Goebbels said, "Unfortunately, the Soviet Union has forbidden to address its people by radio, and we are deprived of this propaganda weapon. With this way, we would have gained a lot of things through the propaganda, but the Kremlin has been cunning. He has forbidden the public to listen to foreign radio. There is no way our propaganda will reach them". (Goebbels 30)

When the Italians discovered the effect on the masses of the radon and woke up a great interest through a famous Arab meddah so that their radios could be listened more than the British radios, the British decided to recite the koran to gain superiority in radio. They brought the most famous koran reciter of Arabia to London, and he is widely used in Arabic broadcasting radios. They gained superiority back on the radio, and then they practiced this on all colonies. (Özsoy 50). It was both difficult and costly to provide social control with military force. With persuasion and suggestion methods, it was both easier and cheaper. The Germans had the best radio user politicians. Between 1933 and 1939, the number of private radio receivers in the Nazi administration increased four-fold. Other nations could stop propaganda, but they could not stop the radio. In 1933, external broadcast for 14 hours a week, increased to 58 hours per week in 1939. 130 German dispatching stations had 180 foreign news programs on 53 separate dailies every day. (Akarcalı 118) These studies have turned into German and American competition in Latin America. In 1938, the American Department of Foreign Affairs established the Department of Cultural Relations and, two years later, added to the Office of Inter-American Affairs, which actively promotes American knowledge and culture in Latin America under Nelson Rockefeller's administration. In 1939, Germany began programming 7 hours a week in Latin America and the
United States 12 hours a week. In 1941, the United States began broadcasting 24 hours a day. (J. Nye 102)

In March of 1938, Goebbels distributed 25,000 radios tuned to German radios only to Austria. The Germans appropriately applied it to Latin America and the Middle East as well. It seemed that the British had done the same thing. The Americans applied the same technique years later in the Vietnam war. In March 1966, The Wall Street Journal reported that 10,000 cheap and small transistor radio receivers, which only American and South Vietnamese stations could be listened, were dispersed to the north and south of the country they were attacking. They used another way to block publications and create noise. Toll-free radio was being set up, which broadcasted at home or in public places with high-volume broadcasts, telephone lines and loudspeakers. It was obvious what the purpose of this movement was: So that the required and undesired radios would be relocated by the authorities. This method was practiced everywhere in the world, from the Middle East to the Soviet Union and China. (Rawnsley 14)

Before the war, the BBC, which was the leader among its competitors in the field of international radio broadcasting, lost its leadership during the war conditions, and until the end of the war, this leadership was captured by the Nazi administration. When the war broke out, the BBC had international radio broadcasts in 39 countries on 26 countries. In those years, there were 36 radio broadcasts in Germany, 22 in the Soviet Union and 21 in the US. In the spring of 1945, Nazi Administration increased its number of radio broadcasts to 52. However, the number of UK radio broadcasts was 45. The reason for both results was war. But in the first days following the end of the war, the German Ministry of Propaganda was no longer available and Britain would have increased its international weekly broadcast time to over 500. About six years later, lost its leadership position in this field. (Julian Anthony 53)
In Turkey, until 1949, only 20.5% of the population could listen to the radio. In 1957, 27 radio stations were planned to be installed in 7 countries. This project was carried out in 1961 in Istanbul and Izmir, in 1962 in Adana, Ankara, Antalya and Gaziantep and a year later in Kars. By 1963, 43% of the population could listen to the radio. In the process of globalization, states have begun to use technology in the field of communications under the title of public diplomacy.

It is difficult to talk about cinema since it has created revolutions in the sense of art after years of emergence. Particularly used for propaganda purposes, the cinema has become one of the most important propaganda vehicles that achieve success more easily in suggestion and persuasion. Cinema, which is mentioned more as a sector today, is under the heading of propaganda in academic studies. The adventure of the cinema, which started with the Lumiere Brothers, was first presented in the form of sections of daily life aimed at entertainment and leisure. Later, when people started not liking it, fiction got into action. As the cinema became widespread, its usage areas started to appear.

The fact that the Ottoman administration, especially Abdulhamit's favorite Grand Vizier Halil Rifat Pasha, was aware of the existence of cinematography took place on 17 June, when the French Ambassador sent a letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs five months after the demonstration in Paris. In the article addressed to Pasha, "A copy of the manuscript given by the French Embassy in the envelope containing the request for permission to pass the electricity lamp, which is called 'cinematographer', which depicts the moving human and animal paintings of Monsieur Jamin from the French State, is presented in the envelope and made necessary to the order of the Grand Vizier under the ultimate authority of Sultan". (Özuyar 16). The cinema, which came to the Ottoman Empire with Abdülhamit II, was recognized by the state officials before society. During the reign of Sultan Abdulhamit II, the cinematographer, who was introduced to the Yıldız palace by Bertrant from the well-known jugglers of the palace, was greatly welcomed by the children of the Sultan and the Sultan himself. (Osmanoğlu 68)
In the same period, the issue of taking countermeasures against the articles and news that appeared in the newspapers and magazines published in the European press was taken into consideration. Some writers have been rewarded and prevented from writing against the empire.

During the first and second world wars, cinema was also used as an important means of propaganda. In the period of Hitler Germany in particular, the films of the Germans were at a higher level than the competitors in other countries. The German tactics in the movies were perfect like a mathematical formula. Advanced techniques and visual elements were used. The use of music, fast fiction, luminous effects and camera angles attracted attention. Surprising moves and hard to understand nuances in the movies made them very effective. (Akarcalı 104)

The screenings of the films were arranged and watched according to the schools. The film 'Traitors and Patriots' showed 6 million students. During the post-war interrogation of the Allied forces, the youngsters were telling about the effects that these movies left behind. These young men confessed that they were arrogant in battle, cold and calm in defense, that they were totally insignificant as individuals, and that their actual tasks in the war were merely means on the way to the end. (Akarcalı 107)

The widespread adoption and use of television has taken a very short time. The television broadcasting, which started under state control in the beginning, then included the private sector. Television, which has caused structural changes in social life, has also emerged in the advertising and marketing sector, which has also transformed propaganda. The private sector has played a key role in providing collective direction. States have established their own networks, and state channels have been drawn into their territory over time in the television world. After these developments, the concept of public diplomacy gained an important place in the globalization process.
1.2 PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

Diplomacy is the way that the state officials do what is in their country’s favor without going to war and via negotiations and treaties. History of diplomacy goes back to B.C. During the 4th and 5th centuries, to ancient Greece, where special representatives were used between city states. In the modern sense, permanent embassies began to be formed in Italy towards the end of the 15th century. Open diplomacy, ad hoc and regular conferences were introduced by the French system in the early 20th century. The first example of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was seen in France was the one with Cardinal Richlieu. In 1782, the British established the Foreign Affairs Office, and the newly established United States in 1789 followed them. China, Japan and Turkey, however, established the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the mid-19th century. (Özkan ve Ersoy 189)

We think that instead of considering diplomatic history for a long time, it would be appropriate to stay in the framework of making a distinction between old and new diplomacy. In this context, diplomacies of the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were personal diplomacies conducted largely through the rulers. The method of diplomacy applied until the end of the First World War is often referred to as old diplomacy by diplomacy writers. (Tuncer 22)

The concept of public diplomacy is an attempt to gain public support for the policies of the country that emerged after the 20th century. The widespread use of communication technologies and the facilitation of information have also accelerated the process of formation of public opinion about country policies. Today, the activities of the country are learned by the public in a short time, creating favorable and unfavorable public opinion. Public diplomacy has gained importance in this direction. America made the first institutional use of public diplomacy in the present sense. During World War II, President Wilson established Creel Committe, or Committe on Public Information, the country's first major publication on this
subject, in order to publish information about America both at home and abroad. President Wilson initially settled this committee against German propaganda, then this committee himself began to distort the truth and began to make American propaganda. At the end of the war, it was abolished. During the First World War, American President Wilson established Creel Committee, or Committee on Public Information, the country's first major publication on this subject, in order to publish information about America both at home and abroad. President Wilson initially settled this committee against German propaganda, then the committee itself began to distort the truth and began to make American propaganda. At the end of the war, it was abolished. (Erzen 38). Public diplomacy as a concept was first used by the US Information Agency (USIA) director and a popular radio host Edward Murrow during the Kennedy government in 1963. According to Murrow, public diplomacy is the process of sharing views of nonofficial organizations such as non-governmental organizations with foreign civil society organizations and the peoples. The official definition of the American government in 1987 for public diplomacy: Public diplomacy is the formation of public broadcasts, films, cultural exchanges, radio and television activities in the support of the government to create and influence public opinion in other countries. (Özkan ve Ersoy 64)

The main purpose of the Public Diplomacy is to build deep-rooted relationships. To understand the needs, cultures and people of other countries; To share views, to correct misperceptions, to find common grounds are main goals of public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is based on the assumption that the image and awareness of a country is a force that can create the appropriate environment for individual interaction. (Leonard 8)

Based on the distinct definitions on public diplomacy, we can say that it aims to tell the story of a society starting from itself, its culture, its image and its reputation in the contexts of current national and international policies to internal and foreign audiences. In this sense, the common functions of public diplomacy are: building rooted relations, promoting national interests, directing the government's
communications and foreign policies, providing communication among diplomats, developing the intercultural communication process, implementing a perception of the country's image in favor of other countries and to disseminate the right information to achieve national goals and objectives. 1

In its broadest sense, public diplomacy is the sum of activities carried out by the state itself according to its own evaluations based on the opportunities, threats and potentials to impress public opinions of other countries. (Özkan ve Ersoy 13)

Public Diplomacy involves the role of the media in international relations, the development of governments based on public opinion, the involvement of private institutions of one country in non-governmental interactions with the institutions of other countries, and the impact of all this international process, policy development and orientation of foreign relations. (N.Tuch 8)

Undoubtedly, the most important factor in the formation of public diplomacy is the technological developments in communication. Although these developments are generally seen as good, diplomacy actors initially looked at it negatively. In his remembrance, Lord Gladwyn criticized the fact that "the fact that the UN General Assembly and the Security Council took place on the television screen helped the parties to the negotiations to propagate the views and policies of their own states rather than solving the problems discussed", but it was the main reason for people's diplomatic involvement. With the participation of press organs in diplomacy, there has really been a revolutionary change in this area. The most dramatic change that the press has brought to the diplomacy is that the silence about negotiations with the confidentiality of the talks has been lifted. (Tuncer 70)

Public diplomacy is undoubtedly examined within the history of diplomacy. But it is not possible to bring history back as a field of application. Although public

1http://www.kamudiplomasisi.org/component/content/article/39/59-kamu-diplomasisi-nedir.html
diplomacy practices stretch back to the seventeenth century, concrete manifestations of the practices in this area are predominately seen in the cold war years. It is possible to exemplify the public diplomacy as an example of spreading Western values and rules to the eastern European countries who also called "the iron curtain countries". (Bostancı 40)

Public diplomacy activities are carried out in two main contexts: "state-to-public" and "public-to-public" communication. State-to-public activities, government-monitored policies, activities and initiatives are directly conveyed to the international community by means of official means and channels. The use of non-governmental civilian means such as NGOs, research centers, public opinion research companies, press, opinion leaders, universities, exchange programs, associations and foundations is the main activity for public-to-public communication activities. In this sense, public diplomacy goes far beyond the communication activities that take place between the "diplomats" and the "foreign publics" as in their original senses of the concepts. Public diplomacy constitutes a larger area called "diplomatic communication". 2

The most important issues in public diplomacy are understanding the views, needs, desires, cultures, distresses, anticipations, worries and fears of other countries and publics; building a language in this direction, correcting false perceptions, creating awareness, building public opinion, and producing areas of cooperation with common grounds. (Kirişcioğlu 13)

Regarding our research, the transformation and globalization of propaganda into public diplomacy is faced with some difficulties in the internet age. The term that comes from the public relations is information-informal. This process of linearly moving from source to receiver unidirectionally turns this line along with web 2.0 into a versatile system. Here the problem turns out to be a problem of the state

2 http://www.kdk.gov.tr/sag/kamu-diplomasisine-bakis/21
system, which is based on geographical boundaries in the classical sense. "In civil societies, as virtual communities developed with central organizations and on the internet, they moved out of their living systems based on a specific piece of land and developed their own management models." The Internet guru Esther Dyson refers to a global community of people who are connected to the internet and are beyond the traditional local geographical communities. If these oracles are right, there is a new cyber feudalism awaiting us, with the legislature taking part in communities with equally powerful peoples who claim to have a multi-layered identity and loyalty. In short, these transformations imply that the modern central state, which has dominated world politics for the last three centuries and for fifty years, will disappear. (J. S. Nye 66) As Nye has stated, the mentioned change can create people's interests by organizing a social network on the internet and turn them into a feudal community of cyberspace. These communities constitute their own rules and can broaden their attitudes and behaviors according to their own considerations. It depends on governments to carry out their policies in such a formation in a transparent way, with support from the people. The public diplomacy has become the most available instrument for this. It is not possible for us to fully draw the borders of public diplomacy. Because it benefits from the work of many disciplines and at the same time does not have the capacity to cover these areas. When we consider it as a diplomacy activity, we need to exclude its publicity efforts. We can not qualify as public-relations when we consider it as a means of communication. It would be best to describe public diplomacy as an interdisciplinary term. It is useful to note that propaganda and public relations activities do not have the same meaning as public diplomacy. Propaganda is the imposition of an ideology or doctrine systematically by advocates of ideology through various methods of information. Contrary to propaganda, the truth of the information conveyed through public diplomacy is exact, because the source is solid. On the other hand, public diplomacy differs from public relations. Public Relations is the transfer of the aims of a person, enterprise or institution to the public. Hence, public diplomacy can not be described as purely propaganda or
public relations. Although these concepts are linked to public diplomacy, they cannot explain the concept of public diplomacy. (Özkan ve Ersoy 52)

1.3 MASS COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA

Mass media, press, radio and television, motion picture films, video tapes, audio tapes, and the internet are the main mass media tools used today. The common feature of all these tools is that they are technical tools that convey news or thoughts or emotions to anonymous masses by duplicating them as texts, pictures or sounds. The mass media also have the ability to illuminate, educate or entertain the public. (Ünver ve İçel 39)

Mass media researches have begun based on the development of mass communication technologies and do not go back much in history. The history of the mass media researches, which have been aroused by the political effects of the mass press, and the interest in the moral and social consequences of the film and the radio later on, dates back to the beginning of this century. The roots of communication research are generally lied in the desire to increase and test the productivity and impact of the fields of education, propaganda, telecommunications, advertising, public and human relations. The research activity began with requests for implementation and with developments in psychology and sociolog and the general progress of the methodology, especially the experiments, the use of social studies and statistics helped the activity to grow bigger. (Mcquail and Windhal 20)

The concepts are a bit more complex in mass communication research. For this reason, researchers are concentrated in this field. The key to the historical meaning
of mass communication is not based on the usual 'mass' concept. Long before the emergence of modern mass communication, there were 'masses' that other forms of public communication reached. But new production and distribution tools have provided new ways of reaching people. These new ways were different not only technologically but also conceptually and ideologically from the old ones. (Erol Mutlu 92)

The term mass derives from the fact that messages communicated by the media industry are generally obtainable by relatively larger audiences. This is like some sectors of the media industry and their development, mass circulation newspaper industry and major television networks. (John B. Thompson 210)

The Second World War also played an important role in the development of communication sciences. In the Second World War, research on communication has exploded. Most of the investigations - the effects of propaganda, the success of persuasion and other issues - took place during the war. On the one hand, social science applications among researchers have received a general interest. On the other hand, it contributed to the promotion of the prestige of social science in general. In addition, throughout the Second World War, the powerful role of the media, especially radio, was revealed to the public. Thus, research on media has gained intensity. Researchers who obtained accurate findings through their analyzes during the war continued their research when they returned to the university. Research on communication has positioned itself as a primary, independent department. (Judith Lazar 23)

Modelings are the first research areas of mass communication. The Shannon and Weaver model is recognized as a pioneer and first model. Models of Lasswell, Gerbner, Newcomb and Riley are the most important and fundamental models examined in mass communication studies.
The communication process always takes place with three basic elements. With a transmitter that sends a message to and from the receiver via a channel. This process may seem more or less complicated by the number of people it contains and by the technique used as a publishing tool. On the other hand, there is no universal model that all researchers agree to explain the communication process. As a matter of fact, since communication and verbal or nonverbal communication with the computer and the individual, mass or individual communication etc. are mentioned, naturally it will be different in the models which best describe this mechanism. (John Fiske 93).

In the light these informations, the most important reasons behind the mass communication researches are impact studies and measurements. A significant number of mass media theorists were interested in the impact question. Impact has been the focus of many groups (Those who want to reach the others with the message, who want to get the channel that will be most effective in the audience and those who are worried about the negative effects of the mass media) in the community. (Mcquail ve Windhal 79)

1.4 SOFT POWER

The "soft power" concept introduced by Joseph Nye in the 90's emerged as a force that could influence societies in a more powerful way besides the military forces of the countries. In his book with the same name Nye explained soft power as: "Soft power is based on the ability to shape others' preferences. On a personal level, we all know the power of attraction and seduction. Power in a relationship or marriage is not in the larger partner, but in the mysterious chemistry of charm. In the business world, intelligent executives also know that your leadership is not just about giving orders, but that you need to make sure that others do what you want. It is difficult to manage a large organization with orders. At the same time, you need to ensure
that others share your values." (J. Nye 15) This way, we can say that soft power is actually based on consent.

Soft power is a term that forms the basis of public diplomacy. The most important factors are the soft power elements that a country has in order for public diplomacy to be successful and have good results. Active and effective soft power elements and strong communication strategies and practices open the way for a country to have a strong and lasting image and reputation. (Demir 59)

In contrast to hard power, soft power refers to different areas of penetration and attraction beyond military and economic indicators. Sophistication encompasses many elements: culture, education, art, written and visual media, film, poetry, literature, architecture, higher education (universities, research centers, etc.), non-governmental organizations, science and technology infrastructure and innovation capacity, Tourism, economic cooperation platforms and diplomacy feed the soft power. The smart power emerging from the combination of these elements also reveals the depth of the social capital of a country. (Kalın 34)

To clarify the framework of the soft power concept, we must separate it from concepts such as penetration and pressure. We can list the most important elements of soft power as consent, attractiveness. Nye explained this distinction as “Soft power and coercion are not the same thing. Before anything else, coercion can be based on the hard power of threats and money. Soft power on the other hand, is not only the ability to persuade other people although persuasion constitutes an important part in the course of changing their attitude. It is at the same time the ability to appeal and consent through attraction.” (J. Nye 15)

Although it was a new term, it was not something that was actually used, but Nye's claim: when this power was used systematically, it would be possible to eliminate both the costs of hard power and the negative effects it created. Nye's use of soft power concept in addition to hard power is due to its undeniable effect and its
complementary side. The concept of hard power, which is used solely by soft power channels, is the ability of many actors to change or influence the behavior of another actor, by using economic and military capabilities. The user also needs deception (carrots) or threats (sticks) to do it. (J. Nye 14)

Although the name was not put at that time, the beginning of the evolution of soft power goes farther back. In this context, soft power is thought to be the applications that will provide the peace and comfort of the people with the political, economic and cultural arrangements to provide the loyalty and stability in the occupied places or activities in the propaganda to break the resistance of the invaded country citizens. For example, before the Ottoman Empire occupied a place, they sent their local merchants, who made the propaganda that the Ottoman Empire would benefit them. (Yılmaz 27)

We may think that soft power is not a systematic process that can be practiced alone. What can we say about the root or use of the concept that we are constrained to draw these boundaries? Culture is the most important source of soft power production tools. Culture is the main influence that drives the periphery countries to the core, bringing the attraction of the countries described as "core" in international literature to the countries mentioned as "periphery". Nye, in his book called "Paradox of the American Power," explained the origin and dimensions of soft power as: "It is true that the various dimensions of globalization are under the domination of Wall Street, Silicon Valley and Holywood. However, the continental spread of Christianity took place centuries before Hollywood’s discovery of how to market the Bible-related movies. The ongoing spreading movement of Islam is not made in the USA. English spoken by 5 percent of the world's population was spread by Britain. The world's most popular sports team is Manchester United, with more than two hundred fan clubs in twenty-four countries. The three major American music companies are owned by British, German and Japanese. The most popular video games are made in Japan and Britain. The productions that raise or lower the
standards of the entertainment industry on television have come from Europe to America. So it's not the other way around” (J. S. Nye 96)

The primary goals of soft power are the media, universities, non-governmental organizations, the finance and business community. As a result of the widespread use of communication tools, today's media-based battles have gained importance and priority. Trade is also one of the ways in which cultures are conveyed. This communication can also be through personal contacts, visits or shopping. Popular sports can also play a role in the values conveyed. Basketball (NBA) matches in the USA are watched by 750 million people in 212 countries around the world in 42 different languages. Political messages can also be conveyed through the behaviors of sports teams or celebrities, or through a variety of images displayed by television or cinema. Government policies at home and abroad are another potential source of power in the context of soft power. (Yılmaz 5)

As a result, soft power can be described as a type of programming that core countries use to look out for their interests and to address the problems caused by the hard power in the periphery countries without using hard power.
CHAPTER 2

2.1 STATE, HISTORY OF USING MASS COMMUNICATION TOOLS, BACKGROUND

The most common areas in mass communication researches are the effects of mass media on the mass, changing and directing the behaviors of the masses, and change in the mass through communication media.

We can discuss the fifty years where communication devices are being researched by dividing in three main periods. In the first stage, from the end of the 19th century until the 1930s, the means of communication were regarded as an important force in Europe and North America, shaping opinions and beliefs, changing life habits, and determining political systems, even though they faced some resistance that was effective in directing their behavior. The second stage, from the 40s to the early 60s, has been shaped by the development of mass media research in the United States and the application of empirical methods to specific problems of the impact and effectiveness of mass communication. On the ongoing third stage, it is accumulating new perspectives and evidence on the effects of mass communication, especially television and long neglected newspapers. (Korkmaz Alemdar ve Ragıp Savaş 49) Nowadays we can add the fourth stage by looking at the effects of the internet and social media on the masses and changes in the mass behavior.

It is remarkable that mass communication has advanced for a long time without mass communication researches. Because, during this period, the use of these tools has not been aimed at informing or developing the people, but has been aimed at steering public opinion and propaganda. Particularly during and after the First World War, countries' usage of their radios and cinematographic tools to direct their public and other public opinions approve this idea. Radio broadcasting has developed especially since the First World War and has become the most important
means of propaganda and communication. In the 1920s, many people became aware of the widespread and effective use of propaganda during the war. The 1930s witnessed the use of radio to reach the large audience in the two sides of the Atlantic. (Bektaş 107)

It would be appropriate to start the history of the mass communication with the printing press. Journalism and journalism that started in Europe are important factors in the formation of public opinion. We can define mass communication in such a way that the Renaissance and the Reform era can be included in the beginning. Social movements, formation of public opinion, interaction, formation against authority have begun to be seen in these periods. The birth of newspapers began in the 17th century. The newspapers, which were first published in order to give news that traders need, then began to be used as a means of propaganda. Nathaniel Butter was the first person to publish all his daily news with his own name on a one-weekly regular weekly post. Butter then published Weekly News in 1622. (Özsoy 48)

Newspapers were for commercial use when they first started to be published because at the time the main source of living was commerce. Later, in response to the increasing supply of information, newspapers began not only to make commercial publications, but also to politics and events. Political authorities planned to put some special taxes in order to control the rapid increase of newspapers and periodicals. It was thought that these taxes would limit the production and render more marginalized publications unworkable, and at the same time serve to increase the income of the Taç. The stamp tax law of 1712 brought a penny for every leaf printed on newspaper holders and obliged to pay a shilling for each advertisement. (Heyer-Crowley 177) Britain has taken control of newspapers publishing against the kingdom through taxation. This, in turn, has resulted in a concentration of money and media relations.
In Europe and North America, at the end of the eighteenth century, something circulating in the books and the periodicals for news, something called the information society emerged. Many informal and innovative styles have been developed as well as officially confirmed news sources that are subject to censorship in many countries. It is also important to emphasize that news and information are clear public events at this time. So, gathering together to talk about the news is an essential part of their circulation. (Heyer- Crowley 131)

One important thing to keep in mind when handling the media revolution is that this revolution has not happened within the life of a single generation. It took two centuries for most of the precise changes that the printing technique brought about to information and society. (Heyer- Crowley 130) Some communication tools historians used the term “communication revolution” to describe the emergence of modern press, radio and television. As these occurrences took place within a thirty-year time frame, the concept of revolution used to describe the society's reflex against the developments in communication technologies.

In Great Britain the main sources of income for the print media changed in the 1890s. Cinema became popular between 1910-1920. The BBC was founded in 1927, while radio and music broadcasts became widespread at the beginning of the 1920s. The research of newspaper readers was not as widespread until the end of the 1930s, and the development of academic research on visual media has started in the post-Cold War years. As a result, between 1900 and 1935, the mass media continued its existence without the kind of mass communication research we know today. (Korkmaz Alemdar ve Ragıp Savaş 25)

Developments in communication technologies have also led to various models of how publishing should take place. Historically, we see that publishing is organized in Europe as a single but broad model. We can define this model which is formed around common values and principles and widely accepted as public service publishing model. Generally, the public service model has been tried to be
emphasized as a single model in studies conducted in the field of mass communication. However, the ignored point in these studies is that, in practice, countries adopting this model have very different characteristics. It is possible to see the reflections of the country's historical experiences and the specific structures of policy cultures in different applications of this model, which shows a rich diversity of regulation in the national context. (Çaplı 29)

The Anglo-Saxon model is still considered as a reference today. It is established in the first half of the seventeenth century in Britain, over the necessity of connection between the state and communication devices. It was founded on the media’s close relationship with economic powers and the tension with the state. The “fourth power” statement, which is credited to the media, reveals that communication means are a controlling force in limiting the excesses of legislative, judicial and executive branches. The French model reveals the intervention of the state in the development of constitutional and communication means in terms of both economy, content and rules. The attitude of the state is legal, contrary to the relations of communication means with money and often with suspicious business circles. The empire model is basically based on the political-administrative control of the means of communication. It gave all the attention to the content to prevent the expression of ideas against political power. (Charon 242)

We will examine the emergence of mass media in Turkey and earlier in the Ottoman Empire in depth, because the use of mass media by the states is one of the main issues of our research. The newspapers were the first important tools of modern mass communication. Starting from the 16th century, the newspaper began to appeal to most segments of society within a century. The importance of journalism increased as its influence and area became clearer. The total annual circulation of 59 newspapers in Paris in 1836 was 42 million, of 42 newspapers in London 39 million, and in Prussia 15 million. It has covered the whole world with newspapers and magazines specializing in artistic and professional matters, as well as mass media and ideological publications. This was the press that Ottoman Empire wanted
to take as an example. (Koloğlu 9) While this was the situation in the world, in the Ottoman Empire it was not as pleasant as in the rest of the world. Writers of Vakayi-i Mısriyye; which was published in Egypt by Mehmet Ali Pasha, Vakayi-i Giridiyye 1830; which was published in Hanya, the official newspaper of the Ottoman State Takvim-i Vakayi, and Ceride-i Havadis 1840 the third Turkish newspaper shows that our first journalists were all government officials. In short, their livelihood depended on the salary they received from the state. For this reason, it was not possible to produce ideas outside the government's interests. In fact, these publications were always issued for high executive posts so that they could learn about their new regulations. In this case, it has a structure far away from being a Fourth Force. (Koloğlu 15) One of the notable features of Takvim-i Hacayi among these newspapers is its multilingual broadcasting. This newspaper was published for the purpose of knowing and obeying both journalism, education, and state practice. In the first period, the issues of Arabic, Persian, Greek, and Armenian were also printed with the need to tell the minorities in the country about their state practices. (Çakır 16)

News and criticism about the actions of the Ottoman Empire in the European press, negatively affected the administration and the sultan. The aim of the Ottoman Empire was to publish a newspaper in this style. Even though Takvim-i Vakayi was born on this need, it could not come to the intended level. An interesting method was tried to improve the conditions of Takvim-i Vakayi, because the rates of circulation were very low. Magisters, soldiers, ulema and other notable persons in the capital one each, civil servants with the notables of the provincial towns ten each, and judges and high-income people in the other towns were forced to buy two newspapers each to start a subscription system. Thus, 5000 newspapers were to be printed and a subscription fee of 120 kuruş was to be collected to cover the expenses. (Çakır 17)

However, during the period of Tanzimat Period (1839-1876), we see that the Ottoman Turks attempted to publish a newspaper in western sense for the first time.
Agah Efendi, a member of the New Ottoman Society, has received a permission from the Assembly-i Ministry to publish Tercüman-i Ahval. As the circulation of Tercuman-i Ahval was higher than Ceride-i Havadis, this newspaper was re-issued with the name of Ruzname and the competition between the two newspapers started. (İskit 14) We can see that the first reports of the newspapers in the Ottoman Empire are aimed at informing the general public about the transfer of events. The directive given to the journalists was not to criticize the politics of foreign governments without warned and to be very respectful of European states and their superiors. The news about the Islamic world was defensive. Subjects like the rights of Muslims to live in freedom, the last of religion Islam’s superiority were published with insistence and without insults which can result in an uprising. There was never an activist quality in them. (Koloğlu 49)

Owner of Ceride-i Havadis Churchill, based the editorial policy on supporting the administration. He was not able to go beyond this policy because the expenses of the newspaper were covered by the administration. Churchill’s first step into journalism was triggered by a strange incident. Churchill was a British origin merchant who first moved to Izmir in 1815 and then went to Istanbul to work for the United States’ embassy as a clerk. When he was in Istanbul, he accidentally shot a Turkish boy during hunting. He was arrested and beaten in response. Later on, the British embassy sent a diplomatic note to Ottoman Empire by taking advantage from this opportunity. After then, European countries got involved. The administration decided to release him after the incident went off the rails. Minister of Foreign Affairs of the time Arif Paşa was suspended after his illness had been put forward as the pretext. Moreover, Churchill was given the priority to print a Turkish newspaper after the Ottoman Empire apologized and compensated him. (Çakır 21). During this period, lots of foreign newspaper owners continued to print. Substantial part of the non-Turkish printed press in the Ottoman Empire was the French ones both in terms of number and efficiency. 150 newspapers in Frech language have been printed in the Ottoman territory until 1908. Likewise, in Egypt, 30 papers were printed until the year 1882 where the British occupation and 90
newspapers were published between 1884 and 1914. As a matter of fact, they sometimes surpassed the Turkish press in terms of efficiency. (koloğlu 25). Printing press in the Ottoman Empire was mainly minorities’ field of business, later on Turks have become interested and started their own printing houses. In this case, we know that the administration has tightened control over the newspapers, that they have taken countermeasures against the news and the writings against them, and that an institution has been created to follow these documents. Matbuat-ı Ecnebiye Kalemi, established for the purpose of following the European press, is the first institution established in this area. This institution followed the foreign press, wrote the necessary response in writing and was warned about the writings of the relevant embassies. The articles written in the Matbuat-ı Ecnebiye Kalemi, headed by Artin Efendi, written in the form of 'tekzib', which were not always published in European newspapers. It was necessary to get into good relations with the external press so that they would respond to them and that no news of this kind would ever appear. In this context, Abdulhamid tried to reach newspaper managers by pulling some strings. For example, Abdulhamid sent a man with special duty to the editorial manager of the Times in order to avoid negative news that the Times newspaper was writing against the Ottoman State. Previously, this journalist was banned from entering the country due to his heavy criticism of Abdulhamid and his government, but he was not prevented from coming to the British embassy. (Çakır 88). After these initiatives, the Ottoman administration went on its way to create its own press. The first example of this kind is Sabah newspaper. Sabah began its publishing life in 1876 by a Greek Cypriot called Papadopulos with the permission and financial support of Abdulhamid. At these times, newspapers in Istanbul were sold for 40 pieces but Sabah was 10 pieces thanks to the subvention it received from the palace. Mihran Efendi became the editor of the newspaper in 1882 and then Şemseddin Sami, Dikran, Dikran Kelekyan, Ahmed Rasim and Mahmud Sadık occupied this position respectively. Later on, Sabah hired famous writers such as Hüseyin Cahit(Yalçın), Cavid Bey, Abdülhak Adnan (Adıvar), Mehmet Ata, Enis Tahsin. During the World War 1, it was published with the leading articles of Refik Halit.
Karay and Yahya Kemal Beyatlı under the supervision of Ahmet Emin Yalman. (Çakır 64).

The most important information sources of the nineteenth century, Newspapers, did not use their domain of influence only in political matters. Many newspapers were publishing economics, stock market and trade news. Mobility in the stock market was shaped by newspaper reports. These newspapers were also major sources of diplomacy, press and trade circles in Europe. Those who were racing to loot the Ottomans in terms of both land and trade and capital were watching the political developments, new loans, tenders (railway, telegraph, dock etc.) and concessions from these newspapers. At the same time, these newspapers published telegrams on price fluctuations in major stock exchanges such as London, Paris, Frankfurt and direct the Galata Stock Exchange and currencies every day. The Ottoman economic and financial life was completely under control of them. (Koloğlu 26) In the period when newspapers were dominant, agencies began to emerge as the need to receive news increased and stock exchanges became more involved with each other. In 1832, a merchant named Charles Havas joined these institutions as a person aware of the needs of the world in which he lived. He set up the Havas Bureau right next to the Paris stock exchange and the post office and started to translate. The region in which the workplace was founded was a good indication to whom he wanted to address: business circles, stock market agents, and newspapers if they were interested. In 1835, the company named Havas Agency showed everyone that it had chosen the target well by achieving success in a short time and leaving others behind. (koloğlu 2). Agencies were more interested in stock market and trade issues during the opening period. Political news began to pass later. They did not care about politics because they saw it as part of the economy. Reuters has a similar starting story. A German named Julian Reuter, who had gone from Christianity to Judaism, opened Reuter's telegraph office in London in 1851 after working in Havas's office for a while. As Reuter's telegraph company concentrated on stock market news, the bureau established itself beside the stock exchange building. The followers were more merchants and merchants. (4) Agencies have lost their
impartiality over time as a result of the rivalries among countries. They removed their news from the intensity of economic news, especially during the wartime, and focused on the news of the war.

In October 1851, German-born immigrant Paul Julius Reuter opened an office in London, sending telegraphs through the new Calais-Dover underwater cable, transporting the stock market current prices between London and Paris. Two years before this date, until a year before the lack of telegraph line, Reuter had provided services to inform share prices by flying pigeons between Aachen and Brussels. Shortly after the agency was recognized, Reuters began delivering its services to the entire British press and other European countries. As telegraph facilities developed on the ground and under the sea, his work spanned the borders of Europe, covering the Far East in 1872 and South America in 1874. Reuters began using a 'column printer / telegraph receiver' in 1883 to transmit messages to London newspapers electrically. In 1923, he offered the use of radio telegraph / radio receivers to transmit news on a transnational basis.3

In the Ottoman Empire a structure that could compete with these agencies was not established. Since Galata stock market news was also obtained through these agencies, they followed European stock exchanges 3-5 days behind. This time difference has generally strengthened the hand of malicious people and stock market agents and has made the galata stock market more open to speculation.

Although an agency called the Ottoman telegraph agency was established, this agency was not very effective because it was established in the partnership of Reuter. Since the Ottoman Empire suffered internal disturbances and external interventions during the decades, the force of the press was left behind and an agency with international influence could not be established. In the years of the War

of Independence, it was envisaged that the news flow would play an important role in the fate of the war and the foundations of the Anatolian agency were laid.

As the Ottoman State realized in a short period that the telegraph had a critical importance in regenerating the power of the administration, it can be said that the state had made its decision to let the telegraph enter into country and the first telegraph lines were placed under the state control. Ottomans' efforts to reconstruct itself centrally during the 19th century played an important role in this awareness. Telegraph is the technological innovation that came to the rescue of the 19th century Ottoman centralism. (Başaran 98)

Thanks to the telegraph networks reaching all over the world, the speed of communication has reached enormous degrees, and the developments in distant places have been transmitted all over the world in a few days difference. These developments have facilitated the work of agencies, and the number of agencies that have been opened has increased rapidly. The new agencies had begun to compete with each other. As the news began to come from all over the world, it brought new problems. Lie news and manipulations required agencies to get to the front of the notion of accuracy and neutrality in addition to being quick to reach the news. Agencies whose news contained false information lost their followers and could not hold on to the market. Although many were set up as private enterprises, the states were using telegraph networks, or would have the privilege of setting up such networks to the non-telegraphic states. The bulletins published have affected public opinion.

Considering the importance of the necessity of illuminating our people with the best news both inside and outside during the national and holy struggles that the whole of Rumelia and Anatolia are engaged in as the result of the enemy occupation of the Ottoman Sultanate Center which is the heart of the Islamic world and all our motherland and nation being under threat. An institution established under the direction of a special committee established by the most authorized persons and
under the title of Anadolu Agency. (koloğlu 47) The Anadolu Agency is different from other agencies due to the conditions of establishment and the situation in the country. In addition to news bulletins, it has undertaken the communication infrastructure of the liberation struggle, provided links between the units, and disseminated news to organize protests. When we examine this aspect, it is an agent that has started its activities in a full propaganda war. The structure shaped based on the situation of the country proves that Anadolu Agency had a different publishing understanding from other agencies in its first years.

The fact that agencies began to expand their news coverage to include trade and stock market news, as well as diplomacy, war and other issues, helped to bring media outlets to encompass the entire public opinion. The major part of the society was involved in this information flow, regardless of their interest.

19th century people have another form of disruption in the use of information networks: manipulation of public opinion. As political power in parliamentarian democracies is now more heavily tied to the public opinion than at the time of the monarchy, controlling the information has become a major political issue. In 1871, the main press agencies signed an agreement on sharing of the world. Reuter has taken over all the countries of England, the British market, as well as Egypt, the Ottoman Empire and China. Havas took control of France, Switzerland, Southern Europe and Latin America. Wolff held the information monopoly on Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire, the Netherlands, the Scandinavian countries and the balkans. Associated press remains out of this consensus: its messages are distributed in Europe only by national agencies. (Frederic Barbier 143)

As a result of all these researches, only thing that can not be denied today is the influence of media on the social level. There is no doubt that the most common of all texts is the mass media, even when only the content of the buyers is taken into account. Acquisition and knowledge about the events taking place around the world
is largely based on media news discourse, which is shared by millions of people.
(B. K. Erdem 83)
CHAPTER 3

3.1 INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

This section will be about international publishing history, international broadcasting countries and channels. Why did the need for international broadcasting come about? Why is international broadcasting important in information societies? We will look for answers to such questions. We will briefly look at the history of international broadcasting and especially examine the international Arabic channels which are quite related to our research.

Transmission of radio or television broadcasting signals beyond borders of the country is defined in the international literature as 'transnational broadcasting', 'cross-border broadcasting' or 'international broadcasting'. In consideration of these terms, all television channels that cross the country borders and can receive broadcasts from other countries via satellites will be our concern. (Demirkıran 70)

Broadcasting areas, languages and contents of international televisions are mostly determined by the historical reasons. Countries who had great colonies in the past like England, France, Spain, Portugal, Italy and Netherlands target mostly their former colonial areas in terms of international broadcasting in the local language. (İnceoğlu 109)

From here it is possible to find colonialist and imperialist tones at the origin of international publishing. Emerging communication technologies have made it easier for countries to implement their interests and wishes to penetrate different areas from their own territories. In the first examples of international broadcasting, we can say that focus was more on war and propaganda techniques. International broadcasting has been the result of the use of radio. Radio transmitters have been strengthened and the possibility of broadcasting to more distant places has risen.
On this page, radio broadcasts which were not yet subject to the private sector and which were made only by the state's control and support were born. The use of radio broadcasts began in accordance with the development methods of the communication history. Immediately after being discovered, the radio, which was developed for military purposes, became a tool used by states to follow their own interests.

Long before the development of television, the first steps of international broadcasting were thrown through the radios and the first radio broadcasts took place at the beginning of the 20th century. The first cross-border radio broadcast, launched in 1926 by the Soviet Union to Romania, is a short-lived propaganda broadcasting. The celebration of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1927 seems to have influenced the Soviet Union's decision to use cross-border radio broadcasts for propaganda purposes. The publication during the celebration gave the thought of doing some workshop in this area. (Demirkıran 84).

First, radio, then television, was the result of the enlightenment and development of the industrial revolution in the 18th and 19th centuries. The need for regulating these tools together with the invention of the use of the public service understanding has emerged. (Ersin 42)

The first tests on radio broadcasting in Turkey were carried out between 1921 and 1923. One of these experiments was conducted to listen to the concert given at the conference hall of Istanbul Darülfünun. Rüştü Uzel, General Manager of Vocational and Technical Education, has made it possible to send a music broadcast, even if it is quite parasitic, by mutually placing the receiver he built into a big box with a transmitter. (Güzeliş 163). The use of FM radios in Turkey outside of the Armed Forces and several public institutions has been in the 1970s. Prepared in 1947 at the military school for FM radio, the following statements have been made: ‘General information about FM radio receivers and dispensers manufactured using the latest technology of the
radio technology that General Electric has presented to the service of the allied armies in the war: General Electric has 30.60.250 watt devices, preference reasons include the removal of parasites on the radios we use in our homes, Sound and music are transmitted in a more appropriate way and there is no fading present in short waves. The main places where small-sized FM devices are used in America are: Police and Fire Brigade Organization, Taxi Organization, Port Protection Organization, Water, Electricity and Gas Companies, Mining Quarries, Dam Preservation Organization, Railways, Fuel Gases, Forestry Operations, Hospitals, Buses, Farms, Oil Pipe Conservation Organization. (128) Radio has been opened for the use of all public institutions after its military use.

The first external broadcast via radio in Turkey was made on Ankara Radio from 5 kW on January 8, 1937. Prime Minister İsmet İnönü's speech about Hatay problem was translated into Arabic and published. Since this publication is effective on the target audience, these non-regular publications have been discontinued after the Hatay problem has been solved. (hamza 249). The first international radio broadcast in Turkey has been on the Hatay issue, which was between Turkey and Syria, as mentioned above. Discussions about the sharing of Hatay had brought the two countries to the brink of war in those years. At that time, only İsmet Inonu's statements to the radio did not suffice, anthropologists and historians have done research in the region and published scientific publications. On October 28, 1938, the external broadcast service of the Turkish Radios regularly and officially started with a 20 kW transmitter. The first publication was English. English publications were followed by Bulgarian, Arabic, German, French, Romanian publications. These broadcasts, which lasted for 5 minutes, were news broadcasts. (Demirkıran, Radyoda Yabancı Dillerle Yaptığımız Neşriyat 4)

In 1948, a second 100kW transmitter was installed, as well as steered fixed antennas. Thus, it was possible to broadcast to America, Western Europe, Far East and Australia. Also in 1940, Turkish 30 minute broadcasts were started for the Turks living abroad in the name of "Yurdun Sesİ" in the morning and noon.
Developments in foreign politics have also affected radio broadcasts. The participation of Turkey in the Korean War influenced the broadcasting policy. In 1950, an overseas radio broadcast was launched to broadcast to South Korea over a short wave by sending troops to Korea, and a short wave transmitter of 100kW entered service in Ankara Cakırlar. (N. Erdem 100)

As it turns out, Turkey's cross-border radio broadcasts, which started in the same period as the contemporaries in the world, have become an institutional structure over time and spread to a wide area using their satellites today. Turkey's Voice Radio has become Turkey's overseas audio broadcasting actor. In the "radio" magazine of March 15, 1942, the following are mentioned about the purpose of international publications of Turkish radios:

1) To present our country's issues directly to the world public gathering them day by day.
2) To objectively debate and analyze international issues and events, or to report them as news.

No news of propaganda can be found in the news of our country. In fact, we do not have a cause that we need to convince with propaganda. “Peace at home, Peace in the world” is our main principle and admitted policy. When we talk about the issues of Turkey, we present the events with all the transparency. … We are currently broadcasting in seven different languages- French, English, Bulgarian, Serbian-Croatian, Arabic, Farsi, Urdu - all of which are often the same - it is important to note that, because foreign radios broadcast different contents in every language for their interests - which is not the product of a large organization, as it is in foreign radios. Essentially, there is still no need for such a framework for countries that are aware of their openness in internal and external politics and their objectivity towards international affairs. In this regard, our publication is prepared by a consultant friend who is assigned by the General Directorate.

In 1952, when the radio reached the opportunity to broadcast to Australia, America and the Far East, TV trial broadcasts started in Turkey. While television broadcasts
in Europe and the World War II started to be resumed, in 1952 television studies in Turkey started at Istanbul Technical University laboratories. The name of the television which made the first trial broadcasts in 1952 is ITU Television. The place where the publications are made is ITU Taskisla building. (N. Erdem 101)

The region where the broadcasts started under the name of ITU Television Experimental Broadcasts were broadcasted, was beyoğlu region in İstanbul and a film about the Korean War was shown in the broadcasts, and the first guest of the live stream was the famous journalist Burhan Felek. While the first broadcasts had a very limited audience size, the number of receivers began to increase after the broadcasts started to run between 17 and 18 every 15 days. (Aziz 18)

Though radio broadcasting in Turkey began 7 years after the first radio broadcasts in various parts of the world, television broadcasting could begin thirty-two years after the establishment of television in many countries of the world. When television broadcasts began in Turkey in 1968, there were four countries in the world that did not go to television: Afghanistan, Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay. (Öngören 74) Television broadcasting in Turkey was held in 1952 in the laboratories of Istanbul Technical University. The first serious initiatives to establish television broadcasting in Turkey were started in 1955 by the Television Research Bureau affiliated to the Press and Publication Directorate and foreign companies’ applications seeking to establish television broadcasting in Turkey examined. By 1960, seventeen major companies had applied to the Turkish government to establish a television system, but the project was suspended when the 1960 coup occurred. (Öngören 76) By 1968, TRT had begun its first test broadcast. While the changes were made regarding the TRT legislation, the institution was developing from the technical point of view. In 1971, television broadcasts first started in Istanbul and then in Izmir with the donation of a television station by the German Government. These first episodes were for three days a week and lasted for several hours. By 1973, fourteen cities were broadcasting five days a week for four hours, and 350,000 people owned televisions. In 1974, broadcasting
started every day, and in 1976, half of the population could watch. In 1980, this rate reached 80 percent. While the number of television owners in the country was around 100,000 in 1971, it raised to four million in 1980. (Esen 24)

With the amendment of Article 133 of the Constitution in 1993, the autonomy of the TRT was restored, while the private radio and television broadcasts were allowed. Today, TRT serves as a public service broadcaster that broadcasts on radio and television and all media tools, whose autonomy and neutrality are governed by the Constitution. (Şahin 2012)

TRT today broadcasts in 35 languages and dialects over 15 television channels, 7 national, 6 regional, 5 international radio channels, TRT.net.tr and TRT.World.com, teletext broadcasting and "TeleVIZYON", "TRT Children" and "TRT News DD " magazines in Turkey and in the world.

3.2 INTERNATIONAL CHANNELS

States have felt the necessity of strengthening their diplomatic relations after the death of millions of people and the destruction of cities in the wars of the last century. The United Nations is an international organization established to protect world peace and security in this respect and to create an economic, social and cultural business alliance among nations. In other words, it is the most important institutional structure of globalization in the world. Globalization is defined as the multifaceted interactions of world societies on the economic, political and cultural level and the impact of events, decisions and activities that occur at one end of the world, on local and transboundary societies parallel to the expansion of the mass media. (Uluç 173) Media and communication technologies are the most important driving forces of globalization.
Mass media has become the most important tool of decision-making that can affect local and international societies. In this context, there is a number of channel types that are different in structure, target mass and theme in the scope of international television broadcasting. While the target groups of some of these channels have been identified as global audiences. Others are broadcasting to the masses they want to reach, especially those living in the geographical region that they want to call especially within the global target group. (Demirkiran 70)

Today, five major news agencies - AP, UPI, REUTERS, AFP, TASS - distribute 90% of the news circulating around the world. Almost all newspapers and magazines that are important in the world are published in USA, UK and France. Most of the radios broadcasting to foreign countries - VOA, BBC, DW, Moscow Radio - are in industrial countries. News images and movies are mostly from British or American sources. TV organizations such as CNN, ABC, NBC, BBC, ITV have major impacts on international publications. Most of the TV programs sold are from Western industrial countries and two thirds are of American origin. (Uluç 167)

The image analyzer tube developed by the Russian engineer Vladimir Kosma Zworyki started the transition to TV broadcasting in the modern sense. The first television broadcasts started in 1930, and regular broadcasts began in Germany in 1935, in Britain in 1936 and in the United States in 1941. Television broadcasting, which had a brief pause during World War II, developed at a rapid pace after the war ended. (Ersin 45) This development has stimulated many technological developments, such as television factories, antennas and transmitting stations, as well as issues such as broadcasting policies, contents, and program production.

There is a movement in the international distribution of television programs and international co-productions, especially since the 1980s. Program exchanges between countries have increased, channel numbers have increased, and competition between channels has begun. In this context, it was necessary to make increasingly quality programs and to produce different projects. Those who do not
have sufficient opportunities from technological and economic aspects have cooperated with developed countries. (Büyükbaykal 26)

CNN, which was set up in the US by Ted Turner in 1980 with 24-hour news channel identity, is the first channel to broadcast internationally. It is observed that international television broadcasts started in USA and spread to Europe. Since 1985, CNN has been broadcasting its broadcasts with CNN International to Europe. (Demirkiran 83) In addition to CNN’s achievement on a global scale, it needs to be heard in the local context as well, otherwise it can not reach local small markets. For this reason, it is necessary to enter into partnership with local television organizations in different regions of the world and broadcast in local languages. In order to reach global scales, it is necessary to take local scales into consideration. As a result, partnerships have been established with regional or national commercial media organizations, such as CNN Espanol, CNN Italia, CNN Turk, CNN Sverige which localized the content and the language. (Uluç 244)

In order to localize the content of large media organizations, the most prominent example of global-local co-operation in Turkey is the establishment of the CNN Türk news channel in 2000, in cooperation with the Time Warner Group of Doğan Media Group in 1999. In line with the broadcasting policy of CNN channel on the global scene, CNN Türk channel conveys details of developments in the country in detail and with expert opinions. CNN chose to cooperate with the monopoly group of the Turkish media market, which in this case is dominant in the advertising market and in the audiovisual publishing market and closely related to the economic and political circles of the country. (Tutal 182) Another example of a global-local partnership is the CNBC-e channel, which was established in cooperation with CNBC and Kanal E in Turkey and entered into broadcasting in 2000. CNBC, which owned by NBC, dominates the US news space. MSNBC is ranked second on cable broadcasts conducted by NBC and Microsoft and cable broadcast ratings in the US. (Silvia 33)
It is unthinkable for CNN, the news channel, to make its own broadcasts locally. Localized news for this is done in languages in the region. On the other hand, there is no such thing as the localization of programs of entertainment-culture channels that have partnered in the same way as Kanal E. Because of this, they often sell their programs with subtitles and sometimes with dubbing.

Similarly, Turkish media organizations have partnerships with foreign media organizations abroad: Kanal D Romania is the first Turkish television channel established in partnership with Doğan Holding's 75% and Swiss Ringier's 25% share. (Uluç 214) We can say that media organizations in Turkey are trying to increase their capitalist style growth or international activities like the media organizations that have grown themselves from similar international partnerships.

A similar example of global-local cooperation was the Orbit channel, which was set up to broadcast in Arabic, with all the infrastructure and personnel support of the BBC, with the financial support of Suud Capital. Quite interestingly, diversifying the pool of Arab journalists were the intention of the managers of the BBC Arabic Services, by recruiting journalists and officials who later formed the central team of Al Jazeera. In 1994, the BBC World Service offered its experience and international fame to Orbit, a special Saudi channel, to create a TV channel in Arabic. About a year and a half later, the broadcast of the channel was ended because of the dispute over how the broadcast policy - mainly how to submit the Saudi news. Short-term partnership between the two ended after the opposition of London residents intervened in a program that they had on human rights in Saudi Arabia. The Al-Jazeera administration took advantage of this opportunity by taking the most famous journalists such as Faysal al-Kasım, Sami Hedded, Cemil Azir and Muhammad Krisini of this TV channel. These journalists brought the BBC tradition, meticulousness and professionalism to an atmosphere where more freedom and commitment to Arab audiences could be more easily accommodated. (Zayani 13)
Russia today, which is among the channels broadcasting from the outside to the Arab Middle East, announced that it will increase the service 20 hours a day in May to 7 days and 24 hours towards the end of the year. When it was opened on April 4, the Arabic TV channel France 24, which was broadcasting 4 hours a day to the Maghreb, the Mediterranean and Europe, plans to gradually increase the broadcast hours to 6 and then later to 12. Deutsche Welle TV is pushing its current 3-hour broadcast to 8 hours. And since the BBC Arabic will be broadcasting in the autumn of next year, it is rebuilding its broadcast service, which it has established between 1994 and 1996. (Heil 2)

Arabic TV channels supported by foreign governments have a limited audience. These channels tend to focus especially on informatics and news programs. The biggest share comes from the BBC's Arabic service, followed by the US-backed Al-Hurra and France 24. This is due to the historical relations of Britain and France with the regional countries and the American occupation of Iraq. Other country channels such as Russia (Rosia Al yawm), Germany (DW TV Arabia) and China (CCTV Arabic) have a limited success potential in the Arab market. Arabic TV channels supported by foreign sponsors, have an audience volume of 10 percent in total.

Unlike such media installations, Al-Hurra TV was established as a news channel to support America's activity in the Middle East, which was intensified after the September 11 events. In 2003, Al-Jazeera television appeared as a rival to CNN, the main actor of the Gulf War. As a matter of fact, the publications of Al-Jazeera were quite echoed in the Arab world and the Islamic world watched all the war from Al-Jazeera. US propaganda practitioners soon realized Al-Jazeera's power and intended to set up a television channel in order to make it possible for a television broadcast to develop a pro-American attitude in the Middle East. El-Hurra, established with this goal in mind, was going to start broadcasting as a new American channel broadcasting 'Free', from satellite. The target of El-Hurra, which was established by the financing of the American Congress, was entirely the Arab population of the Middle East. The aim was to influence the entire Arab world with
broadcasts. On Saturday, February 14, 2004, Valentine's Day, al-Hurra began broadcasting was described as the American answer to Al-Jazeera, the 'island'. (Akıner 90)

Al-Hurra is a public diplomacy activity rather than a news channel in our research. The largest news network in the world, like CNN, was unable to reach the Arabs in the Middle East with a news channel in their own language, and Al-Jazeera's network covering the entire Middle East, especially after September 11 broadcasting policy with 24 hour news made Al-Jazeera CNN of Arabs. This opportunity gave Al-Jazeera the chance to compete with CNN as a news network calling the whole world from the Middle East region with Qatar's extensive financing. Al-Jazeera television was born as an alternative international news channel that reflects the voice of the Middle East, a strategic and troubled region in the face of the domination of CNN and other global channels in world communications. (Zayani 111)

Reaching the Middle Eastern audience of Al-Jazeera with the same language was an obligation to the American administration. Former President George W. Bush announced the establishment of Al-Hurra television in his 2004 Unity Speech by stating that “a new TV broadcasting sharing reliable news and information will begin to be able to confront the hate propaganda”.

VOA Arabic had a reputable Arab service, but the Bush administration has decided to replace the government radio and its serious publications with radio Sawa, which played songs that make it popular among Arab youth rather than news bulletins. A year later the same team undertook the task of opening an Arabic satellite channel. Al-Hurra began broadcasting in February 2004. (Abdul-Hussain)

As a result, the Al-Hurra channel, which launched in February 2004 with a budget of $ 62 million, was going to announce US policies with accurate and objective news against media campaigns used by terrorists. It would be an explanatory resource in the Middle East to raise broadcasting standards and provide news and
information to viewers against the discriminatory and provocative programs of other stations. 4 (http://www.al-bab.com/media/alhurra.htm)

Al-Hurra channel was not welcomed by the Arab media and was teased by them. How the U.S. spent money on such a project was often questioned in publications related to Al-Hurra. Established against Al-Jazeera and other Arab channels, Al-Hurra has not had any impact on the Arab public. It was subject to mockery in the Arab press. In the United Arab Emirates journal AL-Khaleej: "many comments show that America's new media attack is not different from military, political and economic attacks". If American politics were solid and convincing, cosmetic work would not be done to correct this image. Marc Lynch described Al-Hurra as "a totally unnecessary American stamp with controversial news choice, poor journalism and an interesting talk show subject and guests".

Al-Hurra was founded 10 years ago by the Bush administration as a project to present a positive image of America to the Middle East audience. Al-Hurra doubled its budget for 2005 to 112 million, despite low ratings, shaking management and incomplete financial records. (Kiel, 2008)

The channel, which did not find much response in the Arab world, was the subject of criticism by most writers in America after Arabs. While some authors found the method to be inaccurate, some criticized the channel as a source of money for some of the government's representatives and unpublished journalists. The fact that ratings in audience surveys were at very low levels and that Al-Hurra channel's spending can not be accounted for, have contributed to these criticisms. Anatol Lieven, a member of the New American Foundation, and David Chambers, Middle East publishing specialist, in the article published in the L.A. Times stated by emphasizing that Al-Hurra channel was a wrong choice from the beginning:

4 http://www.albab.com/media/alhurra.html
“Al-Hurra's system is basically wrong. As its name suggests, it was taken from US stations such as Radio Free Europe. But these stations were set up to spread democratic ideas against Soviet communist propaganda during the cold war and were useful for that period. Because during the cold war the US was facing the one way media controlled by the Soviet communist party. The situation in the Arab world is completely different. Arabs are not people seeking salvation from the domination of strangers, except Palestinian and Iraqi ones, and the Arab media is indeed very diverse with over 200 satellite stations. The Al-Hurra Administration can honor its sponsors with serious News service, but Arab governments have different cultures, attitudes and policies.” (Chambers) In the same article, it was mentioned that Al-Hurra's propaganda-based publishing approach would not be effective in the Arab world and could not find its place in the Arab media by stating: “Cold war propaganda techniques made sense for that time. But this kind of state propaganda is not the real American way. On the contrary, our approach is based on the belief of Oliver Wendell Holmes that "The best test of the truth is that the power of thought is accepted by the competition." The Arab media is such a market. We must join this competition with high quality and independent media produced by America. Thus, Al-Hurra must be shut down in a clap”. (Chambers)

Despite the low ratings, serious management and content problems, Al-Hurra continues to expand its network and increase its spending. Al-Hurra has cost US taxpayers half a billion dollars since it was launched in February 2004. It has increased his budget by 20 percent in the last two years. In 2008, it spent about $100 million for the three-hour morning programs that were broadcast five days a week and employed one hundred and fifty people from the Arab world to work on the programs. In addition, the channel plans to re-activate the website. The channel's board of directors requested Al-Hurra's $110 million financing in 2009 to increase to $113 million for 2010 from the Congress. (Linzer) According to the State Department, Washington has allocated $520 million in 2010 to help the United States achieve its foreign policy goals and gain foreign public support. While the
country implemented austerity policies in 2011, the congress nevertheless increased the public diplomacy budget to $ 568 million. (Abdul-Hussain, 2012)

US President George W. Bush said in 2004 that the Al-Hurra channel will help fight terror by reflecting the values and policies of the United States in the Arab world which is full of hate propaganda. Al-Hurra is one of Washington's hopeless projects. Though these words are disturbing, I write them with sensitivity. Below is summary of a 72 page study by USC for BBG:

“As a result of our work, the programming of Al-Hurra was found to be perceived as similar to traditional, state-sponsored publications in the region. Al-Hurra has not only been able to distinguish itself from second-rate midstream broadcasters in terms of what it would do, but also failed to develop his own unique format, style, and ability to influence a significant audience. Even Al-Hurra's description of US politics and American life seems ordinary by Arab audiences. This view was discussed at the sessions of the discussion groups and supported by content analysis. In short, El-Hurra has failed to be competitive, in other words, failed.

Weak Journalism: Al-Hurra's journalism is at a level below standards. It does not have as good a technical presentation as successful Arabian channels. The content analysis of the work revealed that the news of Al-Hurra was lacking in terms of source. The discussion group noted that journalists had an obvious lack of experience with flaws in presentation, misuse of graphics, and lack of standard Arabic language coverage. Content analysis, Al-Hurra, failed to trust very often unfounded information, often allowing personal jurisdiction to be portrayed live, and failing to provide a contrary view of over 60 percent of the news.

Perceived Prejudice: Given the link between al-Hurra and the American government and the people, it turns out that there is a natural suspicion among Arab audiences in terms of the objectivity of broadcasting on the problems in the region. (Snow)

Along with all these criticisms directed at al-Hurra, under the title of “International Broadcasting in Iraq”, in response to the question "Which channels did you watch yesterday and last week?" In a survey covering 2000 people, in 2007, 32 percent of
people answered that they watched Al-Hurra the day before and 55 percent of which watched the channel last week. In the same research, "Do you think which TV news sources are reliable?" 18 percent of respondents gave Al-Hurra the answer "I think they are reliable" and 30 percent "I find it a bit reliable". It is useful to note that; in the same study, the proportion of those who found Al-Jazeera as trustworthy was 21 percent and the proportion of those who found it somewhat reliable was 23 percent. According to the survey, the most reliable channel was Al-Iraqia channel with 52 percent.

As a result, it is observed that the news channel Al-Hurra funded by the American government, which has been arguably controversial in its publication, has not reached its goals when it was set up, and when the reactions from the inside and the international public are examined, it is suggested that it is against US policy.

It is sufficient to only briefly watch the content of the broadcasts to claim that France 24 has taken its broadcasting policy from the colonial period. It has created a publication policy without ignoring the historical-colonial ties with the region of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia and so on, which we call Mağarib Al Arab. The France 24 Arabe channel also has its worker portfolio from this region. Although the media follow-up language in the region is 70 percent French, the channel has seen it enough to broadcast in Arabic. In the content of the publication, the developments in the region took a lot of space and at the same time special programs like 'Maghreb Time' were made. When we look at the programs, it is possible to see that: racism in Tunisia, women's place in Morocco, how will the political climate change in Algeria after Bouteflika? It is also important to note that France is the European country with the highest number of immigrants from the Maghreb countries. When we deal with this context, it should be noted that it broadcasts not only to the region but also to its own country. Programs such as "The Secrets of Paris" and "Elephant Felek El-Memnu" are examples of this politics. France 24 Arabe has transferred France 24’s studio designs and publishing framework to Arabic without changing. Thus, it has continued to broadcast without having the
classical corporate identity, awareness and recognition problems. Subtitle bands and promotional trailers are also translated into Arabic. Some news are only translated. In the same way some programs are broadcast with the same content only by changing the presenter. The technological program "Technophobia" is the best example of this. Although the whole technical team is the same, the program is converted to Arabic format by adding only one Arab presenter and producer. In news broadcasts, discourse and content are differentiated naturally in the Middle East news. While the drama of the Syrian refugees living in France is generally not reflected on the screen, the news for the Syrians living in different countries such as Turkey are being foregrounded. For example, in the Murasil program, the subjects such as the sale of young Syrian girls to old men by marriage in Turkey, the smuggling of historical monuments and the participation to ISIS are frequently discussed. News about the region are published under French foreign policy. In this context, the debates in French politics are also reflected on the screen. At the same time, with more than 160 correspondents, the channel follows the developments in the whole Middle East region and the countries and reflects them on the screen in a comprehensive way. The news for women and women is being interpreted through European values and people who can be called "dissatisfied elites" in their countries is taking place in the news. For example, the issue of women's place in Islam, which is an old issue, is constantly addressed from different angles, and the framework of evaluations made by ignoring regional dynamics and this causes eyebrows to raise in the region. These mentioned reasons and the historical backgrounds and colonial relations with the North African region, France 24 Arabe channel, has found its place among the most followed channels of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco region. This clearly shows that France now uses the media to influence the colonial regions of the last century.

There is also Russian Al-Yovm channel, which is an Arabic version of the Russia Today channel and started broadcasting on 4 May 2007 as a 24-hour news channel. RT is a multi-lingual transnational channel with television channels in English, Arabic, Spanish language funded by the state in Russia. Broadcast formats and
screen graphics have an organizational appearance, despite changes in content. Al-Yowm channel works in a news channel format. It supports this format with hourly news bulletins as well as studio and current programs. Documentary publications are mainly co-produced and broadcast dubiously on all channels. With its art and culture programs, it aims to diversify its programs and reach different audiences. After the year it was founded, although its broadcasts were appreciated to some extent, they could not go beyond Russian foreign policy. In particular, the publication policy in the news about the Arabian spring and the rebellion in Syria was far behind the broadcasts of the channels such as Al-Jazeera Al-Arabiya from the mainstream Arab media. While the mainstream media has always been on the ground with the Syrian opposition, Russia Today kept its correspondents with the Syrian army. It also described the Syrian opposition as “musallihun” -armed men in English – or “irhabiyyun” – terrorists in English – while the mainstream media has used the term “thawriyun” which means revolutionaries and showed its side along with the regime. Broadcasting interviews of Syrian President Bashar al-Assad and his administration frequently, who has lost legitimacy in almost all Arab countries and officially in the Arab League, has removed the broadcasting policy of the channel from the Arab public. The RT channel is an important example of the impact of external politics on state-funded media organs and publishing policies. After the ongoing war in Syria and Russia's actual intervention, both the Russian media and the public opinion of Russia seem to have increased interest. Since there is a bilateral informal transition, we have not been able to find a channel that broadcasts in Slavic languages, but the Arabic publicity of RT Arabic has increased seriously on the other side. Even if we can not measure the increase in rating ratios, statistics at social media and news site show us what the size of this increase is.

On the other hand, Russia actually has increased its military presence in the region like America. This actual intervention continues with proactive publishing. What is different from America is that it does not act on the grounds of getting closer to the
people of the region, persuading or acquiring consent. RT Arabic has been able to spread the news network across the entire Arabic geography by increasing the budget to a considerable extent. Nevertheless, the format of handling news, the coverage of the news, the language used, the relative editorial freedom, and the distinctive display of distinct ideas on the screen have led to a considerable amount of audience. In the same way, the use of effective social media with followers participating in broadcasting politics let it compete with large Arab stations in alternative measurable circles. If we give an example, the RT has issued a more flexible broadcasting policy, even showing opposing or even accusatory comments to Russia. However, it accused Turkey of doing business with ISIS after the plane crisis and at the same time was able to screen members of opposition Kurds in Turkey who were considered terrorist organizations by the United States, the United Nations and the European Union with their leaders’ picture in the background. This also allows us to reach the variables that show how the media has changed its publishing policy according to the political atmosphere between the two countries.

Iran also has a channel called Al-Alam, which broadcasts in Arabic under the title of public diplomacy. The Al-Alam channel began broadcasting in 2003 via satellite, and with terrestrial broadcasters set up at the border of Iraq. The channel, which has 50 different correspondents in 40 different locations, also has branches in Tehran, Baghdad, Beirut and Damascus. There is also a website in English, Persian and Arabic. As the al-Alam channel was established at the same time as the US occupation of Iraq, the publishing life began very lively. Especially the Iraqi viewers were very influential in terrestrial broadcasts because they could not use satellite receivers forbidden at that time. In fact, Iran saw the US occupation of Iraq as an opportunity for itself. Saddam, the long-time enemy, was sacked by another enemy country and the need to communicate with the intensive Arab Shiite population living in Iraq was satisfied.
In February 2003, Al-Alem began broadcasting terrestrial broadcasts from Iranian channel to Iraq. The first editorial position of the channel was obvious: the dead bodies of the Iraqi civilians were widely projected on the screen and the coalition forces were declared invaders. In this frame, the slogan of the channel was "War of Sovereignty". The target mass of the Al-Alem channel was primarily a repressive majority, Iraqi Shiites, who regarded Iran as a holy country. (Malek 2007) Al-Alem has diversified his programs to expand the channel's target audience. Documents on Iraqi Sunnis, Lebanese and Palestinian issues began to be broadcast. The United States saw the power of publishing as a way of communicating with Arab audiences with opening Al-Hurra in 2004. In the same year, the governments of France, Germany, Russia and England built or were going to built their own Arabic channels. But according to media analysts in Europe, Iran has seen it before everyone and that is why they were very smart. (Malek 2007)

The only channel Iran uses for media is not Al-Alam. Persian TV networks and satellite appliances were used because it responded to the demand for better interaction with the rest of the world, even though it was banned by the government in 1995. Although the local media can not facilitate communication among Iranians in the same way, the Iranian government has used this publication to gain access to the hearts and minds of foreigners anywhere in the world, both Iranians and Iranian foreigners who speak in known languages. Tehran, which invests in satellite channels such as Jamejam, Sahar and Al-Alam, in the English-language Press channel and now in the Spanish television market, aims to spread the image of Iran's "Moderate Islamic Country" among millions of spectators. (Pahlawi 2012)

The Al-Alam channel followed an oppositional publication policy during the Arabian Spring, especially against the uprisings in Bahrain. The primary reason for this publication policy is that the Bahrain administration is Sunni, and the majority of the population is Shi’a. For this reason, Al-Alam channel, instead of the same publishing policy, took precedence over sectarian similarities against the popular
uprisings that started in different countries during the Arab Spring period and followed a sense of news in line with Iran's interests in these countries.

The foundation date of the British public service broadcaster BBC is January 1, 1927. In fact, the BBC was the continuation of a British broadcasting company founded in 1922 by a consortium established to produce radio receiving devices. In 1927, the BBC was reorganized as a public institution with Royal Beret. During the reorganization, it was noted that the BBC was within a certain distance from the parliament and from the government against possible future pressure. (Çaplı 104)

The BBC Arabic radio broadcasts have been around for seventy years. The idea of Arabic television emerged in the 90's. BBC Arabic television was opened in 1994 with an agreement with Orbit channel financed by Saudi Arabia. The new BBC Arabic service, which started with two hours of daily broadcasts at BBC studios in West London, gradually phased its broadcasts to eight hours per day by the end of 1994. But the relations in the editorials did not go well for a long time. The problems that emerged in 1996 proved that Orbit and the BBC could not agree culturally. Tough phone calls and management meetings emerged, the so-called cultural sensitivities, what the Saudi King's Family did not accept. (Miles 2005)

Introduction of human rights violations in Saudi Arabia in TV broadcasts in addition to these developments, the Orbit-BBC partnership has come to an end.

Before Al-Jazeera, it was customary to have to follow the short-wave radio broadcasts of foreign channels broadcasting in Arabic so that the peoples of the Middle East could obtain reliable, accurate, objective and comprehensive news. Only the Voice of America, Radio Monte Carlo Middle East (rmc-me) and BBC World Service Arabic Radio were followed to reach the real story. But these foreign channels have now left their places to Al-Jazeera. (Nevevi Iskandar 45) The rise of Al-Jazeera in the middle of the television journalism caused the need for the BBC to turn to this area. In 2004, the British government asked the BBC World Service to prepare a project for a 24-hour Arabic-language television channel from the
satellite. Then the BBC World Service began to work to establish a TV channel to broadcast in Arabic. Three years later, in 2007, the BBC Arabic service began running over 12 hours a day, with an annual capital of £20 million and close to 200 employees. Taking the power of the BBC tradition behind was the most important advantage for the BBC Arabic Service. On this page, the channels financed by foreign governments such as Al-Hurra, Russia Today, France 24 and DW easily left behind. They chose channels like Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya as competitors in the news field. In a survey conducted immediately after the opening of the BBC Arabic Service, it is possible to see this: "It is a known fact that the attention of the masses of the audience in the Middle East and North Africa region is hard to come by. However, the BBC has reached 12 million viewers in the region. Considering that it reached the 73% of Arabia and 75% of Al-Jazeera, it means covering 23% of this market." (BBC Report 2009) Again in the same survey, channel expectations in interviews with journalists from various regions of the Middle East are as follows: Previous work has shown that audiences want accuracy, reliability, neutrality, breaking news, understanding and emotional connection. According to more recent studies, audiences attach importance to the freedom of expression, program diversity and quality of Arabic television. Independent investigations have proven that these channels have earned the respect of the spectator for professional journalism, analysis, freedom of expression, international news coverage and forbidden matters. (BBC Report 2009)

In an interview with the Arab Media & Society, Hosam El Sokkari, director of the BBC Arabic Service, said: There is nothing different from our multimedia platforms to do this. We have a radio station and internet operations. We will have TV operation. Our content is very diverse and appealing. There is no one who does this in the Middle East. The rate of viewers who like to watch the BBC Arabic channel in research is around 80-90%. (Heil 2007) In the same interview, Sokkari commented on the publication content as: "We have a very different way of dealing with our issues, our presenters will not participate in the attack of one's other, we will not have our political messages, we do not have the property to hide facts from
our views, we are not party to the discussions. We educate our reporters to reflect people's views and to represent people in the media, which is not something people can find in the media in the Middle East."

The BBC Arabic channel's ability to compete with major networks in the Arab world, such as Al-Jazeera and Al-Arabiya, was deriving from the broadcasting policy, the BBC tradition and the image of the world as a whole which made it distinguish among Arabic channels of other countries.

When the scope of the competition and the coverage of other channels are examined, the elimination does not pass concrete rating data. Nowadays social media and TV stations are now combining digital broadcasting with networks. This helps us to reach a healthier data than ratings, and at the same time it helps us to reach some conclusions by pre-accepting social media broadcasts in parallel with TV broadcasts. It is worthwhile to look at the research that covers the MENA region published by Qatar Westminster University annually for four years before the social media statistics of the channels included in the research. At the same time, the study also allows us to compare people who watch TV and use social media because the use of social media also gives them the ratios to the general audience. At the same time, we will be able to compare and verify the data we gained from research conducted by reliable organizations such as iPSOS and Nielsen on the MENA region.
CHAPTER 4

4.1 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF TRT BROADCAST

According to Asbu data, there are 11 satellite service providers covering the Mena region and on arabic-speaking geography. The total number of satellite channels in the MENA region has reached 1294. 268 of them are encrypted and the remaining 1026 are open. 165 of the channels are public and 1129 are private channels. Of these channels, 161 are in English, 25 are in French, 19 are in Hindi while the remaining 30 channels are broadcast in 9 local or regional languages such as Turkish, Kurdish and Persian. While there are 323 general format channels, there are 124 music channels, 152 drama movies and series, 22 children and 68 news channels in total. Since we will address TRT Arabic in the context of news channels, we limit the overall range of competition to these 68 channels. It is worth noting that TRT Arapaça is also a special competition area, considering the competition area in two categories under the category of 'foreign' countries. These foreign news channels mainly consist of 11 channels.

The channels can roughly be divided into three as news channels, religious channels and entertainment channels. In this context, news channels are classified as channels of publicly funded, local or international and regional channels. Examples would be panarap-type channels such as AL-JAZEERA, AL-ARABIA, AL-HADETH, AL-ARABI can be called international news channels that can broadcast the entire Middle East region with news networks, distributions, offices, broadcasting policies and frameworks. Although local news channels can be viewed throughout the region via satellite, we keep them separate from these international channels as they only care about the local masses and limited territories in terms of broadcasting facilities, policies and news coverage. In the channels we classify as publicly supported news channels, we have to deal with the common intersection sets. In other words, a channel can be both publicly funded and internationally, as
well as from outside the region. Since the common points are evaluated in the heading of news channels, the points of dissociation will give us information about how the broadcasting policies of these channels are shaped.

We can mention channels such as BBC Arabic, France 24, DW Arabic, RT Arabic, AL-Hurra, SKYNEWS Arabic, AL-Alem, TRT Arabia, CCTV Arabic among the channels broadcasting from outside the region (transnational or transborder broadcasting). It is important to remember that there are dozens of channels that broadcast in Arabic but fund different countries. For example, it is expressed at many different times that Iran funds the 28 small satellite stations that are in Arab media and whose coverage is religious (sectarian), news, culture, art, even children channels.

![Figure 1: Numbers of TV Networks on Arab Sattelites by genre](image)

(Source: ASBU – Arab Sattelite Broadcasting Union)
4.2 TRT ARABIA JOURNALISM

To understand the difficulties of being a Turkish channel producing Arabic news, Sefer Turan, founder coordinator of the channel, gave an interview to a news site in 2010 and it is an important finding to explain that "the number of Arabic-speaking media workers in the country is too small to be counted". However, the channel's inability to develop a project for many years has been a major loss. The issue of how Arab journalists adapt to the broadcasting policy of the channel has affected the channel's broadcasts from time to time. The Turks, who are on the screen of the channel, are people who have taken their Arabic education generally in religious terms and / or have lived in the region for a while. The work of those who speak Arabic but who are not familiar with the media experience and the language of the press, and whose language use is far from the people of the region, has led to a publication format that is amateurish to most media critics. (It should not be forgotten that some Turkish news commentators have been involved in the Arab media too much).

Meanwhile, criticism of the channel not being able to find good announcers does not seem right. Because, among the old commentators of the channel, there are a large number of people who appear in the mainstream Arab media. Even if the channel finds good presenters, it could not keep some of them because of political, private or financial reasons. Some of these announcers were beginners. They were mostly transferred to mainstream Arab media after they spent their noviciates and gained experience. The same is true for correspondents. The point of common criticism between the announcers and the reporters who have been separated from the channel is that the 'channel management issues and later financial reasons'. The good thing about this is that the journalists who recognize Turkey and its politics, continue their positive views about the country in their new channels. This has led to significant disclosures about the human resource, which is one of the most important problems of the channel.
News editors are the guardians of the channel. They are the architects of the channel's publishing policy and order. Although TRT Arabia's broadcast flow changes in some periods, a traditional broadcast policy is followed in the form of hourly shorts, two or three hour long newsletter, evening main newsletter and nightly newsletter. Broadcasts are ending with the news of conflicts from hot regions such as Syria and Iraq, international developments, political visits and meetings, Turkey's news and culture, arts or technology news. News source and contents are mostly not production. That is, the channel uses agencies instead of producing content. Thus, it is far from a sense of journalism that can create awareness and create an agenda. Problems such as the lack of news and field producers in general, the lack of on-screen experience of reporters, the lack of offices or correspondents outside Turkey, the lack of use of TRT in offices or employees in other countries, bureaucratic troubles with journalists working as freelancers leads to a screen that is away from Al-Arabia's agenda-setting concerns and inconsistent with the public diplomacy of Turkey. A reporter working in Tunisia explained this situation in an interview as: "Your series are great, but your journalism is mediocre, if Al-Jazeera did not describe Turkey's policy, it would be assumed that all the troubles in the Middle East are because of Turkey." This is in fact a summary of the need for a strong Arabic news channel. You can find news about Turkey every day in the news bulletins of Arabic news channels.

Although TRT's international publishing history began in the 1930s, there has been no effective and sustainable publication policy. As a public diplomacy activity, international publishing can only proceed if influential in international relations. From this point of view, it is natural or even compulsory to mobilize international broadcasting after Turkey has increased its influence on global and regional scale. TRT's general international broadcasting goals and principles are as follows:

TRT’s Targets in Broadcasting to Foreigners:
The peoples of the Turkic nations or the countries of the citizens of Turkey and other audiences around the world are also the secondary target for the international channels of TRT. In order to reach these masses, it is observed that TRT broadcasts
foreign language and subtitled programs in the framework of its facilities. In this context, the goals that should be observed in the programs of TRT aimed at foreigners are as follows:

1. To establish a positive public opinion about the Turkish State and the Nation in the world by introducing every aspect of Turkey and Turkish people; providing sympathy and support to democratic, modern, secular and respectful of human rights Turkey in the target masses addressed,

2. To introduce the political, social, cultural, economic, scientific and technological developments of Turkey in education, health and tourism,

3. Explaining Turkey's relations with the Turkish and Islamic states against developments such as the Caucasus, Central Asia, Middle East, Cyprus, Balkans and Eastern Europe, and the activities of international organizations with significant projects,

4. Explaining the harmonization studies carried out by the European Union and Turkey relations to develop these relations in the way to become a full member of the union,

5. Helping Turkey to increase its social and economic relations with other countries and to increase exports, to find new markets, to improve the opportunities of cooperation provided by mutual investment agreements, to announce Turkish week and fairs.

TRT’s Principles in Broadcasting to Foreigners:
The principles to be followed in broadcasts aimed at foreigners are:

- Considering that we are competing with many radios and televisions in the world, we will pay attention to the aesthetics and quality in publications.
- Images and programs that may harm Turkey's modern image will not be included.
- In programs, subjects will be presented in a short and intriguing manner without being didactic.
- Turkey's external and tourism policy will be supported in accordance with its goals and objectives.
• Turkey's secular structure will be emphasized and tolerance of Islamic religion to other religions and beliefs will be emphasized.
• In order to create a positive public opinion about our country, negative propaganda about Turkish culture and history will be tried to refute and participation of foreigners in the programs will be ensured.

4.3 TURKISH MEDIA IN MIDDLE EAST

In recent years, relations have increased in cultural, commercial and tourism areas, as well as political links between Turkey and the Middle East. The media was also involved in this interaction. Just as in the Arab image in Turkey in the direction of the changing political discourse, in the Arab world, the perceptions about Turkey have changed at certain intervals. Turkey's recent establishment of relations with the Arab countries, mediation of the problems in these countries, making statements about Israeli attacks in Gaza that make a noise in the world public opinion and lastly Prime Minister Erdogan's reaction on Gaza attacks to Prime Minister Peres in the World Economic Forum have caused significant changes in the image of Turkey in Arab countries. (Yağbasan 23)

The first dimension of Turkey's increasing relevance in the Middle East and its potential for "regional power" is the soft power parameter. Soft power is based on the operation of "an actor's ideas, or the power to determine the political agenda, in a charm that will determine the preferences of the other actors". In this context, the concept of soft power refers to the principles applied to culture, political values and foreign policy columns and how other actors perceive these practices. In terms of soft power, various studies have been done recently in Turkey. In this respect, the attractiveness of the common history, culture and values system, especially the religious elements shared by Turkey with the regional countries, was emphasized in various studies. (Kutlay 2012)
The interest that the Turkish series has encountered in the Arab world has been assessed by many researchers in terms of 'soft power', an international relations concept. The soft power of a country depends mainly on three sources: culture, political values and foreign policy. Soft power is the ability to acquire through attraction, not deterrence or money. The sources of soft power in international politics are largely composed of a cultural expression of an organization or the country. The Turkish TV shows create a kind of identification with the Arab peoples, creating a 'soft power' effect for Turkey. (Deniz 55)

An example of a planned soft power activity is the Yunus Emre Institutes opened in more than 30 countries. But it would be unreasonable to say that the series were designed as a planned project to the Middle East in the context of Turkey's soft power. However, the effect of the series on the Middle East was enormous. Many researchers have pointed out that in the Turkish series, the Arab audience's attention to detail is the western style of life for people who have the same religion in the productions of a Muslim country. The Arabic dubbed Turkish series "Noor (Gümüş)" made its debut on the Arabian streets in 2008 and attracted more than 85 million Arab viewers, especially young women. Noor madness was seen as reported by many journalists as the reason for the divorce of Arab couples due to their bad behavior. (Anas 19)

Some radical Muslim preachers in the West Bank and Saudi Arabia stated that the Noor series is non-Islamic and that religious followers must not continue watching. They even said that they need to zap the moment they see the series. But the impact brings the response, and the series is changing the society. The reaction of the Ulemah to these series sometimes went to the death penalty or to the exile request. Sheikh Salih El Liiedan, President of the High Sharia Court, which holds the highest judicial authority of Saudi Arabia cautioned that the owner of the channel that streaming the Noor could be punished by the death penalty. Another Saudi scholar, Sheikh Salih al-Fozan, said the channel owner should be deported from the country. (Arabiya 2008)
Despite these adverse events, Turkish TV series’ popularity in the Middle East increased tremendously. Turkish series-film sector provided a 150 million dollars worth export income to Turkey in 2013. With more and more than 70 series and films being exported to 54 countries; Ukraine, Pakistan, Russia and China have entered the market for the first time in 2013. Based on the datas received from the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkish series which was sold for 35 to 50 dollars an episode in the first times of entrance into the international market, is being sold for 500 to 200 thousand dollars today. By the end of 2013, Turkey's annual series exports totaled 150 million dollars. (Al jazeera 2014) Among the foreign programs in the Middle East, the share of the Turkish series is around 60%. The intense interest in the Turkish series in the Middle East has also reflected on the commercial scene and has increased the business potential in various sectors. The latest series has become an important means of convergence between Turkey and the Middle East. This cultural rapprochement also brought about economic convergence. Increasing home sales in the field, increased demand for textile products based on clothing worn by series characters, and increases in home textiles sales are examples of this convergence. (Büyükbaşkal 2011)

We can not say that the series are sold to the Middle East by the state. Ultimately, all these social developments have come through the commercial activities of the producing companies. Turkey had to steer the potential of soft power rising in the Middle East in the direction of its interests. In this direction, it was necessary to carry the developing political and cultural relations to the media field as well. TRT Arabia was established as the answer to this need in the Arabic channel. The channel started broadcasting after a busy year and a half. Since there were not enough Arabic language media workers in Turkey, the staff of the channel was mainly filled with Arab countries. The staff of the channel was composed of various countries such as Syria, Iraq, Jordan, Tunisia and Morocco.
Turkey is far ahead of all its Arab and Muslim neighbors as it has improved its political and cultural institutions, human resources and cultural outlook. Turkey has more than 200 televisions and about 1,000 radio channels, which makes it different from one decade ago. Turks have twice as many mobile phones as the world average. There has also been an increase in the presence of foreign media in Turkey, including the bureaus of Al-Jazeera and other Arab TV channels. For example, the Al-Jazeera bureau in Turkey is the second after the Al-Jazeera bureau in Washington in terms of team and published news in a non-Arab country. (Anas 17)

At the same time, the situation in the media in the Arab geography is not very bright except for a few exceptions. The sultry on the Arab media of the Saudi regime began by signing a series of media protocols with the Arab governments, blocking the negative news about the Saudi administration and the royal family. Over time, there have been more control mechanisms in other areas that may disturb the Saudi administration. (B. K. Erdem 87) Today, Saudi Arabia controls in one way or another 95% of the newspapers and magazines published in Arabic in the form of censorship. Therefore, acceptance in Saudi Arabia, especially for Pan Arab written and visual media, is the basic condition for survival. Under these conditions, the main problem of the Arab media is repressive state control and censorship. (Bora 2001)

The situation is not different in other Arabic channels. The majority of these Arab satellite channels are subsidiaries of state television. Mostly they have been set up for a special purpose, such as that the Arab governments can influence beyond their national borders. In these channels, which are usually made official propaganda, more money is spent on the technical aspect of broadcasting than on program quality. This can be easily understood when looking at the contents. In most of these channels news programs consist of ‘protocol’ news. Bulletins relating to the activities, visits and announcements of government officials are mentioned. Watching the nightly news in Kuwait, the spectators follow the current agenda of Emir Sheikh Cabir Bin El-Sabbah step by step and watch the opening of the school, meeting with international delegates, celebrating special occasions. The shortage of topic-centered programs can also be generalized to all Arabic state television. (Nevevi ve Iskandar 44)
The first publicity videos of the channel actually feature the codes of Turkey's view of the Middle East: Two turks appear in Istanbul, in an old building, while playing music on an antique radio. An old man with a smile on his face is preparing a coffee, a stylishly dressed and shaved young man waiting for the old man. The coffee is prepared with a young, coffeey copper tray that appears western style with the preparation. This is the promotional videos of the Turkish news-entertainment channel TRT Al-Turkiyya in Arabic language, supported by the government in 2010. Later, the young man takes a copper tray and departs from Istanbul. After two seconds, the train descends to Aleppo in northern Syria. The next stages on the videotape, along with the Turkish young man, take the audience from Damascus to the important centers of the Middle East and North Africa. In the final scene, a musician plays the music on the first stage of the presentation video. Young turkish serves the turkish coffee in the copper hill to the musician. The musician says 'thank you, this is great'. The video is still warm and fresh from the smokes of the cup of chenille, 'Turkey with love' ends with the writing. This video reveals the symbols of how the Turkish-Arab relations of the producers of TRT Al-Turkiyya imagine. (Kraidy 2013)

This introductory video is based not only on Turkey's efforts to reach all the Arab countries of the Middle East through the TRT Arabic channel, but also on embracing its developing relations not only in the bureaucracy but also in the Arab streets. It is not a channel that is heavily news-related to other funding funded by government funding. Culture-art, entertainment programs that give weight to this percentage. For the same reason, he has also included in the series productions for two years. Because Turkish series were the most known and followed productions on the Arab street.

TRT Arabic, which started broadcasting in April 2010, is one of the most important initiatives Turkey has recently put into practice to revive the connection with the Arab world. Turkey has taken an important step in establishing direct
communication with the region. Many actors have been broadcasting for the region for years. For example, Russia (Russia Al-Yavm), UK (BBC Arabic, London Radio), USA (Sava Radio, El Hurra, CNN Arabic), China (CCTV Arabic), France (France 24, Monte Carlo Radio) Arabic) and non-Arab countries such as Iran have Arabic radio and television channels. (Kutlay 2012) Commentators said that the opening of the TRT Al-Arabia attracted more attention than the opening of BBC Arabic. TRT Although TRT Al-Arabia is not a news channel like Al-Jazeera, or Iranian Al-Alam, it targets the general audience by informing them about Turkish Arab relations, cultural and civilizational ties, Ottoman-Arab relations and Turkey's efforts for region and especially for peace in Palestine. The TRT broadcast stream includes theater, art, news, economy and comedy. The Turkish Prime Minister himself opened the channel and made an effective speech. (Anas 21)

TRT Arabic Founding coordinator Sefer Turan, in an interview about TRT Arabic: “First of all, relations with Turkey's close neighbors have begun to develop in the right way in recent years. In order for these relations to be taken to the next stage, the communication had to be removed to higher levels. Therefore, we think that TRT Arabic will meet a great need in the development of Turkey’s relations with the region. Second, many countries in the world, not just in the region, have been broadcasting Arabic television for years. For example; U.S.A., United Kingdom, Germany, France. When countries such as China, Russia, and South Korea broadcast Arabic language to Arab countries, it was unthinkable for an Arabic language television not to broadcast in an important part of the region like Turkey.” described the channel’s broadcast policies.

Prime Minister Erdogan expressed the following about the channel in his opening speech in Dolmabahçe: “We work with our neighbors to increase our peace, solidarity, welfare and cooperation with all the countries in our region. We now hope that the blood flowing in the earth, especially in the region, will be stopped, the tears will stop, and peace and prosperity dominate the earth. TRT Al-Arabia has come out to be our common language, our common screen, our common feeling.”
With these words, he assigned the task of strengthening ties with the Middle East and reestablishing the broken ones.

TRT Arabia was welcomed with great interest in the Arab world. Al-Jazeera announced the launch of the channel jointly. Al-Arabiya again gave the opening of the channel live. Articles were published in publications such as Sharq Al Awsat, Al-Quds Al-Arab, Al-Gad.

In the article titled "We will watch TRT for Erdogan's sake" of Zehra Meri from El Kuds Al Arabi newspaper published in Arabic in London stated that in the minds of Arab people, Erdogan has received great appreciation for his attitudes towards the Arab-Israeli problem and for him, they would accept the Al-Arabia channel.

Adnan Abu Muti, a Qatari Arabic newspaper, in his article titled "Turkey is entering the Arab world from the door of the media" stated that: "Due to the decline of civilization in the Arab countries, the dispute between tradition and modernity, and the collapse of the system of values, the identity of the region has disappeared. This decline was also reflected in the media scene. This gap is also filled by foreign media. In my opinion, the Turks will be successful in the TV channels for the Arabs due to the great similarities and common histories between the Arab and Turkish communities. Channels of other countries do not have this feature. They have their own political and economic interests on the agenda, but they have not achieved the desired success. The consensus language policy of the AKP government with the Arab neighbors will support the new Turkish channel to reach its goals in the light of mutual interests, not coercion and threats." These words show that TRT Arabic is perceived as an important step towards unification and the development of promotional and mutual communication rather than a channel of propaganda in the region. Diana Mukallid, from the London-based Al-Sharqqawsat newspaper, wrote
in his article entitled "Welcome Al-Turkey" that Turkey's Arabic channel attracted more attention than Russia's El Yevm, France 24 and even BBC Arabic.5

In general, positive comments on TRT Arabic have been declared in the Arabic Media. Besides, some writers said that TRT is not the first in this area, similar Arabic channels for the Arabian territory have been opened, but the results have been weak. Some authors did not distinguish between channels with the same characteristics. Egypt's El Ahram newspaper Said Alloundi wrote in his article entitled "Where is the Arab media going?" that "The goals of Turkey's establishment of an Arabic channel and the new Ottoman empires do not concern me, and the main issue to be argued is that the Arab world is used as a ranch by American, French, German and Italian television."

The Al-Hurra channel, which was opened with the American occupation in Iraq, was intended by the Bush administration to herald democracy in the Arab world. France 24 reflects the policies of this country. The targeting of the Arab region in the context of media reflects the geopolitical and strategic importance of this region for the world. However, this situation does not legitimize our silence.6

Some writers from Iran have addressed the issue in different ways. Iran has the idea that Saudi Arabia has plans to reduce its influence in the Middle East by allowing Turkey to advertise itself in the media.

In an evaluation published in the Arabic newspaper Kuds-ul Arabi in London, Azam El-Temimi, President of the London Institute for Islamic Political Thought, said for TRT Al-Arabia: “I followed the TV channel for two or three days. I was deeply saddened. As an Arab audience, I did not find a message to be used by the Arabs or Turkey, and I felt sorry for the money spent on the project. I do not know what channel owners want to do with these programs in Arabic. As a result, TRT Et-Türkiyye channel can only be admired by those who do not want Turkey's good.

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5 http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/id/25080157
Programs can only attract people who do not mind nudity. The hopes of those who are waiting for it with enthusiasm are exhausted and turned into a disappointment. Because the programs in the channel do not satisfy at all and for many Arabs, they are in the group that can not be watched. We hope that the Turkish authorities will hasten to correct this terrible imbalance and return from this great mistake. By this way, the channel has no messages.” He also complains about the dominance of the Turkish series on the channel. "It seems as if the Arabs of the Saudi and Gulf countries have satellites in their satellite channels that are not saturated with the intense dose of these series."7

As a result of the reactions, we can see that the TRT Arabic channel is perceived differently from similar channels opened earlier. The Al-Hurra channel was set up to make up America’s wrecked image after the US invasion of Iraq. BBC Arabic wanted to take part in the growing trend in TV reporting in the Middle East. Channels like Russia Today, DW Arabia, France 24, CCTV Arabic were established to bring Middle Eastern politics of international powers to the people living in the region in their own languages. All channels except the BBC Arabic channel, which uses the power of its origins, were perceived as propaganda channels. TRT Arabic was opened in recent years in order to increase the brand value of the rising Turkey in the Middle East, especially surrounded by the series. As a result, the TRT has not been able to catch the same attraction on the street, even though the Arabic channel opened with great interest by the Arab media. It makes it impossible to make a healthy rating measurement because it broadcasts to more than 20 countries. The annual budget of the channel is approximately 20 million Turkish liras. From this point of view, TRT Arabic, broadcasts with a quarter of the budget of the BBC Arabic channel and a third of the budget of the El-Hurra channel.

7 http://www.sahafi.jo/files/5534632959fa4db00fdd0cd5ca988c6adb87653.html
It seems that there are some frustrations and worries about TRT Arabia. In this sense, it is clear that TRT Arabia needs to be thoroughly investigated as to how it is perceived and influenced by the Arab world. A broad public opinion survey to be made on this framework will provide a concrete answer to the question of what deficiencies or positive aspects of TRT Arabic programs are and what needs to be done for a healthier broadcasting policy. (Kutlay 2012)

TRT Arabic, starting with the family channel format, has also turned into a news-weighted channel format since the last quarter of 2012. The number of news and discussion programs has been increased, although cultural programs in the channel continue.

4.4 TRT ARABIA PROGRAMS

The programing of the TRT El-Arabia channel needs a wide ranging evaluation from the outset. The channel, which started broadcasting in 2010, produced approximately 320 contents until 2016. This number includes internal and external productions, documentaries, adaptations and license leases. Annual average program production ranges from 40 to 60. Inner productions are between 10 and 19, while it is 25 and 51 in outer productions. The ratio of programs to total budget varies between 50% and 70% for foreign productions by years. In domestic production, it is between 5 and 19 percent of the total budget. However, despite this difference, domestic and foreign productions are close to each other in terms of broadcasting time and number. To examine with statistics:
The numerical superiority of foreign productions in the chart is striking. Two different results can be drawn from this numerical difference:
1. The channel does not have enough facilities and personnel.
2. Since the channel broadcasts to a different region, it has to meet its content needs from foreign productions.

If the two results do not match the channel reality, it is inevitable that a different policy need arises. However, if we examine the program publications in terms of episode and duration, we can reach the data that the difference is close to each other.
The crucial point here is the difference between the number of episodes and duration of episodes except for the year 2011. Despite the fact that episode numbers are generally smaller in domestic production, the close proximity of duration of episodes is also very important. Since domestic productions are mostly studio programs, episode-duration costs are less. When these costs are considered, it is seen that the costs of outsourcing are higher than those of productions made in home. It is to be stated that we can not reach any work on the return of programs, as the focus of publicly broadcasted channels is not the costs, on the contrary, the impact. Programlar kanalın ana gider kalemlerini oluşturmaktadır. When budgetary ratios are examined, we see that the most important expense items of the channel are programs. At this point, unscheduled execution of the program contents may introduce some inaccuracies. For example, some of the programs may be in a similar format, from time to time the weekly programs can address the same issues.
We see that the program policy of the channel does not meet the anticipations although creating program content process for the Arab world is expected to be a costly process as well as a careful construction of good foreign policy balances. We have been observing that the channel's program department has not existed for many years, and that preparations have been made for a long time. When we look at the channels of competition that we will touch on in details in the next sections, we reach these findings in support of our findings on program numbers. When we examine the channels in the competition environment, which will be mentioned in the next chapters, we have reached data in support of our findings on program numbers.

![PROGRAM SAYILARI](image)

Figure 4: Number of TV Programmes produced by competing networks

We will evaluate the program contents of the other channels in the next section, but the disproportionate appearance in the graph suggests that the channel must take precautions on the program numbers before detailed analysis.
The use of the Turkish series in the channel is always a hot button. As a matter of fact, some news-oriented channels such as Arabi Tv are broadcasting series especially at noon time. It is a reality expressed by every segment in which the Turkish series are watched with interest in the Middle East for about ten years. Although not enough academic studies have been done on how the series have become phenomena, some conclusions can be drawn when the series contents are discussed in general. In the audience surveys of the series, we reach the general findings that the number of female viewers is high, that they are less traced among the people who define themselves as religious, especially as the romantic series are watched more. In this context, there is a need for a comprehensive evaluation of how the series, considered as a means of the soft power of Turkey, actually give an image of Turkey.

When the TRT Arabic channel opened, it had more cultural-entertainment programs. By the end of 2012, it has been restructured and started broadcasting in news channel format. In this context, we will examine the broadcasting policy of the TRT Arabic channel for 2012 and beyond.8

First of all, TRT Arabic aimed to revitalize the connections between Turkey and Arab countries in accordance with the purpose of establishment. To this end, the programs are generally based on the cultural heritage from the common history. On the other hand, there are many tourism and promotion programs taking into account the increase in the number of tourists coming from the Middle East to Turkey. Travel and cultural programs with the aim of introducing historical, cultural and touristic places with different formats are the longest duration broadcasts of the channel.

8 Süreler TRT’nin 2012 yılı faaliyet raporundan alınmıştır.
At first, daily five news programs were consist of three short newsletters, one main news bulletin and one nightly bulletin. Today, the number has reached to an average of eleven bulletins a day with five five-minute short bulletins, four 30-minute short bulletins, a main news bulletin for 1 hour and a 45 minute nightly news bulletin. Again according to 2012 data, a newsletter of 64,218 minutes is published annually, including 1470 minutes of outdoor production and 64048 minutes of interior production per year. 84,812 minutes spent per year for news programs. Most of these programs are studio programs and live broadcasts. Music, entertainment, drama, sports and cinema programs have a total of 88,141 minutes of broadcast time per year.

News bulletins generally do not fall outside the line of Turkish foreign policy. All of the news editors are journalists from Arab countries. In the news bulletins, like the broadcast channels for the Middle East, first breaking new from the region, followed by world news, next Turkey news and finally culture-art and science-technology news which also called as soft news. News sources of the channel are the news agencies such as AP, Reuters, AFP and Anadolu Agency which report an average of over a hundred news on a daily basis. In addition, important daily news of important centers such as Cairo, Gaza, Baghdad, Tunisia and Islamabad are presented to the audience with live broadcasts with the program titled "Murasiluna El-Yevm" broadcast 6 days a week. In addition to these centers, free correspondents and cameramen are employed in countries such as Somalia, Morocco, Syria, Yemen, Sudan, Russia, and news is provided. In the news center, reporters who speak Arabic from different Arab countries and Turkey work. In daily news gatherings, the agendas of the specialist fields and the countries where they come from are followed and news bulletins are formed in this way.

The program named Afak Es-Sahafe is broadcast live five days a week in the morning and displays the newspapers and columnists in Turkish and Arabic world. The program Min İstanbul usually includes news from Turkey. The program, titled Viced El-Nazar, is broacast two days a week and evaluates developments in Arab
Spring and its aftermath. In this program, Arab Spring is evaluated from the perspective of Turkey. In this process, Turkey's role and effects are generally interpreted by a Turkish and Arab specialist. The program Bila Kuyud deals with the political and social developments in the Middle Eastern countries and analyzes Turkey's foreign policy issues with specialists. The developments in the world agenda are followed in the Ayn al-Alem program. Relevant messages are received from reporters in different centers. The program titled Elvan-i Seba is broadcast five times a week in the news-culture format. In each episode, a relevant guest interprets that day's agenda. In the program titled "Last Week in the World Press" broadcast once a week, important events from the world agenda are compiled and interpreted that week. Ankara's Agenda named program is published five days a week. Important news from the capital are reported daily. Highlights of the day, visitors from abroad and news from the Parliament are at the forefront. In the Kelam Mübaşır and Social Reason programs, especially the social media agenda is addressed. They are released live from the studio five days a week. The live broadcast programs called İktsadiyat and Ayn al-İktisat provide information to the Arab world about the dynamism, development and investment possibilities of the Turkish economy as well as news reports on the agriculture, energy and finance sector that convey the economic developments in the world economy and the Arab countries to the audiences. In addition, Arab and Turkish intellectuals are invited to cultural programs called Kahve Turki, Beyt El-Hikme, Likaa El-Turkiyye, Beyn El-Sutur and Zikriyyat. They often speak about the common history of the Arabs and Turks. The programs aim to strengthen Turkey's ties with Arab viewers.

4.5 DIGITAL BROADCAST

Since the channel was set up in a family format, an active internet site was not needed in the first place. Therefore, the channel did not work in a digital environment other than an out-of-date website. Social media pages were set up, but
they were not actively run. After a long time in the news-culture channel format, the website design has been renewed and started to be used actively along with the social media accounts. Although the number of staff was insufficient, remarkable movements were observed in social media.

One of the important aspects of digital broadcasting is the development of a participatory communication network with web 2.0 and the achievement of measurable data. In this context, we need to reveal the digital universe of the channel in the Middle East before going to the digital broadcasting policy evaluation. We will use the Middle East internet habits dataset, which is regularly prepared by "Qatar Northwestern University" every year. We will also benefit from the open sources of major research firms like Ipsos, Nielsen. While some of the data that is open to sharing belongs to the past years, the continuous increase in internet and smartphone usage in recent years means that this data is only going on a positive direction. We think that the channel should attach importance to digital broadcasting at least as much as television broadcasting, and use its opportunities and human resources in this respect. Let’s first consider using the internet in the Middle East and North Africa region (MENA):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countries with penetration of over 50%</th>
<th>Countries with penetration of lower than 50%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Numbers displayed represent internet users per country</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Total Population 15+</th>
<th>Internet Users</th>
<th>Internet Penetration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total MENA</td>
<td>102,695,268</td>
<td>40,294,014</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GCC</td>
<td>26,711,000</td>
<td>16,220,813</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Africa</td>
<td>43,371,000</td>
<td>12,940,822</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Levant</td>
<td>33,113,298</td>
<td>10,087,433</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this study, which is done in the target audience area of the channel, we can find out that most internet users are located in the North African region and they need to edit their broadcasts according to their regional sensitivities. At the same time this region is located in the historical hinterland of Turkey. Internet usage rates in MENA region are high but the number of users is low. The difference between the number of internet users and the number of Facebook users in Egypt in the previous statistics shows how fast internet usage has increased. The percentage of news readers among Internet users is as follows:

![Check news online (among internet users)](image)

Figure 6: Online news readers among internet users by country in MENA region in 2016 (Source: Qatar Westminster University)
Based on the survey, the habits of watching news on television are still overwhelming. Almost half of the participants say they follow the news on the internet. Among the social media platforms that participants use, Facebook is three times more popular than Twitter. Despite the fact that Twitter is the most active area of TRT El-Arabia's digital broadcasts, people in the MENA region are not often in demand of this social network. This shows that the tendency of the channel to catch the audience in different places needs to be re-evaluated.
The issue can be dealt in depth, but here we want to examine the data about the number of singular visitors and clicks on the channel's website. We will then look at the numbers of social media followers and their proportions with equivalent channels.

Figure 9: TRT Arabic web statistics and ranking in 2016 (Source: Alexa)

The digital department of a channel that can attract six thousand visitors per day from its target audience among hundreds of millions of internet users needs to be re-evaluated. When we examine some of the equivalent channels, we arrive at the following conclusions:

All foreign language versions of Russia's RT channel are published in the same design. As a result, the channel has come to the forefront in corporate identity and awareness issues and has reduced its costs. Skynews Arabia's website has not been able to catch RT on a daily basis, but it's far above TRT Arabia in terms of number of visitors and clicks:
It is possible to duplicate the examples, but the point that we want to address here is the lack of planning and goals in digital publishing and social media management; With the lack of auditing, measurement and reporting activities depriving the attention of the channel audience.
When we deal with the subject from the other side, that is, in the context of the audience, some prejudices and monitoring habits arise. Especially after 2001, with its unfamiliar journalism, program publishers called "stars", news networks and large-scale budgets of al-Jazeera channel and its counterparts in the face of the news that foreign countries are doing about themselves, it is not expected behavior from the Arabic mass. Gaining audiences’ confidence is a difficult situation in itself, and it is a matter of confusion about how competitions will take place when competitors who have established their networks before these channels are financed at a much higher budget at the same time. When the scope of competition and coverage of the other channels are examined, it is not possible to trace the data specifically. Today, with the increasing influence of social media, TV stations now combine digital broadcasting with networks. This leads us to reach more healthy and detailed data than the audience ratings, and preliminary acceptance of social media broadcasts in parallel with TV broadcasts helps us reach some conclusions.

Figure 13: Number of social media followers and ‘like’s by Network
CONCLUSION

Nowadays, there is no sustainability of policies that if not received public support. States that are active in the international arena need strong and effective means of communication in this area. These tools can be edited carefully and effective results can be obtained with proper use for desired purposes.

The TRT Al-Arabia channel examined in the study seems to be an important tool for bringing Turkey's soft power, especially in the Middle East, to sustainability, but it does not appear to be able to do so with its content, domain, publication policies and programs. Public diplomacy requires two-way communication and “television is not a two-way communication medium. Therefore, it is unlikely that the TRT Arabic channel will be a “bridge” between Turkey and the Middle East, but TRT Arabic channel can turn into a reliable source of news transferring the changing foreign policy of Turkey, to Arabic-speaking countries in their own language by using historical references in the Middle East. TRT Al Arabiya’s broadcasting policy is to sustain Turkey’s soft power and popularity in the Middle East, to revive historical, cultural and trade relations, and to operate its foreign policy through countries in the region in their language.

One of the most noteworthy of these findings is the history of the colonial period in the broadcasting policies of the channels. France 24 publishes publications aimed at the North African region. Likewise, programs for Egypt on the BBC Arabic channel draw attention. However, he also receives human resources and presenters from Egypt. Al Hurra has focused on this area in accordance with American policy after the invasion of Iraq. In this context, we have a different conclusion when we consider TRT Arabic. It can be argued which regions will be concentrated in the
publications of Turkey which has the whole Arabic geography in its historical background.

Other media networks that have been examined have reached the audience in the same concept by changing the language and content of existing channels rather than establishing a channel from scratch. In France 24, 13 programs are being made in both French and English and Arabic language by changing presenters and content. DW Arabic has eight programs in this format. Like all other channels, the TRT El-Arabia channel also features subtitling bands and website design (can be the same website 'www.dw.com/ar', www.france24.com/ar/, www.bbc.com / Arabic), just as in Arabic, to achieve screen integrity. Similar programs and design can be considered for TRT Arabic.

States are obliged to carry out public diplomacy activities in order to reach foreign public places. Public diplomacy activities are carried out in two main contexts: "state-to-public" and "public-to-public" communication according to İbrahim Kalın. State-to-public activities, government-monitored policies, activities and initiatives are directly conveyed to the international community by means of official means and channels. The use of non-governmental civilian means such as NGOs, research centers, public opinion research companies, press, opinion leaders, universities, exchange programs, associations and foundations is the main activity for public-to-public communication activities. In this sense, public diplomacy goes far beyond the communication activities that take place between the "diplomats" and the "foreign publics" as in their original senses of the concepts. Public diplomacy constitutes a larger area called "diplomatic communication".

Soft power is related to the potential resources of the states. In this respect Joseph Nye stated, "The soft power of a nation rests on three things: First to the culture (where it attracts others), second to its political values (to live according to them at home and abroad), and third to foreign politics (legitimate and morally authoritarian). The fact that Turkey has a potential meaning to the mentioned
resources does not make it an important actor in terms of soft power, but this potential can be successfully achieved when it is effectively revealed using the right channels.

Qatar is an important example in this regard. Qatar, with its surface area of 11,500 square meters and its population of two million, has no influence in the international arena despite its large natural gas and oil resources, and has established an Al Jazeera channel with a successful organization and achieved an international strength in the media. Its broadcasts after the attacks of September 11th, and during the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, were welcomed by all over the world especially in the Middle East. Today, it is considered one of the world's largest networks with its publications in five languages over ten channels. The most important brand Qatar has presented to the world is Al Jazeera. From this example, we see the use of television as an active political tool on the international scene.

It is impossible for the TRT Arabic channel to catch up on the coverage rates of major news channels like Al-Jazeera, Al-Arabiya, Skynews Arabic preferred by Arabic viewers due to the number of offices in the regions they are broadcasting, technical and physical infrastructure, the number of employees and the budget. To compete with these channels in the news field is not compatible with its mission. It seems unnecessary to compete with the equivalent channels with respect to the monitoring rates. Because the viewing rates of these channels are low, they usually reflect their own agendas. Other channels, such as the TRT Arabic channel, are funded by the states and do not suffer from any advertising and rating issues that are the main concerns of television. However, it is necessary for the TRT Arabic channel to convey in a certain way how Turkey is acting in the developments affecting the Middle East, in other words, its policies. TRT Arabic can get the opportunity to transfer Turkey's stance towards these developments to the Middle East countries in their own language without intermediaries when its journalism concept and publishing policy are based on this idea. However, Turkey's social and cultural life, economic situation, investment opportunities in the country, its
importance in the region and its future goals can be manifested in various programs and documents. These programs and documents can give more effective results because they are not fast consumables like news.

The TRT Arabic channel studied in this thesis seems to be an important tool to bring Turkey's soft power, especially in the Middle East, to sustainability, but it seems difficult to achieve this with its content, domain, publication policies and programs. Public diplomacy requires two-way communication and “television is not a two-way communication medium. Therefore, it is unlikely that the TRT Arabic channel will be a “bridge” between Turkey and the Middle East, but TRT Arabic channel can turn into a reliable source of news transferring the changing foreign policy of Turkey, to Arabic-speaking countries in their own language by using historical references in the Middle East. At the same time, it is both a necessary and an important initiative because it is the first step in establishing an international broadcasting network, one of the sine qua non of being an active country in the international arena.
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