

THE ROLE OF REPORTERS IN CORPORATE MEDIA: AN INQUIRY INTO
THE LABOUR PROCESS OF REPORTERS IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF REPORTERS IN CORPORATE MEDIA: AN INQUIRY INTO THE LABOUR PROCESS OF REPORTERS IN TURKEY

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From a critical political economy approach, this study is an attempt to investigate the labour process of reporters working in corporate media outlets in Turkey as the main agents of the news production processes. Based upon a field research consisting interviews conducted among journalists in Ankara and Istanbul, this thesis examines the transformation of the labour processes of reporters with the ever-increasing commercialisation from press to media and the introduction of new technologies. With the ever-increasing commercialisation because of the concentration of ownership and conglomeration processes, autonomy problem has emerged with the changing control and division of labour in the news production. Development of information and communication technologies has significantly changed the organisation of the newsroom and the practices of news production. As a result, the fundamental argument of this study is that there has been a degradation of reporting work and a tendency for deskilling of reporters' labour. In this context, labour market issues for reporters, especially flexible and precarious employment policies have a significant place to understand the organisation and functioning of their labour process as well.

Keywords: Labour process, reporters, news production, degradation, deskilling

ÖZ

SERMAYE MEDYASINDA MUHABİRLERİN ROLÜ: TÜRKİYE’DE MUHABİRLERİN EMEK SÜRECİ ÜZERİNE BİR ARAŞTIRMA

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Bu çalışma haber üretim süreçlerinin asıl özneleri olarak Türkiye’de sermaye medya kuruluşlarında çalışan muhabirlerin emek sürecini eleştirel ekonomi politik bir yaklaşımdan sorgulama çabasıdır. Ankara ve İstanbul’da gazetecilerle yapılan mülakatlara dayanan bir saha çalışması üzerinden basından medyaya gittikçe artan ticarileşmeyle ve yeni teknolojilerin kullanılmasıyla muhabirlerin emek süreçlerindeki dönüşüm incelenmektedir. Sahiplik yapısındaki yoğunlaşma ve holdingleşme süreçleriyle gittikçe artan ticarileşme, haber üretimindeki değişen denetim ve iş bölümü sonucu bir bağımsızlık sorunu ortaya çıkarmıştır. Bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerinin gelişimi haber üretim pratiklerini ve haber merkezlerinin örgütlenişini önemli bir ölçüde değiştirmiştir. Sonuç olarak, bu araştırmanın temel argümanı habercilik işinin değersizleştirildiği ve muhabirlerin emeğinin bir vasıfsızlaşma eğiliminde olduğudur. Bu bağlamda, muhabirlerin emek piyasası sorunları, özellikle de esnek ve güvencesiz istihdam politikaları da emek sürecinin örgütlenmesi ve işleyişini anlamak için önemli bir yer tutmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Emek süreci, muhabirler, haber üretimi, değersizleştirme, vasıfsızlaşma

To all the journalists fired or forced to resign after the Gezi Park protests because of their attitude standing by the people for the greater public good rather than corporate interests...

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AFP	Agence France-Presse
C/V	The ratio of constant capital to variable capital
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CMS	Critical Management Studies
DNA	Doğan News Agency
DP	Democrat Party
ECHR	European Court of Human Rights
EU	European Union
FCC	The Federal Communications Commission (USA)
GPS	The Global Positioning System
HHI	The Herfindahl-Hirschman Index
ICTs	Information and Communication Technologies
ILO	International Labour Organization
JAT	Journalists Association of Turkey
JDP	Justice and Development Party
LPT	Labour Process Theory
NCTJ	National Council for the Training of Journalists (UK)
NUJ	National Union of Journalists (UK)
OFCOM	The Office of Communications (UK)
PJA	Progressive Journalists Association
RTSC	Radio and Television Supreme Council
SDIF	Savings and Deposit Insurance Fund
TESEV	The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation
TL	Turkish Lira
TRT	Turkish Radio and Television Corporation
TUJ	Turkish Union of Journalists
TV	Television
US	United States
VAT	Value added tax
VJ	Videojournalist

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Setting the Problem

The primary freedom of the press lies in not being a trade. The writer who degrades the press into being a material means deserves as punishment for this internal unfreedom the external unfreedom of censorship, or rather his very existence is his punishment (Marx, 1975 [1842]: 175, emphasis original).

Today, in most parts of the world, news production mainly takes place in the centralised multi-platform newsrooms of the corporate media outlets. And the main subjects of this production are professional journalists, whether as staff or freelancers. It means that the situation is quite different than what Marx has described above. What Marx meant by the free press in those lines was the mid-19th century political press. At that time, newspapers were organised solely for ideological-political purposes, they were at the forefront of politicisation. Therefore, neither journalism was seen as a business, nor news as an industry (Calcutt and Hammond, 2011: 53-57). That is why Marx did not see the press as a trade, contrary to the trade of printers and booksellers (Marx, 1975 [1842]: 175). As a writer in *Rheinische Zeitung*, press was primarily an intellectual activity for him. Yet, in his later works, he has changed his positive attitude towards the press because of its capacity to fabricate myths (Marx, 1989 [1871]: 176). In the second half of the 19th century with the capitalisation process of the press, market forces have started to control the press (Curran, 2002). Throughout the 20th century, the ever-increasing commercialisation of the press has continued. After the neo-liberal turn in the 1980s, the concentration of ownership and conglomeration of the media industry has reached its peak points.

Therefore, journalism turns out to be a primarily commercial activity and news an industry. Throughout this process, change was not only about the logic and principles of journalism, but also how journalists perform their work in relation to technological innovations. With the development of information and communication technologies (ICTs), journalistic work has been in a constant change. And this is the subject matter of this thesis, the organisation and functioning of the labour process of journalists, particularly news reporters working in corporate media outlets in Turkey.

In Turkey, there is a heated discussion about the journalists. However, it is primarily because of Turkey's championship for imprisoning the journalists most of whom are Kurdish and the murders of well-known investigative journalists by unknown assailants in the last decades¹. Apparently, these are very much problematic issues for a democratic country. But on the other hand, this miserable picture does not necessarily mean that journalists do not encounter any problem in their daily routine work for news production except the danger of being imprisoned and/or murdered. In Turkey, journalistic practices are significantly changed with the domination of conglomerate media along with the development of information and communication technologies. Thus, what the journalists experience in the "hidden abode of production" (Marx, 1990 [1867]: 279) becomes the main point of inquiry throughout this study on the labour process of news reporters in Turkey.

After explaining the subject matter of this study, in which context the examination of the labour process of journalists takes place gets importance. With the 12 September 1980 coup d'etat, Turkey has opened to neoliberal transformation process. The following Özal governments after Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in US, neoliberal structural adjustment program has started to be implemented in Turkey as part of the global transformation of the capitalism. With the neoliberal policies of deregulation, privatisation and marketisation, Turkish media became a new investment area for capital opening up to commercialisation and conglomeration

¹ Some of the well-known investigative journalists murdered by unknown assailants are Hrant Dink (*Agos*) on January 19, 2007; Ahmet Taner Kışlalı (*Cumhuriyet*) on October 21, 1999; Metin Göktepe (*Evensel*) on January 8, 1996; Uğur Mumcu (*Cumhuriyet*) on January 24, 1993; Musa Anter (*Özgür Gündem*) on September 20, 1992; Çetin Emeç (*Hürriyet*) at March 7, 1990, Abdi İpekçi (*Milliyet*) on February 1, 1979.

process. This process has continued to increase in the 1990s and 2000s. Concentration of ownership has reached peak points after the 2002 Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTSC) law amendments. With the help of vertical, horizontal and cross/diagonal ownership models, today huge conglomerates that have started their investments in non-media sectors, mainly finance, energy, infrastructure and construction industry, control almost the whole media industry. In short, journalist-bosses/proprietors do not exist in mainstream media today. All of the mainstream media outlets are part of giant conglomerations (*cf.* Adaklı, 2006; Kaya, 2009; Özsever, 2004; Topuz, 2003). As a result, clientalistic and organic relationships between media, capital and state becomes observable. Some critical media scholars in Turkey define this transformation of media as the transformation of “press” to “media” (Kaya, 1999, 2009). Besides, this transformation has caused the displacement of the media outlets from their ordinary and unexceptional offices in “Babıali” to the big towers and skyscrapers of “İkitelli”.² The organic composition of the capital (the ratio of constant capital to variable capital, C/V) has changed dramatically with the neoliberal transformation of the media industry, because media corporations usually prefer to invest in new technologies in Turkey, especially the new printing press, multi-platform newsrooms equipped with high technology and mobile broadcasting technologies; but not to human resources, in other words, the labour-power. Thus, this growing organic composition of capital results in the frequent use of the high technology in the news media, thanks to development of ICTs. Therefore, this study is an attempt to understand how the labour process of reporters working in the mainstream corporate media outlets operates in such a context.

There are various reasons for choosing such a subject about the labour process of reporters. However, the main point of departure is based on the problems related to reporters’ labour and the news production process. Regarding the reporters’ labour, it is generally claimed that reporters are one of the most exploited sections of the media industry. They work under very tough conditions for long hours. Atypical work becomes the norm in the industry. Related labour laws for press

² Similar to the British example of “Wapping revolution” which causes “the end of Fleet Street” (McNair, 1999: ix).

workers are not in force in practice. Reporters work under different types of pressure; time pressure, institutional pressure, the pressure of political power etc. This list can be continued. These are some of the main problems regarding the situation of the reporters in Turkey. In order to understand and examine their working conditions, such a study on the labour process of reporters in Turkey is relevant. Regarding the news production process, it is usually asserted that the reporting activity has gradually worsened both in print journalism and broadcasting journalism with the rising commercial pressures against the public service principle of journalism. News making does not seem to be the primary function of the media. Editorial independence, necessary components and characteristics of the news and ethical norms are barely considered. Censorship and self-censorship can be observable in critical cases. Therefore, it can be argued that the freedom of speech and thought together with the freedom of press are not guaranteed in Turkey. Commercialisation and conglomeration process of media has resulted in the rise of editorial and managerial staffs at media corporations. Moreover, newspapers are full of columnists while reporters' role in the news production decreases. Development of ICTs has changed the journalistic practices. In order to explain these problems of the news making and examine the rules of the game, there is a need to look into the production process.

Apart from these general problems regarding the reporters' labour and the news production, there are two specific cases that make an examination of the reporters' labour process an inevitable and valuable research agenda for this study. The first case was about the first actual strike in Turkish media after the 1980 coup d'état, which was commenced by 10 workers of Sabah - ATV group (Turkuaz Media Group). The strike started in the summer of 2009 and still continues *de jure*, though nothing in practice. Savings and Deposit Insurance Fund (SDIF) appropriated Sabah - ATV group because of their secret agreements related to mergers and acquisitions in the media at 2007. For about 2 years, this state institution controlled this media group. In this time, workers of the group were unionized. As a result, the union gained a right to make collective bargaining right after the sale of the group to Turkuaz media group. Then the pressures started to make people resign from the union. Therefore, the union decided to strike against these pressures. There were ten

strikers when it started, but then they were fired because of their strike, although it is against the law. In due course, nine of the workers have won the court case and gained the right to work back. However, the employer has decided to give their compensations rather than reemploying them. The strike *de facto* continued till the January 2011, until the last striker was reemployed after gaining the court case.³ However, journalists' union continue to the so-called strike because of the illegality of this situation. They have also applied to European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) about this issue. Today, strike banners are still hanged on the entrances of the buildings of Sabah - ATV group, but no one cares them including their colleagues at that media group. The first strike in media after almost 30 years could not even get the media's support. It is not even reported as news in Turkish mainstream media. This was an interesting case regarding the working conditions of the media labour. It points out serious problems regarding the situation of the news reporters in Turkey that needs to be examined in detail.

The second case was Uludere massacre in Turkey in December 2011. On the 28th December 2011, at about 9 pm, Turkish warplanes bombed Kurdish smugglers crossing into Turkey from Iraq border. 34 people were killed in the bombardment; most were teenagers, the youngest was 12. They all came from a pair of villages in the mainly Kurdish township of Uludere. However, this situation could not be reported as news in the mainstream print press and broadcasting media until the official explanation came next afternoon. It was one of the most interesting cases of censorship and/or self-censorship. Although some Turkish reporters were in the scene of crime in the morning and AFP had reported this as news with its photographs in the morning, Turkish media had to wait for the official explanation that came in the next afternoon. It was an unacceptable situation, a real shame for Turkish media. Such kind of censorship necessitates a detailed analysis of the news production processes. These two cases have showed that a study on the labour process of reporters seems to be not only necessary, but also productive.

Last but not the least, there is a lack of interest in the labour processes in the

³ <http://bianet.org/bianet/toplum/127441-atv-sabahta-son-grevci-olarak-ise-iade-hikayem-ve-bazi-dersler> , retrieved February 12, 2012.

cultural industries. This is also reflected on the studies of the news media. Most of them are textualist representation and ideology studies concentrating on the content and its reception by people. Political economist concentrates on the relationship between media, capital and power together with the media messages, but not to media labour. Even in print journalism and broadcasting journalism, the labour of media workers can hardly be taken into account as news. Studies that concentrate on journalistic production and working conditions can be counted on the fingers of one hand.⁴ A need for an examination of the labour process of journalists with up-to-date information is also one of the main motivations of this research. In this framework, this study aims to examine the characteristics of the labour process of the journalists, especially the reporters in corporate news media in Turkey. With such a study, it is possible to examine the problems of the news making, the intellectual and the material exploitation in the news production process, the problems regarding the freedom of press, and so the distorted formation of the public opinion used to secure the hegemony of the power.

1.2. Methodology

Regarding the methodology for an inquiry about the labour process of reporters, a brief note on theoretical stance of this study and details of field research for collecting the data should be elaborated on. First and foremost, this study is based on the critical political economy of communication approach. In that sense, it adopts four main characteristics of the political economy: namely its historical perspective,

⁴ These are the main ones for Turkey;

- Öke, M. K. (1994), *Gazeteci: Türkiye’de Basın Çalışanları Üzerine Bir İnceleme*, Ankara: ÇGD Yayınları

- Tılıç, D. (2009), *Utaniyorum Ama Gazeteciyim: Türkiye ve Yunanistan’da Gazetecilik*, 2nd ed., İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

- Özsever, A. (2004), *Tekelci Medyada Örgütsüz Gazeteci*, Ankara: İmge Kitabevi.

- Seçkin, G. (2004), *Ulusal Medyada Haber Üretim Sürecinde Çalışan Gazetecilerin Ekonomik ve Sosyal Statüsü Üzerine Bir Alan Çalışması*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Fakültesi Radyo Televizyon Anabilim Dalı, Ankara.

understanding social reality in its totality, its moral philosophy, and its aim to understand and struggle to change the world, i.e. praxis (Mosco, 2009: 26-36; Yücesan-Özdemir, 2008: 57-62). From this point, this study focuses on the political economy of labour in media industries, so that it is necessary to take a glance at the labour in communication studies. First of all, it is crucial to emphasize the necessity of the political economy of communication. At this point, Garnham (1990) develops his approach of political economy of communication and culture against three main tendencies in the communication studies. These are textualist studies of representation and ideology, media pluralism, and academic division of labour that autonomize the media field from the main stream of social science (Garnham, 1990: 1-2). Therefore, the political economy of communication is needed in order to answer the questions of why and how the production processes operates in the field of communication, rather than only examining the content of the outputs. However, as Mosco (2009, 2011) argues, the political economy of communication tradition generally focuses on media, messages and audiences, not the labour. Although there is a wide range of literature in this field, labour has received too little attention.

As an attempt to study the labour in the media industry, this study employs the labour process theory to understand journalistic labour. Because this study focuses on the news production process in the media, news reporters, the main agents of the news production process, are chosen as the object of the study. Although it also consists of general analysis about journalists, the focus of the study is the news reporters and their labour process. At this point, we use the term “labour process” in the way Marx used it, "purposeful activity aimed at the production of use-values" (1990 [1867]: 290). Moreover, he defines the necessary factors of the labour process as its personal factor, namely labour-power, and its objective factors; object of work and the means of production (1990 [1867]: 291). Deriving from the insights of Marx, this research employs Braverman's (1998 [1974]) labour process theory that he used to examine the degradation of work in 20th century monopoly capitalism. The implementation of the labour process theory approach to the media industry will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. Yet, the particular characteristic of the media industry, i.e. its hybrid structure should be mentioned here. Basically, media has two-sides. On the one side of the coin, media is traditionally used for ideological

reproduction as a place of symbolic production. On the other side of the coin, media has become an arena for capital accumulation processes. Therefore, it is argued that media industry has a hybrid structure involving symbolic and material production (Kaya, 2009: 10). It is crucial to examine reporters' labour in capitalist social formation because capitalist mode of production tends to differentiate the manual labour from the intellectual labour. The place of reporters in this differentiation is critical to understand their role in the news making. Mainly because of the hybrid structure of the media industry, reporters do not fit this differentiation of manual and intellectual labour. On the one hand, they produce content to be used in the media; on the other hand, they use their manual dexterity throughout the different stages of the news production. In this sense, they have the Braverman's notion of skill, "the combination of knowledge of materials and process with the practical manual dexterities required to carry on a specific branch of production" (Braverman, 1974: 443). Therefore, they should have the capacity to use both manual and intellectual labour because of the characteristics of the news production.

News reporters are theoretically indispensable for the news production process because they are the main agents of the news production that constitute the basis of news making. However, their role does not take the importance it deserves in practice, not any more. To investigate their role in the production process, this study examines their labour process. For a study on the labour process of journalists, there was a great need for a large-scale field research to collect data taking into account the very limited literature. After the preparations, 64 interviews in total have been conducted in April and May 2012 at Ankara, and June 2012 at Istanbul. This study is based on this 3-months field research among journalists.

Rather than quantitative research methods, this study is based on a qualitative research. In this respect, semi-structured interviews constitute the sole data source of this research. Considering the wide scope of the field research, it might not be possible to excerpt direct quotations from each and every interview; but they constitute the fundamental base and framework of this research. Interviews are, by and large, arranged in advance as one-to-one, and they are conducted once for each interviewee. They took place according to the predetermined set of open-ended questions that are organized thematically around the components of the labour

process.⁵ Depending on the context in which the interview takes place and on the interviewee's attitude, duration of the interviews varies from 15 minutes up to 3 hours. The interviewee has been informed in advance that the conversation has been tape-recorded only for academic purposes and their names can be kept anonymous if they wish to do so.

Regarding the sample, there are two groups of interviewees in this study. The first group consists of journalists working in the media corporations. In order to determine the formation of the first group, two levels have to be specified in a clear-cut way: journalists and the media corporations. At the level of journalists, the definition of "journalist" is critical to determine the sample of the research. According to the classification of International Labour Organization, journalist "collects, reports and comments on news and current affairs for publication in newspapers and periodicals or broadcasting by radio and television" (ILO, 1968: 79). According to the last standard classification of occupations of ILO, journalists "research, investigate, interpret and communicate news and public affairs through newspapers, television, radio and other media" (ILO, 2008: 170). With the help of these definitions, journalists are considered as the employees that work in the production of news and current affairs in print press and broadcasting. However, reporters, as the main agents of the news production process, are chosen as the focus of the study because of their critical position in the news making. Moreover, the editors, columnists and news directors that started their journalism career as reporters can also provide valuable information. In this research, reporters both from print journalism and broadcasting journalism are included in the field research. Newsrooms of newspapers and television channels are the main workplace of the reporters, hence the target of this research. In Turkey, there is not a clear difference between print journalism and broadcasting journalism regarding their positions to public service understanding. In other words, it can be argued that there is not a strict difference about news making determinants of same media outlet's newspaper and television with respect to public service principle. Their production process and their daily routine differ, but these differentiations are also crucial for the examination of

⁵ Appendix B gives the set of questions prepared for the interviews.

the reporters' labour process.

At the level of media corporations, major corporate media outlets are taken into account in this study. By the time of field research in the second quarter of 2012, there have been five mainstream media corporations that control the media industry: Ciner, Çukurova, Doğan, Doğuş and Turkuvaz groups. Demiroren group can be added to this list with their recent acquisition of *Milliyet* and *Vatan* newspapers in mid-2011 as their first steps in the media. All these groups have major investments in finance, energy, infrastructure and construction industry prior to their media corporations. This causes a problem of autonomy *vis-à-vis* political power. Other than these mainstream media corporations, there are religious-based media and alternative/socialist media. However, they usually rely upon their different types of networks in their production, whether religious sects and communities or ideologically oriented groups. Because the reporting activity is generally based on the corporate media groups, they are chosen as the sample of this study, not the religious nor alternative media.

This first group of journalists working in the mainstream media corporations provides first-hand information about experiences and conditions of the reporters. However, it is necessary to gather information about the situation of reporters and transformation of reporting activity from experienced and well-known journalists, as well as associations and unions of journalists; because the level of experience is crucial to examine operation and reshaping of the labour process with the changing practices of journalism and development of new technologies. In this respect, the formation of the second group consists of successful journalists excluded from corporate media, academicians, experienced/retired journalists, the presidents of the journalists' union and associations, together with a few workers of alternative media in Turkey.

In this framework, 64 semi-structured interviews have been conducted between April 6th and June 26th, 2012.⁶ The first 40 interviews have been taken place in Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, while remaining 24 interviews in Istanbul, the

⁶ Appendix A gives the details of interviewees as a table.

capital of Turkish media.⁷ That is why it is also possible to compare and contrast the settled journalistic practices experienced in Ankara and Istanbul when necessary. 40 out of 64 interviews have been arranged with people currently working at the mainstream media corporations according to the first group of the sample explained above. 30 out of these 40 journalists are reporters, 15 of which at broadcasting journalism and 15 of which at print journalism. Others as follows, five well-known columnists with a long career in reporting, two news editor, an ombudsman, a news director, an ex-news director and current broadcasting producer. Remaining 24 of interviews constitutes the second group of experienced, well-known journalists, academicians and representatives of the journalists' associations. However, the number of interviews conducted at Ankara and the number of interviews conducted with the first group is same, *i.e.* 40; but it is not more than a coincidence. It means that the first 40 interviews conducted at Ankara do not necessarily mean that they constitute the first group of the sample. At the first place, the field research showed that especially reporters do not feel themselves secure and comfortable to give interviews. Some of them do not let the interview begin unless their names and specific branch of the corporation are kept anonymous. In the meantime, their reservations seem logical. If you were working in a newsroom of a TV channel in Ankara with only three reporters, then you would not want to expose yourself. It is also crucial to note that one of the reporters particularly asked even for keeping his/her gender and age confidential.

Interviews are based on a pre-determined set of thematic questions. However, these questions are open-ended ones, so that the number and order of the questions may vary depending on the conversation, and interviewee can also talk about an issue of his/her choice. In some cases, other questions are needed in order to dig out some hidden issues. After the classification questions of age, level of education, the corporation, and the position in the corporation; thematic questions are organized around three main themes; labour, news production and ICTs. Regarding their labour, questions are asked about their education and family backgrounds,

⁷ Two reasons seem to be explanatory regarding the position of Istanbul in Turkish media industry. First of all, it is the biggest city of Turkey with a population around 15 million. And secondly, it is also the centre of finance capital.

occupational experience, working conditions, economic and social benefits of their work, and unionization. Regarding news making, questions are organized around the issues of the determinants and problems of the news production process, newsgathering and news writing processes, editorial control and autonomy, as well as specialization in one field. Regarding the ICTs, historical development of ICTs in the news production process and their daily user experience with them are investigated. In this regard, re-organisation of the newsrooms with the development of technology is investigated. Moreover, the recent developments in the conceptualisation of the news with the frequent use of social media are also examined. The list of the pre-determined questions can be found at Appendix B.

This study concentrates on the labour process of journalists, especially the news reporters; but there are critical limitations of such a study mainly because this study is based on the field research that conducted among journalists working in the mainstream media corporations in Ankara and Istanbul between April and June 2012. This point related with the field research shows the boundaries of this study. Significantly, it means that this study does not include the changing practices and problems of journalists after the Gezi Park protests. Although it adds some important remarks, field research is conducted about a year before the protests. Moreover, the practices and experiences of the reporters working in the religious-based media and alternative/socialist media is not included in this study mainly because the reporting activity is moving along the mainstream media. Whether there are crucial differences in the labour process of the reporters working in different -religious and/or alternative- media outlets, it is out of the scope of this study. However, it is significant to note that the convergences and divergences between the labour processes of the media labour working in the religious-based media and alternative/socialist media with regard to mainstream corporate media deserves to be studied as a particular subject of another study. Furthermore, the practices and experiences of the journalists working in the local press and broadcasting stations are out of the scope of this study. There exists crucial problems in the production process of the local media mainly because of the official advertisements distributed through office of governors, we find it a valuable subject that should be devoted to a specific study. Last but not the least, the degree and type of discrimination against women

and exploitation of women are very controversial problems in Turkish media landscape that cannot be covered only with the necessary remarks in this discussion.

1.3. Organization of the Chapters

This study is organised around four main chapters; one of which establishes theoretical framework of the thesis, while others examine the labour process of reporters according to the results of the field research. After establishing theoretical foundations of the study based on the labour process theory and the media industry in the next chapter, remaining chapters examine the labour process of news reporters in Turkey. In this respect, this study makes a threefold examination based on (1) the question of autonomy with the ever-increasing commercialisation of the media industry in Turkey, (2) transformation of the newsroom and the news production with the development of information and communication technologies and (3) labour market for reporters, especially flexible and precarious employment policies. In this threefold examination of the reporters' labour process, dialectical relationships between subjective and objective components of the labour process are investigated. In this regard, the organisation of the chapters can be described as follows.

In Chapter 2, labour process theory as the theoretical foundation of the study is elaborated on with a special focus on Marx and Braverman. This chapter not only aims to explain labour process theory and the related discussions, but also provide a framework for its implications in the media industry. Therefore, characteristics of the media industry are also discussed in this chapter with reference to labour processes.

In Chapter 3, the question of autonomy is investigated with reference to increasing commercialisation versus decreasing public service understanding with the transformation of press to media. In this respect, changing structure of the media industry and its effects on the logic and principles of journalism should be examined first. The emergence and historical evolution of “press” to “media” with commercialisation and conglomeration process through neoliberal transformation of the media industry is discussed. The historical evolution of the relationships between media, capital and state is elaborated with reference to current media landscape of Turkey and its main problem of autonomy. Then, journalistic autonomy is

investigated from an artisan-like production to a factory-like production starting with the 1960s till the industrialisation of the media after 1980s (Adaklı, 2006: 13). At this point, the results of this transformation of the media industry for the division of labour in the news production are critical. Contrary to rising status of the executive editors and columnists, news reporters and other rank and file workers have been disempowered and disregarded. As a result, with the disappearing autonomy of the media, journalistic autonomy and control has been damaged as well. Moreover, censorship and self-censorship mainly because of the determined institutional and political limits are examined in this chapter. At this point, the recent developments at two significant players of the media in Turkey, namely Doğan and Doğuş groups are revealed as exemplary cases with reference to field research.

In Chapter 4, transformation of the newsroom and the news production are examined with reference to the development of information and communication technologies. With the emergence of pool system⁸, newsrooms have been centralised around multi-platform newsrooms equipped with high technology. The primary effect of commercialisation and conglomeration process on the news production is homogenisation of the news as a commodity. The effects of ICTs on the reporters' work routine in the news production process are examined with respect to newsgathering, news writing, and editorial processes. In this respect, this chapter makes an analysis of the transformation of the reporting work in relation to changing skills with the changing technological environment.

In Chapter 5, reporters' labour in the news media is investigated in detail based on the employment policies. As a result of neoliberal transformations of the labour market, flexibilisation, a new wave of proletarianisation and precarisation has become prominent. These developments have also repercussions for journalists. In this respect, this chapter investigates the conditions of entrance to the sector, flexible and precarious employments policies for reporters, press labour law and its implementation, along with the working conditions in the news industry. Therefore, it tries to reveal the labour market issues of reporters in the labour process through flexible and precarious employment policies.

⁸ "*Havuz sistemi*" in Turkish.

CHAPTER II

LABOUR PROCESS THEORY AND THE MEDIA INDUSTRY

...it is probably accurate to conclude that if, as Dallas Smythe (1977) famously remarked, communication is the blind spot of western Marxism, then labor remains a blind spot of western communication studies, including the political economy tradition (Mosco, 2011: 358).

The political economy of communication tradition generally focuses on media, messages and audiences (Mosco, 2011). In this respect, power and control of the media, content and the form of the messages, and the reception of the messages by audiences are the much-debated issues inside this tradition. Although there is a wide range of literature in this field, labour has received too little attention. That is why Mosco defines the labour as “a blind spot of western communication studies” in his above statement. Nevertheless, a literature on labour in communication industries has come into existence in the last decades. Some of them focus on the organizational bureaucracy (Deuze, 2007), others on creative class (Florida, 2002), on immaterial labour (Lazzarato, 1996; Hardt and Negri, 2000), and on knowledge labour and the labouring of communication (Mosco and McKercher, 2008). Moreover, the term knowledge worker, coined by P. Drucker (2009 [1959]), has also started to be employed by mainstream (Drucker, 1994, 1999; Collins, 1997) and critical approaches more often than not (Wayne, 2003). In this framework, it can be argued that there are conceptual contradictions in the field of political economy of labour in communication industries.

Regarding the studies on journalism in particular, the situation is similar to the general trend of disregarding labour. As Bromley (1997: 331) put it forward

clearly, it has always been difficult to categorise journalism as an occupation because it is neither a profession, nor a craft in strict terms – though having characteristics of both. But the significant point is that journalists are rarely considered as workers not only by academics, but also by journalists themselves. That is the fundamental reason behind the fact that traditional history of media has been “a history of institutional power without any consideration of the rank and file and their contribution to the social and political empowerment of contemporary media industries” (Hardt and Brennen, 1995: vii). Another significant observation about journalism studies is their concern about *work* rather than *labour* (Örnebring, 2010: 59). In other words, the concept of labour is not a common concept in journalism studies. As Doğan Tılıç (2009, [1998]) shows, even journalists do not usually define themselves inside the labour because of their close relationships with economic and political power holders. Örnebring considers the study of Marjoribanks (2000) on technological innovation and workplace reorganisation at the newspaper industry as “a relatively recent exception” that employs concept of labour for analysis of journalism (2010: 59). At this point, the edited book by Hardt and Brennen (1995), namely “Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File” is also a seminal work that examines newsroom labour in the American press between 1890 and 1940. Moreover, including the study of Örnebring (2010), there has emerged -albeit weak- an effort to study journalism as labour from a labour process theory perspective, which inspires this study as well.⁹ At this point, it is necessary to explain what is meant by labour process conceptually before going on a detailed discussion of the labour processes in the media industry.

⁹ See the below articles;

- Im, Y. - H. (1997), “Towards a labour-process history of newsworkers”, *Javnost/The Public*, 4(1): 31-48.

- Liu, C. (2006), “De-skilling Effects on Journalists: ICTs and the Labour Process of Taiwanese Newspaper Reporters”, *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 31(3): 695-714.

- Örnebring, H. (2010), “Technology and journalism-as-labour: Historical perspectives”, *Journalism*, 11(1): 57-74.

2.1. Labour Process Theory

2.1.1. Conceptualisation of Labour Process and Capitalist Labour Process

For an attempt to examine the labour process of reporters working in the mainstream corporate media outlets, it is crucial to situate the labour process theory for media industry. To begin with, it is crucial that there is no commonly accepted conceptualisation of the labour process theory although it is generally based on the heritage of Marx. Rather than its Weberian and Foucauldian versions, this study employs the Marxist labour process theory developed by Marx (1990 [1867]), and further improved by Braverman (1974) together with their critics and contributions especially by Burawoy and Thompson.¹⁰

The literature on labour process theory is generally started with Marx because labour process is at the heart of his analysis of capitalism and class struggle. However, labour theory of value as appeared in the studies of classical economic theorists Adam Smith (2006 [1776]) and David Ricardo (2008 [1817]) is also explanatory to a certain point to understand the creation of value by labour and the organisation of the labour process, especially the division of labour. However, Marx's differentiation of labour and labour-power is seen as his distinctive epistemological contribution for the labour theory of value. Conceptually, labour is defined as a process between man and nature (Marx, 1990 [1867]: 283). This process between man and nature is a unique one because it is based on a conscious and purposeful activity, not instinctual as the work of animals (Braverman, 2008: 72). That is why Aristotle defines the human labour as intelligent activity (Aristotle, as cited in Braverman, 2008: 72). Marx explains this conscious and purposeful activity with his famous bee metaphor;

¹⁰ A similar theoretical position is adopted for a Ph.D. study on transformation of the health labour process in Turkey by Ünlütürk Ulutaş (2011), available as a book. This study has inspired and benefited her way of theoretical discussion as well.

A spider conducts operations which resembles those of the weaver, and a bee would put many a human architect to shame by the construction of its honeycomb cells. But what distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is that the architect builds the cell in his mind before he constructs it in wax. At the end of every labour process, a result emerges which had already been conceived by the worker at the beginning, hence already existed ideally (Marx, 1990 [1867]: 284).

He determines three simple elements of the labour process as “(1) purposeful activity, that is work itself, (2) the object on which that work is performed, and (3) the instruments of that work” (Marx, 1990 [1867]: 284). It means that there are three necessary factors of the labour process: “its objective factors, the means of production, as well as its personal factor, labour-power” (Marx, 1990 [1867]: 291). In this process, “the instruments and the object of labour are means of production and that the labour itself is productive labour” (Marx, 1990 [1867]: 287). Up to this point, Marx considers these “independently of any specific social formation” (Marx, 1990 [1867]: 283). Therefore, labour process is considered as conscious activities for the production of use-values (Öngen, 1996: 77; Yücesan-Özdemir and Özdemir, 2008: 24). However, the labour process always takes place under specific social formations. When the capitalist purchases all the necessary factors of the labour process described above in order to possess the surplus value by consuming the labour-power for creation of the commodities, it becomes a capitalist labour process. There are two characteristics of such kind of capitalist labour process; it is under control of the capitalist and the product becomes the property of the capitalist (Marx, 1990: 291-2). Commodities are formed by their use-values and exchange-values, it is “the dual character of the labour embodied in commodities” (Marx, 1990: 131). In the capitalist labour process, production takes place not only for the production of use value, but also for value¹¹ and it is not only for the production of exchange value, but also surplus value. There are two types of surplus value; (i) *absolute surplus value* that is produced by lengthening the working day, and (ii) *relative surplus value* that is produced by the curtailment of the necessary labour-time with the development of the mode of production and increasing productivity of labour in return (Marx, 1990: 432). Capitalist labour process should be taken into account together with the process of creating value, i.e. valorisation process. And what

¹¹ Here the term “value” is used in the same way as Marx used it interchangeably with “exchange-value”.

creates this value is the work of labour-power purchased by the capitalist. As it is mentioned above, the differentiation of labour and labour-power is unique to Marx. Accordingly, the labour-power is defined as the individual's capacity for labour that could be offered to sale as a commodity by its possessor (Marx, 1990: 270-1). Therefore, the process of production in the capitalist social formation is a unity composed of the labour process and the valorisation process (Marx, 1990: 293). It means that capitalist production process cannot be separable to the labour process and the valorisation process in practice, because every product is a composition of use values and exchange values, i.e. commodity (Öngen, 1996: 80).

2.1.2. Braverman and the Labour Process Debate

After Marx, labour process has lost its significance among the critical studies. On the other hand, classical and neo-classical management theories have tried to increase the productivity and efficiency at work since the early 20th century. F. Taylor's (1911) theory of scientific management is of critical importance both for theoretical discussions and its practical implications for the organisation of work. However, Harry Braverman's book, namely "*Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century*" (1974) initiates the return of theoretical discussions on Marxist labour process, then called as "the labour process debate". For Meiksins, it is one of the most frequently cited works of Marxist scholarship which is only be rivalled by E. P. Thompson's *magnum opus*, namely *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963) (Meiksins, 1994: 45). In his study, Braverman (1974) makes an analysis of the transformation of the labour process and the working class under monopoly capitalism, which shows a de-skilling of labour and degradation of work for factory and office workers. Right after its publication, labour process theory becomes popular in the Marxist literature with the studies especially focusing on the nature of skill and control that constitutes the second wave theory.¹² On the other hand, this rising trend has also been criticised by some scholars by fabricating a cynical term; "Bravermania" (Littler and Salaman, 1982). With the

¹² Most important studies published in late 1970s and 1980s are Brighton Labour Process Group (1977), Burawoy (1979, 1985), Edwards (1979), Friedman (1977), Knights and Willmott (1990), Thompson (1989), Zimbalist (1979).

discussions on the labour process theory in Britain, the ongoing series of international labour process conferences has emerged starting with 1983. On the other hand, a recent post-modern and post-structuralist version criticising the labour process theory, namely Critical Management Studies, has also established a tradition with its yearly conferences in Britain as well.¹³ At this point, it is necessary to examine Braverman's method and arguments in detail as well as his critics.

To begin with, Braverman specifically points out that his study is written under the intellectual influence of Marx (1998 [1974]: 6). This effect can be observable throughout his study, even in his starting point. In his introduction to the new edition of the book, Foster emphasises that Braverman's starting point is Marx's distinction of labour and labour-power (Foster, 1998: xiv). Following Marx, he makes such a distinction between labour and labour-power as well.

Labor, like all life processes and bodily functions, is an inalienable property of the human individual. ... But what the worker sells, and what the capitalist buys, is *not an agreed amount of labor, but the power to labor over an agreed period of time* (Braverman, 1998 [1974]: 37, emphasis original).

Starting from such a distinction of labour and labour-power by following Marx, Braverman considers the purchase and sale of labour-power as "*differentia specifica*" of the capitalist production as follows:

Capitalist production requires exchange relations, commodities, and money, but its *differentia specifica* is the purchase and sale of labor power. For this purpose, three basic conditions become generalized throughout society. First, workers are separated from the means with which production is carried on, and can gain access to them only by selling their labor power to others. Second, workers are freed of legal constraints, such as serfdom or slavery, that prevent them from disposing of their own labor power. Third, the purpose of the employment of the worker becomes the expansion of a unit of capital belonging to the employer, who is thus functioning as a capitalist. The labor process therefore begins with a contract or agreement governing the conditions of the sale of labor power by the worker and its purchase by the employer (Braverman, 1998 [1974]: 35-36, emphasis original).

For Braverman, labour process is not just a technical process. With the purchase of labour power by the capitalist, labour process transforms itself to a capital accumulation process for the capitalist as well. That is why he examines the predominance of the capital accumulation in the labour process and its methods for designing this process (Braverman, 2008: 77-8). This transition of control from

¹³ For a comprehensive comparison of LPT and CMS, see Thompson and O'Doherty (2009).

worker to the capitalist is “*the progressive alienation of the process of production from the worker; to the capitalist*” (Braverman, 1998 [1974]: 39-40; emphasis in the original). And the capitalist takes its advantage for the capital accumulation process. Adam Smith’s (2006 [1776]) famous example of the pin factory shows this advantage of the division of labour for the capital accumulation process. According to Smith, the work should be fragmented to its parts so that every worker could be responsible for only one part of the job. Therefore, workers get professional for their parts that will eventually save labour time. As a result of this division of labour, productivity and efficiency increase dramatically (Smith, 2006: 4-5). However, Braverman explains the division of labour in the capitalist society according to what he calls as “Babbage principle”¹⁴. Opposite to Smith’s understanding of increasing skills, Babbage argues that fewer skills become necessary by dividing the craft that cheapens its individual parts. For Braverman, it is fundamental for the evolution of the division of labour in capitalist society. Moreover, he sees it as the basics behind all kinds of work in the capitalist society (Braverman, 2008: 100-102)

With such an understanding of the labour process, Braverman examines Taylorist methods for office and factory workers. The fundamental factor that pushes Braverman to examine office work is the dramatic increase of the service work in the 20th century and the effects of the increasing mechanization and the development of technology. As Foster (1998: xvii) shows, he summarizes Taylorism with three principles: "dissociation of the labor process from the skills of the workers," "separation of conception from execution," and "use of this monopoly over knowledge to control each step of the labor process and its mode of execution". As a

¹⁴ Braverman deduces this principle from the below quotation of Babbage;

Now, although all these are important causes, and each has its influence on the result; yet it appears to me, that any explanation of the cheapness of manufactured articles, as consequent upon the division of labour, would be incomplete if the following principle were omitted to be stated,

That the master manufacturer, by dividing the work to be executed into different processes, each requiring different degrees of skill or of force, can purchase exactly that precise quantity of both which is necessary for each process; whereas, if the whole work were executed by one workman, that person must possess sufficient skill to perform the most difficult, and sufficient strength to execute the most laborious, of the operations into which the art is divided (Babbage 1963 [1832] as cited in Braverman, 1998: 55).

result of his study, he finds very similar developments for office workers with factory workers. With the increasing division of labour and the separation of manual labour from the intellectual labour, together with the delegation of control to the capitalist, autonomy of traditional craftsmen has disappeared. It is a de-skilling process of workers (Yücesan-Özdemir and Özdemir, 2008: 26). Skills of workers are degraded and their control over the production process disappears contrary to the increasing capitalist control over the labour process. This process results in the degradation of work and “the creation of a large proletariat in a new form”:

The problem of the so-called employee or white-collar worker which so bothered early generations of Marxists, and which was hailed by anti-Marxists as a proof of the falsity of the "proletarianization" thesis, has thus been unambiguously clarified by the polarization of office employment and the growth at one pole of an immense mass of *wage-workers*. The apparent trend to a large nonproletarian "middle class" has resolved itself into the creation of a large proletariat in a new form (Braverman, 1998: 245).

It is clear that Braverman defends Marx’s proletarianisation thesis contrary to the diverse conceptualisations of the so-called middle class(es). Although it may show different characteristics regarding the position and the nature of work, some common characteristics of this “large proletariat in a new form” can be defined. Significantly, it does not require advanced skills. But it requires working with low wages. As a result, individuals are substitutable for work (Akbaş, 2011: 73). However, de-skilling argument is somehow controversial. Therefore, Foster’s warning about the use of the concept of de-skilling is worth to mention here.

Braverman's analysis, then, is not simply about "deskilling" in some generalized, abstract sense, divorced from capitalist exploitation and accumulation. It is worth noting that Braverman himself did not employ that term, writing instead of "the destruction of craftsmanship" and maintaining that "the capitalist mode of production systematically destroys all-round skills where they exist".¹⁵ Although "deskilling" maybe a useful shorthand designation for this theory, the term has often been invoked mistakenly, as an all-encompassing notion obviating any need for a reconstruction of the whole of Braverman's argument. Braverman was primarily concerned with the degradation of work as it affected the *working class*, not the entire society (Foster, 1998: xviii-xix).

Keeping this warning about de-skilling in mind, Braverman’s theoretical stand and his method of inquiry is of critical importance for this study. With an analysis of labour process of news reporters working in corporate media outlets in Turkey, the main problematic of this study is the degradation of news production and reporting

¹⁵ Braverman, 1998: 94, 57.

activity of journalists with the increasing commercialisation of the news industry in the neoliberal era of the capitalist development. For such a research, Braverman provides “a theoretical narrative – the degradation of work under the impact of new forms of capitalist production and management” (Thompson and Smith, 2010: 12). Therefore, Braverman’s arguments on skill and control are critical for the examination of the news production process regarding the scope of this study. However, such an examination necessitates taking into account the valuable critiques and contributions to Braverman’s study as well. Therefore, it is necessary to give a brief summary of these critiques and significant contributions. Because it is not possible to give all the names and works on the lengthy and complex labour process debate, I will benefit from Meiksins’ (1994) article that gives a review and critique of the labour process debate together with the evaluations of Yücesan-Özdemir and Özdemir (2008) and Ünlütürk-Ulutaş (2011).

In his review, Meiksins determines five major points critics have focused on the criticism of Braverman’s work; the definition of skill, romanticizing craftwork, the degradation of work, scientific management as the logic of capitalism, subjectivity, and last but not the least, too narrow a focus on the shop floor (1994: 46-52). For its usefulness and clarity, the same categorisation is followed here. First of all, regarding the definition of skill, critics have argued that Braverman’s concept of skill is too restrictive to the manual labour neglecting the historical and conjunctural periods of capitalism and it is based on male notions of skill. Secondly, it has argued that Braverman romanticises the 19th century work as if it is dominated by autonomous craftworkers while considering the 20th century workers as deskilled who performs monotonous repetitive work. Thirdly, critics have argued that the degradation of work is not that simple and linear towards homogenisation and deskilling of labour. Although computerised new technology can be seen as a proof of Braverman’s arguments on skill and control, there may occur needs for new skills with the new technology that makes upskilling possible. Fourthly, Braverman is criticised with considering the scientific management of Taylorism as the fundamental logic of capitalism although it is just one of the control strategies of many existing in capitalism. At this point, modes of control mechanisms in capitalism are explained by Friedman (1977) with direct control and responsible

autonomy, by Edwards (1979) with simple control, technical control and bureaucratic control, by Burawoy (1985) with despotic control and hegemonic control (cf. Yücesan-Özdemir and Özdemir, 2008: 28-30). Moreover, it is argued, Braverman gives an ahistorical analysis of capitalism by focusing too much on the U.S case as if all capitalisms are the same in all countries. The fifth point of critics is related with the issue of subjectivity. Critics have argued that Braverman focused on “class-in-itself” contrary to “class-for-itself” thereby considers the subjectivity separate from the labour process. That is why, they claimed, Braverman neglects the possible resistance of the labour against the capitalist control. On the other hand, Burawoy indicates that consent is manufactured in the production process itself, which makes workers positioning *vis-à-vis* capitalist control significant. Finally, many has argued that Braverman has a narrow focus on the shop floor thereby neglects the larger economic, political and ideological context. Burawoy develops his critique of subjectivity at this point with the notion of “factory regime” to understand the complexity of the labour process within a larger whole involving market competition and state (cf. Meiksins, 1994: 46-52; Ünlütürk-Ulutaş, 2011: 58-9; Yücesan Özdemir and Özdemir, 2008: 26-32).

Most of these critics are based on legitimate objections, which are useful for the development of labour process theory, but none of them falsifies Braverman’s theoretical narrative based on his arguments about skill and control or makes them irrelevant. Therefore, these criticisms and contributions, especially by Burawoy and Thompson, are taken into consideration for this study on the labour process of reporters. The significant point is that Braverman’s arguments about skill and control should be taken into account as the general tendency in the capitalism towards proletarianisation (Yücesan-Özdemir and Özdemir, 2008: 27). Despite its problematic conceptualisation, “deskilling remains the major *tendential* presence within the development of the capitalist labour process” (Thompson, 1989: 118-9 as cited in Meiksins 1994: 53, emphasis in the original). Regarding the romanticising the craftwork, Braverman clearly expresses himself;

... I hope no one draws from this the conclusion that my views are shaped by nostalgia for an age that cannot be recaptured. Rather, my views about work are governed by nostalgia for an age that has not yet come into being, in which, for the worker, the craft satisfaction that arises from conscious and purposeful mastery of the labor process will be combined with the marvels of science and the ingenuity of engineering, an age in which everyone will be able to

benefit, in some degree, from this combination (Braverman, 1998: 5).

In this passage, Braverman describes his nostalgia for a non-alienating labour process of the future rather than romanticizing the 19th century work. Burawoy's (1979, 1985) two main points of criticism are of crucial importance for this study as well. First point is that Burawoy criticises Braverman's understanding of capitalist control, which is based on a comparison within capitalism, rather than another mode of production. However, Braverman method is also valid for our study on the labour process of reporters because the main problematic of this research is the changing patterns of the labour process with the industrialization of the media along with the neoliberal capital accumulation process. Second point is related with the "missing subject" debate. Criticising Braverman's neglect of subjectivity in the labour process, Burawoy shows how the consent is manufactured at the labour process thereby revealing the political-ideological functioning of the labour process. Therefore, labour process is composed of two kinds of relationships: technical and social relations at the production (Burawoy, 1987: 52, as cited in Öngen, 1996: 114). This point is of critical importance for our study on the reporters because their products, i.e. news, are seen as a way for manufacturing consent in the society as well.

In addition to the above-mentioned points, I will benefit from second wave labour process theorists' attempt to create a "core theory" of the labour process with Thompson in the forefront (cf. Thompson, 1990; Edwards, 1990; Thompson and Newsome, 2004; Jaros, 2005) and Thompson and Vincent's (2010) recent perspective that connects the labour process theory with the conceptions of the critical realism in order to overcome the outstanding issues of the labour process theory. The core theory tries to establish a general base for the followers of Marxist analysis of labour process based on four main principles. The crucial starting point of the core theory is that labour's role and the capital-labour relationship is of critical importance for the analysis. As a second point, it emphasizes the logic of accumulation that forces capital to constantly transform the production process. Thirdly, a control mechanism should exist to regulate the labour process because market cannot regulate the labour process on its own. Lastly, it highlights the antagonistic relationship between labour and capital (cf. Thompson, 1989: 99-101;

2010: 10). This conceptualization of core theory helps to understand basis of the labour process theory on the one hand, and it considers the controversial issues related with skill and control as the changeable points according to the variables such as the logic of accumulation and managerial strategies. At this point, Thompson and Vincent's (2010) attempt to connect the labour process theory with the conceptions of critical realism gets importance in order to understand the dialectical relationship between the agency and the structure. By employing Bashkar's philosophy of science, they try to establish a layered ontology to reveal the mechanisms and structures behind the labour process in association with the different layers of the political economy. In this regard, their study can also be seen as an attempt to connect the political economy with critical realism for a proper understanding of the structure-agency dualism. As a result of their investigation, they create a figure that shows the dialectic relationship between the structural conditioning and agential reaction through different layers of the political economy including the labour processes (Thompson and Vincent, 2010: 47-69). Figure 2.1 shows their understanding of the political economy of capitalism as a series of stratified entities. Their attempt to connect the labour process theory with the critical realism is important to solve the problems based on a mere antagonist relationship between agency and structure.

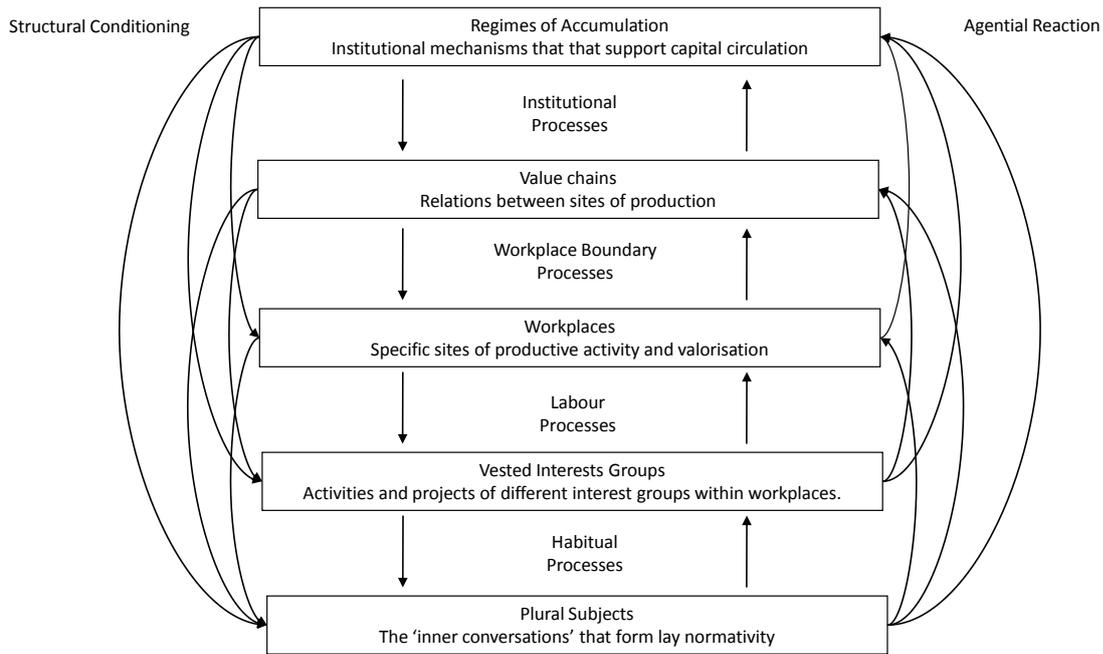


Figure 2.1: The political economy of capitalism as a series of stratified entities (adapted from Thompson and Vincent, 2010: 63)

2.1.3. Marjoribanks' Labour Process Theory Model

A final theoretical contribution before the analysis of labour processes in the media industry is the labour process theory model designated by Marjoribanks in his study of *News Corporation, Technology and the Workplace* (2000a). In this study, Marjoribanks investigates the relationship between technological innovation and workplace reorganisation in the newspaper industry with a special focus on the transformation takes place at the News Corporation titles. In order to examine the technological innovation and its relationship with the workplace, he proposes three alternative theoretical approaches; technological determinism, labour process theory and institutional social choice model. Using labour process theory model and institutional social choice model, he creates his own relational model. Yet his below schematisation of the labour process theory model in Figure 2.2 is clear and accurate enough to understand the relationship between technology and workplace, which is

based on class relations (Marjoribanks, 2000a: 25). According to this model, class relations have influenced the new technology and the social relations in the organisation. And the interaction between management and workers mediate the relationship between the news technology and the workplace organisation.

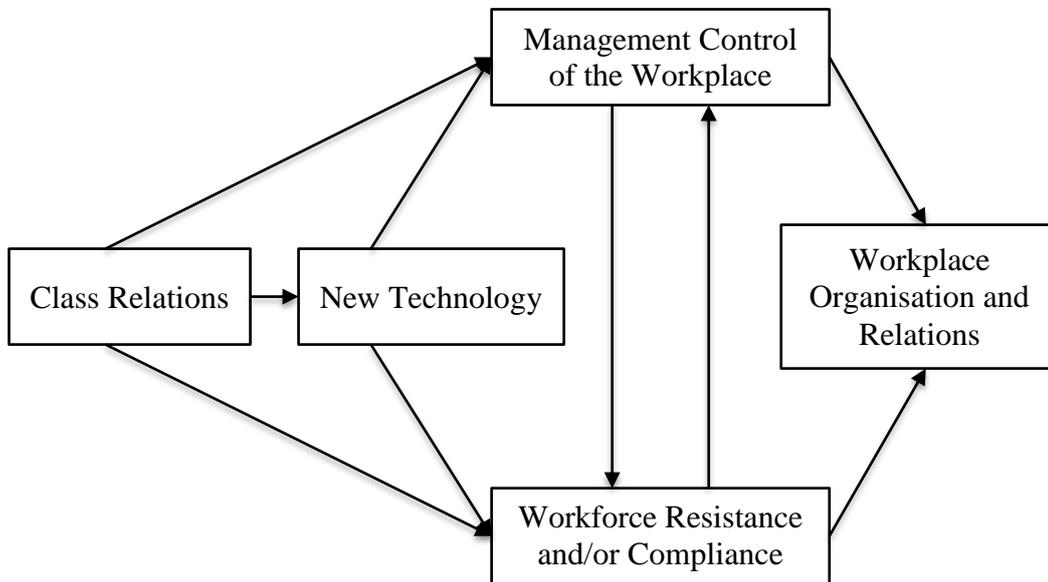


Figure 2.2: Labour process theory model (adapted from Marjoribanks, 2000: 19)

2.2. The News Production Processes and the Organisation of the Labour

Processes in the Media Industry

The above elaboration of the labour process theory sets a general theoretical framework, but the organisation and functioning of the labour processes in the media industry with respect to news production is yet to be explained. To begin with, the components of the labour process of reporters are reporters' labour power as the subjective factor, the news production processes as the object of the work, and the information and communication technologies as the means of production. In this part, we will explore the basic characteristics of the media industry and the changing patterns of the labour processes with its transformation from press to media with the neoliberal structural reforms and the development of information and communication technologies. But, before that, a brief historical background of the news production and the capitalisation process of the press in the 19th century should be examined.

As predecessors of newspapers, newsbooks and news ballads emerged in the 14th century especially for the use of aristocracy to transfer information and for trade related problems of the emerging bourgeoisie (cf. Stephens, 2007: 131-3 and Tokgöz: 2010 [1994]: 53-6). By the early years of 17th century, printed newspapers were in circulation in Europe (Stephens, 2007: 131). However, the main developments of the newspapers were in the 19th century. According to Schudson (1978), with the rise of “penny press” in the 19th century newspapers transformed themselves to commercial enterprises that sell a commodity in the market place, namely objective information, while subsidised by the political parties before then (Schudson 1978, as cited in Cranberg, Bezanson and Soloski, 1980: 1). The related capitalisation process of newspapers are examined in detail by the well-known piece of James Curran (2002). In his analysis, Curran (2002) opposes the thesis related with the emergence of “free press” in the mid-nineteenth century that legitimises market-based system. He argues that market forces succeeded to establish “the press as an instrument of social control”, an aim could not be materialized by the legal repression (2002: 81). He examines the rise of radical popular press in Britain in the first half of the 19th century, thanks to low establishment and running costs of newspapers. However, with the repeal of advertisement duty and stamp duty in 1850s, radical press lose power sharply and collapsed (2002: 91-94). He brings a new argument to account for this collapse. In his argument, he claims that establishment, publication and running costs of newspapers increased significantly with the growing demand for newspapers and the related development of press technology that increased the fixed capital costs (2002: 93). With the abandonment of press duties, the price of newspapers decrease sharply and their advertisement revenues increase significantly especially with the growing circulations. Therefore, he defines the advertisements as the new licensing system (2002: 95). Without the support of advertisements, newspapers were not economically viable any more. As a result, workers’ radical newspapers were no longer able to compete with the capitalised mass-circulation press. These newspapers were either closed down or began to transform themselves according to the needs of advertisers (2002: 97). Therefore, the control system was established by the market forces with the second half of the 19th century by the capitalisation process of the press. For our study, it is crucial to note that, although the news production has been always a commercial activity, an all-

encompassing commercial logic has started to dominate journalism with the concentration of ownership and conglomeration of the media industry since the neoliberal transformations with 1980s. Now, it is time to turn to the developments in the media industry and how it should be conceptualised.

2.2.1. Cultural Industries and Cultural Production

First and foremost, the media industry should be considered as part of the cultural industries. As Mieke (2011: 83-85) argues that the term cultural industries has originated from two sources; one of which is the Frankfurt school's analysis of "culture industry" (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1979; Adorno, 2009) and the other is the North American pioneers of political economy of communication, namely Herbert Schiller and Dallas Smythe. The term has started to be employed more often than not with the changing conditions since 1970s with the development of information and communication technologies. Cultural industries include the publishing of books, newspapers and magazines, television, radio, advertising, film, and music industries. The so-called "cultural turn" (Lash and Urry, 1994) has claimed that "the reproduction of everyday life and domination had shifted from the material to the symbolic" (Thompson and Smith, 2010: 18). And the fundamental function of the media where the cultural production mainly takes place (directly with media, by media or via media) is symbolic production (Çakmur, 1998: 112-3). However, the symbolic production takes place in media is related with the ideological processes on the basis of material production. Therefore, Marx' labour theory of value is also valid for the cultural production (Çakmur, 1998: 116). Capitalism differentiates itself with the triumph of exchange-value rather than use-value. As it is discussed above, capitalist labour process is capitalist because it is for the sake of exchange-value, not for the use-value of the commodities. This causes an endless commodification process in society. As part of this commodification process, cultural production becomes an industrial production as well. It means that the cultural industries' production is a commodity production, their products are commodities produced by wage-labourers for their exchange in the market as commodities (Çakmur, 1998: 118, 135).

In this respect, there are two sides of cultural production in capitalism, namely symbolic production and material production. At this point, it is not possible to separate the material production from the symbolic production because it is the place where the ideological process originates and functions in itself. In this framework, news production should be considered in line with the entire cultural production process in capitalism. With the increasing commercialisation and conglomeration of the media beginning with the neoliberal transformation, news production, which is always a commercial activity since its emergence, turns out to resemble an industrial production. Journalists produce news as a new type of commodity production. This production of the media industry is a cultural production, which involves symbolic and material production. At this point, it is essential to examine the structure of the media industry in more detail.

2.2.2. Hybrid Structure of the Media Industry

In the liberal theory, media has been seen as the fourth power, along with the legislative, executive and judicial powers. Although different explanations exist for the significance of the media, media industry has acquired its importance because of its hybrid structure. According to classical Marxist dichotomy of base and superstructure, economy constitutes the base, the infrastructure of the society. In this formulation, material relations of production are the foundations of the society. On the other hand, laws, ideology, state etc. are the components of the superstructure. Yet, the relationship between base and superstructure is controversial. Reductionists argue that base determines the superstructure. Although Marx gives a rather basic and direct explanation of this dichotomy between base and superstructure in some of his works, which is adopted by structuralism (Marx, 1976 [1859]) and instrumentalism (Marx and Engels, 2008 [1848]), it is possible to find more complicated explanations in his different works based on reciprocal relations (Marx, 2010 [1852]). Moreover, neo-Marxists brought a new understanding to this basic relation between the base and superstructure. The significant argument brought by Williams is that this determination is not one sided, rather it is reciprocal and more sophisticated than reductionist views (Williams, 1973). Although this debate is very long, for now it is enough to understand the hybrid structure of the media industry.

Regarding this Marxist dichotomy, media can be considered both as a part of the base and the superstructure. On the one hand, it is an arena for capital accumulation. That is why the organisational structure of the media industry is not different than that of the other industries producing commodities. Therefore, it shares three fundamental characteristics of the industrial organisation structure; capital-intensive, technological methods of mass production and distribution, quite developed division of labour; a hierarchical structure of organisation on the basis of productivity and maximisation of profit (Garnham, 1990: 156-7). On the other hand, ideological reproduction takes place in the realm of media. In this respect, Althusser argues that media is one of the ideological state apparatuses (Althusser, 1970). Taking into account its ideological function, it is argued that media is employed to get consent of the people for the hegemony (Gramsci, 1971). Therefore, media industry has a hybrid structure (Kaya, 2009: 10). This hybrid structure gives enormous importance to media because it is both possible to accumulate capital and reproduce the ideological domination through the media industry. Understanding this hybrid structure of the media industry is critical for this study because it has affected the labour process of reporters whether in a direct or indirect way.

2.2.3. Neoliberal Transformation and its Effects on the Media

Neoliberal transformation process that has begun in the 1980s has to be examined briefly in order to understand the existing composition of ownership and capital in the media industry and its effects on the labour process. The success of capitalism in the 20th century relies on its ability to transform and renew itself in the hegemonic crisis situations; that is why it transformed itself to neoliberalism in the 1980s (Özkazanç, 2005: 635). Bora (2005) defines neo-liberalism as the solution to the global crisis of Keynesian social welfare state, which represents the old -classical-liberalism in the conditions of late capitalism (Bora, 2005: 601). Özkazanç claims that liberalism takes a form of global domination and it becomes more interventionist than before because of the necessity to a political intervention in order to reformulate the society (Özkazanç, 2005:636). In Turkey, Özal was the follower of the structural transformation process of the global capitalist system in the 1980s (Bora, 2005: 596). In this sense, the distinctive point of Turkey is that authoritarian market model

developed because neoliberalism has to go along with the line of severe statist domination which is reinterpreted in September 12th, 1980. It means that market society started to be established by state intervention and even by the state force (Özkazanç, 2005: 636-7). Özal was the representative of the new right ideology in Turkey, like Reagan in USA and Thatcher in England. He championed free market economy defending it as a precondition for political liberalism, particularly democracy (Özal, 1992). In this context, neoliberal transformation was actualized through privatizations, deregulations and liberalizations of the markets. Its hegemonic agenda was imposed as conditionality of international institutions such as IMF and World Bank; “privatization, flexible labour markets, financial deregulation, flexible exchange rate regimes, central bank independence (with inflation targeting), fiscal austerity, and good governance” (Cizre and Yeldan, 2005: 388). As Owen and Pamuk (1998: 118) shows that one of the main aims was the creation of the market-based, export-oriented economy, thus changing the direction from the inwardly oriented growth and industrialization to outwardly oriented economy. Therefore, developments took place in this direction. These developments have also affected the media industry, though a little bit later.

The results of the neoliberal transformations for the media industry were more or less to the same direction in all over the world. As Ayşe Öncü (2004: 12) has already argued that public service broadcasting and newspaper readership declined sharply, while commercial media enterprises growth enormously. With the neoliberal policies of privatisations, marketization and deregulations media became a significant arena for the capital accumulation. Although these were called as deregulatory policies, a new set of rules was always established to regulate the media. Therefore, it is more appropriate to call them as re-regulation (Kaya, 2009: 119). Moreover, corporate control of the media institutions and concentration of ownership became evident. Media industry transformed itself according to the needs and logic of the market. Therefore, global media has risen under the tutelage of big capital groups. These trends are observed in the studies of significant media scholars. For example, McChesney (2006: 21) mentions the less journalism and the excessive commercialization of the media in the United States. He refers to a research of Forbes Magazine, which shows that more than one third of the richest 50 American

people acquired their wealth in the media and media related sectors in 2002. Other crucial scholar, Bagdikian (1997) points out the importance of mergers and acquisitions of media enterprises in his book “*The Media Monopoly*” (Bagdikian, 1997). Interestingly, he gives the number of the globally dominant firms in the media industry in the different editions of his book, originally published in 1984. According to Bagdikian, there were 50 corporate firms in 1984 that dominates the media industry in the world; they decrease to 26 in 1987, to 23 in 1990, to less than 20 in 1993, and to 10 in 1996. In his edited and extended version of the book “*The New Media Monopoly*” (2004), he argues that there are five corporate firms that control the media market in the world which are Time Warner, Walt Disney Company, News Corporation, Viacom and Bertelsmann (Bagdikian, 2004; Kaya, 2009: 142-151). Furthermore, Noam Chomsky and Herman discuss the conglomeration and concentration of the media industry in US and the world in their studies in detail (Chomsky and Herman, 2004).

For the concentration of ownership and conglomeration of the capital in the media industry vertical, horizontal and cross or diagonal media ownership became widespread. Firstly, vertical ownership implies the possession of the different components of the production, distribution and consumption cycles. It means that a corporate firm has owned or controlled all of the phases from production till consumption. For example, media conglomerates generally have their own printing houses, program creators, production agencies, news agencies, distribution networks and channels. Therefore, the profit margin of such firms increases sharply because of the economies of scale. Secondly, horizontal ownership means that the same capital ownership has different publications or different broadcasting channels, in other words ownership of several different TV and radio channels, or newspapers, or magazines. Horizontal ownership provides the existence of various productions in the same media realm. With the help of horizontal ownership, media conglomerates have the advantage of limiting their oppositional groups in their sectors. Thirdly, cross/diagonal media ownership implies the property ownerships in different media realms or different economical areas. By cross media ownership, media conglomerates have TV and radio channels, news and magazines at the same time, and also they have investments in different sectors of the economy especially

finance, construction and automobile sectors (Avşar, 89-90, Bek, 2003: 43, Closs and Nikoltchev, 2001: 2, Uluç, 2003: 283). Cross media ownership is the most complex and advantageous one for the media conglomerates. However, these ownership models are not mutually exclusive. It means that they can exist together and mostly this is the case in practice in Turkey.

2.2.4. Changing Patterns of the Labour Processes with the Transformation of “Press” to “Media” in Turkey

Transformation of press to media in Turkey has significantly changed the journalistic principles in practice. As it is explained above, public service understanding has decreased contrary to rising commercial interests. Therefore, the organisation and functioning of the labour processes in the media industry has changed with the changing production processes. In this respect, this part gives a general framework of the changing practices of the labour processes in the media industry with its historical transformation. Particular characteristics of this change in the labour processes of reporters will be examined throughout rest of the study.

The emergence of press in Turkey goes back to Ottoman period in the early 19th century. The first newspapers were published back then, not by Ottomans, but foreigners who try to look after their interests (Alemdar, 1988). In response to these foreign sources of information, state authorities established the first Turkish newspapers (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010: 523). In this regard, the first Turkish newspaper published in Istanbul was *Takvim-i Vakayi*¹⁶. The first issue of this newspaper was published at November 11, 1831 with efforts of the Sultan Mahmut II. It means that the first Turkish newspaper has been published 105 years after the establishment of the printing house (Topuz, 2003: 15). The first newspaper was a kind of an official newspaper that informs people about the decisions of the state. The significant point is that the workers of the first Turkish newspaper were kind of state officials. This was a different path for the development of Turkish press than their Western counterparts, which position themselves inside the market, rather than the state apparatus (Gürkan, 2000: 12 as cited in Özsever, 2004: 55). In the following

¹⁶ *Takvim-i Vakayi* means “Calender of Events” in English and “*Olayların Takvimi*” in Turkish.

years, the newspapers were not profitable enough to pay enough wages to their employees. As a result, journalism has become an additional occupation for the intellectuals, mainly state officials (Karaca, 2000: 61-62, cited in Özsever, 2004: 56). On the other hand, privately owned Turkish newspapers were started to publish in the second half of the 19th century. They were “the major arena of the political strifes” (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010: 523) against the Ottoman political system. Young Ottomans/Turks used the press on the way to the proclamation of the first constitutional monarchy in 1876, which could last just about two years. Then, there was a severe political pressure and censure in the Abdülhamid period until the re-proclamation of the second constitutional monarchy in 1908 which brought forth a brief period of press freedom until the World War I. This path of historical development supports Kaya and Çakmur’s argument of “political parallelism” between press and politics in Turkey (2010).

Regarding the labour processes, press had not seen as a business in late Ottoman period. Therefore, it was not under the pressure of the market, but of the state. Journalists, most of them as state officials were concerned with the political and ideological process, rather than economic productivity as such. Journalism was seen as a kind of craftsmanship, not like a business. So political and ideological orientations were determinative in the organisation and functioning of the labour process, rather than economic imperatives.

This “political parallelism” (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010) between press and politics continued after the establishment of Turkish Republic through Kemalist and conservative press. However, the press was not yet popularised and commercialised, rather there was always political and ideological causes behind it. Transition to multi-party politics in 1946 opened the way to press freedom. Democratic Party appeared to be the representative of the oppositional press, which led to the emergence of the political party press. Right after gaining power in 1950, a new Press Law has been issued by DP and it opened the space for press freedom and journalists’ rights. However, DP was not able to maintain this space. Against the rising economic and political problems, it used the traditional carrot and stick policies against press by closing down the press and imprisoning the journalists on the one hand, and developing clientalistic relations with particular press and

journalists (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010: 523-524). In the meantime, *Hurriyet* and *Milliyet* daily newspapers were established in May 1948. This symbolises a significant point in the historical development of press, because their only cause was to make profit rather than political and ideological orientations. However, market conditions were not enough developed back then for commercial newspapers, and the state subsidies and official advertisements were the main sources of revenues. Therefore, these newspapers were not self-sustaining at first (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010: 523). Nevertheless, the foundation of these dailies is defined as the beginning of a new era for Turkish press. Press was about to reach mass circulations via modern publishing technics and enlarged distribution with the development of technology. In the second half of the 1950s, their circulation numbers raised above 100 thousands (Tılıç, 2009: 100).

The military intervention of 1960 is also a significant point for the development of press in Turkey. In January 1961, press law has been amended in a way that opens up the freedoms and rights of the journalists significantly against the commercial pressures (Özsever, 2004: 39-40).¹⁷ The new constitution established a legal framework that guarantees civil liberties and rights of the citizens. On the other hand, 1960s have witnessed a significant economic growth and industrialisation. Commercial press has developed under these circumstances. Printing press and distribution facilities were also improved, so that press has become a commercial popular press. *Hürriyet* was the first daily newspaper with more than 1 million circulation in the 1960s (Tılıç, 2009: 100). This commercialisation brought the end of the political party press as well. However, it does not mean that political parallelism has ended, rather it continues through regulations, subsidies, clientalistic relationships between media and state (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010: 524-5).

In this period until the transformation of press to media with the 1980s, the proprietors of the newspapers were also journalists, most of which are traditionally journalist family proprietors. They were solely in the print press industry. The capitalist nature of the production in press was not that explicit because of the major

¹⁷ 9 newspaper bosses have decided not to publish their newspapers for three days to protest this amendment at the day of the publication of this amendment of the press law by the “National Unity Committee” on 10th January, 1961. This is generally referred as the “9 bosses incident” (“9 *patron olayı*” in Turkish). For details, see Özsever (2004: 84-90).

ideologic-political orientations of the press. Those times have witnessed the commercialisation of the press, but the production was not organised according to the market pressure and commercial interests. Journalism was organised according to the principle of public service for the sake of public good. In line with the political atmosphere of the period, journalists' union was powerful and effective for the functioning of the journalism and journalistic standards. Moreover, the relationship between the workers of the journalists and the journalist proprietors brought forth rather advantageous results for the journalists. Atypical employment was not that common, rather journalists were employed as full-time workers with their social security and other rights. All in all, labour process was organised around the production of information as a public service, rather than a commodity production for greater surplus value.

However, in line with the global development of capitalism, Turkey has opened to neoliberal structural adjustment policies with the 1980s for a market-based, export-oriented growth strategy. The military intervention, a coup d'état in 12 September, 1980, has opened the way for the neoliberal structural reforms in Turkey. In 1983, a neoliberal government has come to power with Prime Minister Özal and started to implement neoliberal policies of deregulation, privatization and marketization after Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in US. And eventually it has changed the ownership and capital structure of the media industry in a significant way. Although even until early 1990s, traditionally journalist family proprietors succeeded to survive, this kind of ownership structure was about to be lost with the new entrants to the media. Simavi family publishing Hürriyet, Karacan family publishing Milliyet ceased to exist in the media industry with selling their media outlets. Dinç Bilgin who publishes the newspaper Sabah was "the shining star" of this new era (Tılıç, 2009: 101). However, as we will see, Dinç Bilgin Group would be the last media group, which has capital in the press before (Kaya, 2009: 245). In those times, there was only state television, TRT, established in 1964 and started broadcasting tests in 1968, then on a regular basis in 1974. Then the first private television channel, Star 1 started its *de facto* broadcasting in 1990. It was established by the son of the president Özal, Ahmet Özal by using the satellites in Germany. Therefore, it can be argued that private television channels have also been established under the supervision of the state. Then, new private channels have been established by the

same method. They were legalized with the 1993 constitutional change and the related law on radio and televisions in 1994. We will explore the conglomeration of the media industry and the changing ownership structure in the next chapter in detail with respect to autonomy, for now it is necessary to mention that there is a high level of concentration of ownership and conglomeration of the media industry in Turkey. Five media conglomerates which have significant investments in finance, energy, infrastructure etc. (i.e. Ciner, Çukurova, Doğan, Doğuş and Turkuaz) control almost the whole media industry.

How this new ownership structure, high level of concentration and the conglomeration of the media industry has affected the labour processes in the media industry is the crucial question of this study. As it is argued, production and distribution costs have decreased because of the vertical, horizontal and cross ownership structure of the media conglomerates. Moreover, huge amounts of capital have been invested in new information and communication technologies by the new media conglomerates. As a result, required capital for entrance to media has increased dramatically. These processes have significantly affected labour processes and the production processes in the media industry. With the domination of the commercial logic in the realm of media, labour process started to be determined by the market pressure. The capitalist nature of the media production became evident. The production based on public service principle turns out to resemble commodity production for the sake of surplus value and so the profits. News are instrumentalised for the commercial activities of the media proprietors. This process is evident and harmful in Turkey because of the highly concentrated ownership structure of the media and media groups' business investments in other sectors, such as construction, energy, finance and banking that are discussed in the next chapter in detail. The control of the labour process has been delegated to the managerial and editorial offices. At this point, media labourer stays out of the conception of the news with the rising powers of managerial and editorial offices. Division of labour inside the newsrooms further separate the conception and execution of the news. At this point, the development of information and communication technologies have trivialised and devalued the journalist work and reporters' labour. Therefore, it can be argued that news-reporters are excluded from the conception of the news and they started to

resemble the Taylorist factory workers doing the same job in front of the desk, without knowing what they produce (Mavioğlu, 2012: 108-110). In short, the conglomeration of the media industry and the changing structure of capital have transformed the labour processes in the media from its organisation around the principle of public service to an organisation of commodity production to increase the surplus value.

CHAPTER III

THE QUESTION OF AUTONOMY WITH THE EVER-INCREASING COMMERCIALISATION FROM PRESS TO MEDIA CONGLOMERATES

In the opening scene of a TV series called “*The Newsroom*”, Season 1, Episode 3, Will McAvoy starts his live broadcasting of News Night programme with a confession. As a broadcast journalist, he apologises for their programme’s failure to inform American electorate because of not covering the significant truths and misdirecting the audiences up until now. After such a confession, he claims that they are quitting this business with changing teams and starting their new programme to reveal the simple truth. However, he explains the reason of their failure before that.

I was an accomplice to a slow and repeated and unacknowledged and unamended train wreck of failures that have brought us to now. I'm a leader in an industry that miscalculated election results, hyped up terror scares, ginned up controversy, and failed to report on tectonic shifts in our country. From the collapse of the financial system to the truths about how strong we are to the dangers we actually face. I'm a leader in an industry that misdirected your attention with the dexterity of Harry Houdini¹⁸ while sending hundreds of thousands of our bravest young men and women off to war without due diligence. *The reason we failed isn't a mystery. We took a dive for the ratings.*¹⁹

In the last sentences, he ends up blaming themselves because of their coverage for the sake of ratings. Whether it is a genuine dissident voice or not is a matter of another discussion.²⁰ But, at this point, it is significant to note that he emphasizes the

¹⁸ Harry Houdini was an illusionist lived between 1874 and 1926. For more information, visit <http://www.thegreatharryhoudini.com> , retrieved September 20, 2013.

¹⁹ Quotation is taken from <http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0308974/quotes> , retrieved September 20, 2013.

²⁰ Nevertheless, we can argue that *Newsroom* is a perfect example of liberal media theory’s conceptualisation of media as the fourth estate. Even from such a perspective, the dominance of ratings are criticised to a certain extent. For a critical analysis of its dissidency, see; Sarpkaya, D.

structure of the media industry, which operates according to the commercial logic, rather than their individual policy. Commercialisation of media has changed principles and priorities of journalistic work. New ownership structure of media cause an autonomy problem. And this chapter examines the question of autonomy for media and news reporters with the ever-increasing commercialisation of the media. In this regard, media's dual role as a public service and a commercial business is examined first. Then, the regulations related with the composition of ownership and capital in the media industry will be examined in order to be able to understand the conglomeration of the media in Turkey. After that, the effects of this process on division of labour in news media and journalistic autonomy will be discussed with reference to labour process of reporters. This problematic nature of media helps us to understand censorship and self-censorship which is common in Turkey.

3.1. Dilemma of the News Media: A Public Service or a Commercial Business?

It is generally claimed that news media have a dual role. While providing a public service by bringing valuable information to people, there is a business side of media at the same time (Phillips and Witschge, 2011: 4). This is primarily because of the hybrid structure of the media industry discussed above. As Picard mentions, two roles of the media “create tensions within media companies and among media-policy makers that require careful balancing if society is to gain the benefits of a free and independent media system” (Picard, 2005: 337). Although it is possible to examine these two roles of the media by analytically separating them as the “market model” and “public sphere model”, they should be examined at the same time (Phillips and Witschge, 2011: 4). At this point, it is crucial to note, “even though the ‘broad public purpose of media’ is widely accepted (Creteau and Hoynes, 2006: 33), news has always been primarily a business (Cranberg, Bezanson and Soloski, 2001: 1)” (Phillips and Witschge, 2011: 5). Yet, public service principle is often taken in opposition to the business interests of the media because economic motives prevail the public service for the commercial media (Picard, 2005: 338). This dual role of the media because of its hybrid structure is clearly explained in the below quotation.

(2013), “Bir Adım İleri İki Adım Geri: The Newsroom Diziinin Muhlifliđine Bir Bakış”, *Kampflplatz*, Cilt:1, Sayı:2, 259-268.

Communication systems clearly have a range of features in common with other areas of production and are increasingly integrated into the general industrial structure. Therefore, on the one hand, it is quite natural and legitimate that those who own such industries see and seek increased opportunities for profit in the development of the media environment. On the other hand, it is equally clear that the goods they manufacture play a pivotal role in organising the images and discourses through which people make sense of the world. Consequently, in the face of the enriched media environments, 'citizens' would expect that they will obtain more and easier access to information about public affairs and thus better opportunities in a democratic society (Kaya, 1994: 384).

Evaluating the public service principle and the commercial side of the news media at the same time, it is apparent that economic motives outweigh the public service principle with an ever-increasing commercialisation of the media in the 21st century. This tension between the public service side and the business side of the media has often been showed up in the field research. For instance, I-3 explains this dilemma as follows.

Everyone knows that it is not possible to make a news that can harm the activities of the employer economically, so that no one makes such news. No one tells us such a rule or forces you not to make the news, but basically you do not. You know that you should not make. There is newsworthiness, public good, but such news can not be made.²¹

As it is explained above in Chapter 2, the focus has shifted from public service to a commodity production, thereby from citizens to consumers. Picard (2008: 212) argues that level of competition is more than ever in the market-based media because of the fact the system they operate in is based on self-interest and high commercialisation of content. The movement away from public functions of media creates a discontent as well. It is argued that this ever-increasing commercialisation of the media directly affects the media's autonomy in a negative way and reporters' labour process, as the field research proves throughout this study. Commercial pressures mostly determine the decisions about the content and the way this content is presented. Significantly, this commercialisation goes along with the conglomeration process of the media industry in Turkey. In this regard, changing composition of capital and concentration of ownership is important to examine regarding the autonomy of media and journalistic autonomy because media has

²¹ İşverenin ekonomik olarak faaliyetlerine zarar verecek bir şeyi haber yapmanın mümkün olmadığını herkes bilir, bu yüzden kimse de bunu haber yapmaz. Bunu kimse söylemez, kimse baskı yapmaz, ama siz bunu yapmazsınız. Yapmamanız gerektiğini bilirsiniz. Haber değeri var, kamu yararı var, ama haber yapılmaz (Interview with I-3, 17.04.2012, Ankara).

become a new capital investment area for conglomerates in addition to its commercialisation.

3.2. Regulations on the Composition of Ownership and Capital in the Media

Industry: Deregulation from *De facto* to *De jure*

Regulations on the composition of ownership and capital in the media industry are critical to provide pluralism and diversity in the commercial media. For this purpose, state as a regulator determines the rules of the game in order to prevent the concentration and monopolisation of the capital in the media industry. In this respect, there are mainly four different models designed to prevent concentration and monopolization in the media (Avşar, 2004: 94-5; Closs and Nikoltchev, 2001: 2; Darendereli, 2007: 5);

- 1. Audience-share model:** This model aims to limit the audience-share of channel(s) that owned by one real or legal person, in a specific time period.
- 2. License holder-share model:** This model aims to limit the number of licenses that are allowed to own by one real or legal person.
- 3. Revenue share/frequency limitation model:** This model aims to limit the share of maximum revenues from commercial broadcastings or the share of total maximum revenues of a corporation according to the whole revenues of the market.
- 4. Capital share/broadcasting license model:** This model is employed according to three different criteria;
 - I.** Capital share is limited.
 - II.** Number of licenses is limited.
 - III.** Capital shares of more than one broadcasting stations are additionally limited.

These are the main preventive models used by different countries. In case of Turkey, there are chapters related with the composition of ownership and capital in the related chapters of RTSC laws. Our analysis is based on the chronological changes in

the related articles of the law. In this respect, there are three different periods according to the regulation of composition of ownership and capital. The first period is the one from the first version of the RTSC law of 1994 until 2002 changes. This period can be characterized as the years of “*de jure* success, but *de facto* ineffective regulation”. In this first period, the regulation was based on the capital share/broadcasting license model. Although it was a successful regulation for the composition of ownership and capital, its practice was ineffective. The second period is the one from 2002 changes until 2011 new RTSC law. This period can be identified as “chaotic interim period”. In this period, audience-share model was tried to implement, but it caused a chaotic situation after the stay of order and the following annulment decision of Constitutional Court. The third and last period is the present time since the enactment of the new RTSC law in March, 2011. This last period can be characterized as “*de jure* deregulation period”. This last regulation is based on both the revenue share/frequency limitation model and the license holder-share model. However, these last regulations can be seen mostly as deregulatory policies because most of the restrictions are removed. Now, these three different periods will be examined in detail in a comparative way.

The first RTSC law was accepted in 1994 after the removal of the public monopoly over broadcasting with the constitutional amendment in 1993. Article 29 of this law regulates the composition of ownership and capital. This article was based on the France model of capital share/broadcasting license that was explained above. This model has still been in force in France with some modifications (Darendere, 2007: 26). This article shows the fact that this law had taken the necessary measures against the concentration and monopolization of capital in the media industry; however its implementation was not so much effective. Now, we will try to explain the basic principles of this law along with the reasons for its ineffectiveness.

To begin with, all the radio and television institutions should be established as Incorporated Companies. This law put it as a precondition for the foundation of private radio and televisions. Therefore, it prohibited political parties, foundations, trade unions, professional associations, cooperatives, charities, and local administrations to set up a radio or television. Moreover, production, investment, export, import, marketing and finance agencies and institutions were not allowed to

establish radio and televisions, or to become partners. This rule demonstrates that broadcasting was seen solely as a commercial activity, because even the democratic non-profit organizations are excluded from broadcasting right. Although broadcasting was perceived solely as a commercial activity, there were strong measures against the concentration of capital in the media industry. First of all, one incorporated company could establish only one radio and television. It means that number of licenses that one real or legal person could hold was limited. Secondly, one could have 20 per cent of the shares in an institution at most, including his relatives up to third rank. If s/he was a partner in more than one institution, his/her total shares could not exceed the 20 per cent limit. This rule limited the capital share of one real or legal person in one or more institution with 20 per cent. Thirdly, the proportion of the foreign capital share was limited with 20 per cent of the total paid capital of an institution. Foreign real and legal persons could not be partners in more than one institution. This clause was effective to protect the media industry from the dominance of foreign media conglomerates. Fourthly, the persons that have more than 10 per cent of the shares in a radio or television institution could not participate in the public procurements and could not take a contracting job directly or indirectly. In addition, they could not act in the stock exchange. Therefore, media corporations could take a position against governments because they had not organic relations with them. Fifthly, real and legal personalities that publish newspapers, along with the owners of the newspapers could not have more than 20 per cent of the shares all together. This principle effectively prevented the cross-media ownerships. All of these precautions indicate that there were strong measures against the concentration and monopolization of the capital in the media industry along with the horizontal, vertical and cross-media ownerships. That is why we called this period as *de jure* success years. However, these rules could not be implemented to a large extent, which means that they were *de facto* ineffective.

There were different reasons behind the ineffectiveness of this regulation. These are clearly explained in the report of Open Society Institute EU Monitoring and Advocacy Program, Network Media Program (2005). This report's chapter on

Turkey was written by Bülent Çaplı.²² He shows that the aim of this law was to prevent the media channels to serve their owners' interest. However, we witnessed exactly these kinds of situations through 1990s. Although the composition of capital and ownership of media corporations were appropriate to the law on paper, there was one big boss in practice. It means that there were differences between *de jure* and *de facto* ownerships. For example, driver of the boss or corporate lawyer could be in the shareholders list (Çaplı, 2005: 25-6). As a result, the above mentioned restrictions could not prevent the emergence of huge media conglomerates, because owners of the media corporations found some ways to hide their real shares by using the open spaces in the law (Sümer, 2010: 131).

The original RTSC law had been significantly changed in the centre of the crisis in 2002 by the law no. 4756, within the spectrum of the so-called “Derviş Laws”. Main changes were related with the composition of ownership and capital in the media industry. With the transfer of Kemal Derviş by the coalition government to find solutions to the severe economic crisis in 2002, a lot of laws and regulations were adopted quickly under the name of “Derviş Laws”. As part of these laws, law no. 4756 that changes the law of RTSC was accepted in the parliament. It has to be stated that the main aim of these changes was to relax the existing limitations about the capital shares. In this respect, capital shares were determined according to the audience percentage of the radio and television institutions. It means that the previous capital share/broadcasting license model was no longer valid. In contrast, Turkey started to use the audience-share model of United Kingdom and Germany (Darendere, 2007: 26). According to this amendment, one real or legal person, or a capital group could not have more than 50 per cent of a radio or television institution if its audience percentage is above 20 per cent annually. Otherwise, they had to sell their exceeding shares in at most 90 days. This rule also applies for the share holdings in more than one radio or television institution. Such a regulation means unlimited proportion for the corporations that have less than % 20 annual ratings. However, some scholars argue that there is a wording problem in this clause because of the use of the term “percentage”, rather than share or rating (Çaplı, 2005: 25-6). In

²² http://www.soros.org/initiatives/media/articles_publications/publications/eurotv_20051011/more/eurotvur_20051011.pdf , retrieved November 18, 2012.

our opinion, it was just a problem of translation. Contrary to this change, it is important to note that the previous rule that allows one corporation just for one television and radio institution still applies. On the other hand, the proportion of foreign capital was increased to 25 per cent from 20 per cent in a radio or television institution, although foreign real or legal personalities were still allowed to become a partner only in one institution. Furthermore, the prohibition to participate in public procurements and stock exchange were no longer in effect. It means that media corporations are allowed to take place in public procurements legally, because media conglomerates have already entered to the public procurements through different complicated solutions. However, it caused organic relationships with governments. Moreover, the share limitation of publishers and owners of the newspapers were removed by this law. Therefore, no restrictions have remained regarding the cross-media ownerships between print press and audio-visual media. As a result, the way for the concentration and monopolization of the capital in the media industry is opened to a large extent.

In addition to the opening of the ways for the concentration and monopolization of capital, the situation has been deteriorated by the following developments. Incumbent President of Turkey in 2002, Ahmet Necdet Sezer and 119 members of the parliament have applied to the Constitutional Court because of the above-mentioned changes in the article 29 of the RTSC law. The process starting with their application has explained in detail with an article written by one the current members of RTSC, A. Darendeli (2007). President and MPs argued that these changes will enable the monopolization and cartelization in the media industry, and they will create unfair competition because of the removal of the restriction on the entrance to the public procurements. They argued that these changes were against the article two of the constitution on “the democratic state governed by the rule of law”, “receiving information” principle in the article 26, principles regarding “the freedom of press” in the article 28, and “prevention of the monopolization and cartelization” principle in the article 167 of the constitution. After their application, first of all, Constitutional Court gave a stay of order decision on June 12th, 2002. Then, as a final decision, it annulled the related two (d and e) clauses of the article 29 of the RTSC law on September 21th, 2004. These articles were the ones related with

the audience-share model. The most important reason behind this annulment was the high percentage of 20 per cent for the maximum audience share. In its decision, Constitutional Court indicated that the maximum audience share in Turkey is between 14-16 per cent annually, which means that 20 per cent was not an effective percentage, not a restriction at all. The annulment decision has come into force with its publication in the Official Gazette on August 4th, 2006. It means that no additional time for the preparation of a new article was given to the parliament. As a result, the audience-share model could not be implemented in Turkey. However, a legal gap has occurred because of the removal of the specific clauses of the law. This removal of the related clauses of the law does not mean that the previous ones will come into force back (Darendeli, 2007: 10-15). Therefore, this legal gap caused a chaotic situation regarding the shareholders proportions in the radio and television corporations. Precisely, it means that there have remained no provisions that regulate the composition of ownership and capital in the media industry since 2006 (actually since 2002 in practice because of the stay of order decision), except the 25 per cent limit of foreign capital. Of course, these unlimited rights of proportions serve to the interests of big capital groups in the media sector. This abnormal situation had to be solved as soon as possible with a new RTSC law. That is why we called this period as “chaotic interim period”.

New RTSC law, accepted in March, 2011, overcomes the chaotic situation described above. In this respect, it not only approves the general tendency of the 2002 changes but also takes them forward. In other words, it throws open the door for the concentration and monopolization of the media industry in a legal way. Most of the restrictions on cross-media ownerships, foreign capital, capital shares and license holdings are either removed or relaxed to a large extent. That is why we called this period as *de jure* deregulation period.

With this new RTSC law, capital shares of the media institutions are determined according to the commercial communication revenues. It means that revenue share/frequency limitation model has started to be used in Turkey. This model is generally affiliated with Italy (Avşar, 2004: 108). However, license holder-share model has also been used in addition to the model of Italy. In this respect, one real or legal person is allowed to be a partner up to 4 different territorial broadcasting

licenses. However, their commercial communication revenues cannot exceed the 30 per cent of the total commercial communication revenues of the sector. Otherwise, s/he has to sell their shares above 50 per cent within 90 days. If this situation continues, RTSC fines that personality with 400.000 Turkish liras for a month. Moreover, this new law also approves the removal of the restrictions in 2002 related with the cross-media ownerships, along with the entrance to the public procurements and stock exchange. Furthermore, this law has increased the proportion of foreign shares up to 50 per cent at most. In addition, foreign real or legal personalities can have become partners up to 2 different media corporations.

There are seriously problematic aspects related with the regulation of composition of ownership and capital in this new RTSC law. First of all, this law removes the broadcasting rights of communication faculties. On the contrary, it removes the previous restriction about license holding of production, investment, export, import, marketing and finance agencies and institutions. As the evaluation report of the Faculty of Communication, Ankara University states that this is not in line with democratic principles. Trade unions and non-profit organizations should have been allowed to broadcast (Adaklı and Sümer, 2010: 6). On the other hand, the right for 4 different territorial licenses is more than necessary for the media industry in Turkey. It approves the already existing oligopolistic structure and opens the way forward for more concentration. This license holder-share model with the revenue share/frequency limitation model does not constitute a preventive effect for the concentration and monopolization of the capital. The limit of 30 per cent of the total commercial communication revenues is a critically high barrier for this industry. As Sözeri and Güney argued, media market has dominated by a few conglomerates because of the vertical, horizontal and cross media ownerships (Sözeri and Güney, June 2011: 46-7). Table 2 shows the shares of media groups' advertisement revenues. According to this table, the 30 per cent limit constitutes a limit just for Doğan Group to a certain extent. However, it is not an effective solution to end the concentration and monopolization of the capital in the media industry. In addition, just a financial fine for the corporations that violate this clause is a simplistic precaution. That fine of 400.000 Turkish liras may be the amount of the daily revenues of that corporation that does not matter to pay.

Furthermore, the increased proportion of foreign capital to 50 per cent is also a too high limit, because it is possible to get a dominant position with such a high per cent. Even in the United States, according to the FCC, foreign real or legal persons cannot own more than 20 per cent of a media corporation, and they cannot control directly or indirectly more than 25 per cent of a media corporation (Communication Act, 161).²³ With this increase of the share of the foreign capital, foreign capital is able to get the position of the dominant capital with legal ways, although it has already tried to through different and complicated ways such as cooperation agreements (Kaya, 2009: 249, Sözeri: 2009: 210).²⁴ Currently, there are three big foreign players in the media industry of Turkey. The first one is Murdoch's FOX TV (former TGRT), the second one is the joint ventures of Time Warner with Doğan Group, namely CNN TURK, TNT, and Cartoon Network channels, and the last one is CINE-5 of El Cezire.

Briefly, it can be argued that these clauses of the related article of the new law have justified the existing oligopolistic structure of the media. Rather than taking the necessary measures to provide pluralism and diversity, they approve the concentration and monopolization tendency of the capital in the media industry. At this point, lobbying activities of media owners can be seen as effective regarding the 2002 amendments and 2011 new RTSC law. As Kaya and Çakmur shows that the commercialization of the media industry did not decrease the degree of political parallelism, "instead it enabled media owners to use their media properties to intervene in political decisions that have a central role in capital accumulation" (Kaya and Çakmur, 2010: 521-3). In this respect, it can be argued that media owners use their media powers to affect the 2002 amendments and 2011 new RTSC law for their corporate interests as well.

²³ <http://transition.fcc.gov/Reports/1934new.pdf> , retrieved August 16, 2012.

²⁴ For a detailed study on this issue, see Sözeri, C. (2009), *Türkiye'de Medya Sektöründe Uluslararası Şirket Birleşmeleri*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Basın Ekonomisi ve İşletmeciliği Anabilim Dalı, İstanbul.

3.3. Conglomeration Process of Media in Turkey and the Problem of Autonomy

As it is discussed above, neoliberal transformations led to the increasing importance of commercial media groups contrary to the decreasing public broadcasting and newspaper readership that results in corporate control of media institutions and the concentration of ownership in small numbers. In the case of Turkey, the transformation from press to media conglomerates starts in the late 1980s. Theoretically, television broadcasting is possible with lower fixed capitals ever than before with the technological improvements. However, in practice, the required capital in order to survive in this highly competitive environment of the media industry is quite high. It is also generally claimed that media institutions are not profitable investments, but they are used as a “gun” for the sake of other investments of the group (Sönmez, 2010: 152). This is why new media bosses usually have banks and/or construction firms in Turkey as well as in the other countries. This also brings the problem of autonomy. The only rivals of these media bosses are from the Islamist media groups that are obviously assisted and supported by various religious sects and orders. In this respect, current composition of the media industry in Turkey reflects a double-faced structure. On the one hand, there exists a few huge media conglomerates; on the other hand there are Islamist media companies that are apparently supported by various orders and sects (Kaya, 2009: 261-2). Therefore, it is hard to talk about the pluralism and freedom of press and media from this existing picture. In this sense, the emergence of this dual structure of the capital in the media industry in Turkey will be examined.

In line with the global trends, neoliberal transformation process has started showing its effects on the media industry in the late 1980s in Turkey. In those years, there were pressures to remove the monopoly of public broadcasting of Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT), which is established in 1964. According to the article 133/3 of the 1982 constitution and the article 8 of the law no. 2954 about the Turkish Radio and Television, the only public broadcasting agency was Turkish Radio and Television Corporation. Turgut Özal was the President of the Republic in the late 1980s. He publicly announced that it is not illegal to broadcast from the

satellites of foreign countries. By the positive effect of his encouragement, Star 1 started its broadcasting from Germany in 1990. Incumbent President Turgut Özal's son Ahmet Özal was one of the main partners of the company with Cem Uzan (Kejanlioğlu, 2004: 445). As it can be understood, there was no regulation for the private broadcasting channels. It was a *de facto* deregulation of commercial television channels. At this point, it is important to note that in the transformations of the media industry in Turkey, changes in laws and regulations generally come after *de facto* practices. Therefore, it has been argued that there is an *ex post facto* regulation process in the realm of media (Öncü, 2004: 16). With this *de facto* deregulation process, plenty of commercial radio and television channels emerged. In order to prevent this chaotic situation, Turkish Grand National Assembly amended the article 133 of the constitution in July 8th, 1993. With the changes in the law no. 3913, the state monopoly over radio and television broadcasting was ceased to exist and the establishment of commercial radio and television stations is allowed. Since the beginning of its emergence, printing press is traditionally free from state regulation and licensing. However, the situation is the other way around for the audio-visual media because of the so-called limited frequency waves in the air territories of the countries. In this case, there was a need for a special law regarding the radio and televisions because of this change in the constitution. As a result, the law no. 3984, named "Law on the Establishment and Broadcasting of Radio Stations and Television Channels", was accepted by the parliament in April 13th, 1994. Thus, four years after their foundations, commercial radio and televisions have acquired a legal status with this *ex post facto* regulation. In this respect, a new regulatory agency was also established under the name of Radio and Television Supreme Council, as the FCC in USA and OFCOM in UK. However, it has been included to the constitution more than ten years after its foundation, by the amendment of the article 133 of the constitution in May 2005.²⁵ It is also an example of *ex post facto* regulation in the realm of media.

The conglomeration process of the media industry is clearly explained by Hıfzı Topuz's book and Raşit Kaya's book (Topuz, 2003; Kaya, 2009). As they show

²⁵ http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/anayasa/anayasa_2011.pdf , retrieved August 24, 2012.

that this conglomeration process has begun with the new enters to the media from the other fields of the economy, especially from finance and construction sector. In 1979, Aydın Doğan purchased the newspaper Milliyet from Karacan family. In 1982, Ömer Çavuşoğlu, Ahmet Kozanoğlu and Güneri Cıvaoğlu founded newspaper Güneş. Asil Nadir bought newspapers Tan, Günaydın and then Güneş. In these operations of Asil Nadir as the representative of foreign capital, Nuri Çolakoğlu took part, who will be a significant person for the Doğan Group after 2002. From these experiments, the attempt of Aydın Doğan was the first successful one. Aydın Doğan took the ownership of Hürriyet in 1994. With the conglomeration process of Hürriyet, Milliyet and Sabah newspapers and with the establishments of various commercial radio and TV channels by the press groups starting from the de facto de-regulation in 1990, domination of big capital in the media industry has started to be established in the 1990s. As a result, no other media group is left after the elimination of Dinç Bilgin Group, which has capital in the press before (Kaya, 2009: 245). It means that there is a domination of the big capital in the media industry, which is accumulated in the other fields of the economy, especially in finance and construction. In this process, state investments in communication and information technologies and infrastructure are critical in the 1980s, despite the decreasing state investments in other parts of the economy with the neoliberal transformation (Ekzen, 1999: 85). Therefore, it can be defended that state played a critical role in order to provide an ideal environment for the emergence of media conglomerates. As it is mentioned above, Özal publicly supported the foundations of commercial radio and TV channels. Consequently; vertical, horizontal and cross media ownerships have become a widespread phenomenon with the entrance of big capital to the media industry. It decreased the production and distribution costs of big media players (Avşar, 2004: 89-90). As a result, the entrance to the media industry became more and more difficult with the concentration of ownership in a few hands (Demir, 2007: 193-200). The required investments in order to survive and compete with the big media conglomerates have become too high. It leads to the end of journalist media bosses in the industry. Almost all of the dominant players are media conglomerates and naturally their bosses are CEOs of their conglomerates, not the journalists. From this explanation, it can be concluded that the fusion of state, capital and media that has started in the 1980s became apparent and condensed in the 1990s (Kaya, 2009).

Moreover, after the reform in 2002, the monopolization and concentration of ownership in the media industry has reached higher points. According to a report prepared by Competition Authority about the sale of the companies of Merkez Group by SDIF, the oligopolistic structure as a general characteristic of the media sectors also exists in the television broadcasting in Turkey. Same report claims that four big media groups control the television industry; market shares of these groups are as follows: % 45 Doğan Group, % 21-25 Merkez Group, % 15 Çukurova Group, and % 10 Doğu Group. Moreover, this report also suggests that there is a domination of the Doğan Group in the press with its % 35 of the total sales of newspapers (Competition Authority Report, 2007: 36-7 as cited in Kaya, 2009: 259-261). As a result, Doğan Group is not allowed to enter to the procurement of the sale of the companies of Merkez Group, and these were sold to Çalık (Turkuaz) Group. This domination of the Doğan Group is the critical reason that led to the Doğan and Anti-Doğan wars in the media and finance sector. This Doğan and anti-Doğan groupings are studied in detail in Mustafa Sönmez's book *Filler ve Çimenler* (Sönmez, 2003). Up until now, the crucial media players after 1980 are Doğan Group, Çukurova Group, Doğu Group, Turkuaz (Çalık) Group, Ciner Group, Dinç Bilgin Group, Uzanlar Group, Erol Aksoy Group, and İhlas Group (Kaya, 2009: 245-262).

After examining the conglomeration process, it is necessary to give an overview of the current ownership and capital structure in the media industry. At this point, the current ownership and capital structure of Turkish media industry is tried to reveal with the shares of the mainstream media outlets taking into account the limited available sources.²⁶ According to a TESEV (The Turkish Economic and Social Studies Foundation) report named "Political Economy of Media in Turkey" (Sözeri and Güney, 2011) there are four significant players in the media; Doğan, Turkuaz (Çalık), Çukurova and Doğu groups. At this point, Ciner group can also be added to this list. This report makes an examination of the media players according

²⁶ It is extremely difficult to find reliable and up-to-date data regarding ownership and capital structure of Turkish media because of the so-called "trade secrets". Although we have applied to RTSC via "Right to Information Act", responses were not positive. Therefore, different sources of data are used in this study in order to give a general picture of the current media landscape in Turkey.

to their HHI²⁷ indexes. They found that total HHI index is 2094. It means that the market is concentrated (above 1800 level) according to the criteria of US Department of Justice. The highest concentration ratio belongs to Doğan group with % 38 (Sözeri and Güney, 2011: 46-55).

However, it has to be noted that the concentration ratios have changed significantly after the “compulsory” sales of Milliyet and Vatan dailies and Star TV by Doğan group because of the political pressures and the related huge tax fines that will be discussed below. Therefore, a more recent TESEV report prepared after the significant sales by Doğan group reflects an updated version of the current media landscape of Turkey. As it is explained in detail above, capital shares of the media groups are controlled by their commercial communication revenues with the new RTSC law of 2011. According to this criterion, one media group cannot control more than 30 % of the total commercial communication revenues of that sector. Whether it is an effective barrier or not, it is valid for audio-visual media. Table 3.1 gives the commercial communication revenues of television and radio stations since the regulatory body RTSC keep a record of them, i.e. from 1998. These numbers indicate the accelerating growth of the audio-visual broadcasting in Turkey.

²⁷ “The Herfindahl-Hirschman Index: "HHI" means the Herfindahl-Hirschman Index, a commonly accepted measure of market concentration. It is calculated by squaring the market share of each firm competing in the market and then summing the resulting numbers. (...) Markets in which the HHI is between 1000 and 1800 points are considered to be moderately concentrated, and those in which the HHI is in excess of 1800 points are considered to be concentrated. Transactions that increase the HHI by more than 100 points in concentrated markets presumptively raise antitrust concerns under the Horizontal Merger Guidelines issued by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission.” (The information about HHI is retrieved September 8, 2012, from <http://www.justice.gov/atr/public/testimony/hhi.htm>)

Table 3.1: Commercial communication revenues of TV and radio stations²⁸

YEARS (TL)	TV	RADIO
1998	74,580,458,981,763.00	7,422,805,243,271.00
1999	131,146,250,373,723.00	12,389,547,483,162.00
2000	249,124,837,817,176.00	24,403,329,441,614.00
2001	264,547,462,703,688.00	21,116,508,386,706.00
2002	443,653,069,691,251.00	26,283,826,440,848.00
2003	605,093,212,308,869.00	28,418,930,055,402.00
2004	803,056,193,347,364.00	37,198,021,485,612.10
2005	894,329,549.39	42,612,736.25
2006	916,831,802.67	64,832,556.64
2007	1,181,665,582.22	72,742,648.39
2008	1,366,469,830.16	79,013,475.32
2009	1,277,225,446.80	74,071,391.92
2010	1,823,401,258.79	92,362,003.03
2011	2,184,347,372.18	117,174,207.66
2012	2,370,711,422.74	144,260,982.63

However, it is necessary to place television, radio and newspapers to the general picture of the advertisement investments to understand their importance in this sector. Table 3.2 gives the distribution of advertisement investments among televisions, newspapers, magazines, radios, outdoor ads, cinemas, and digital ads. As this table indicates, more than 50 % of the advertisement investments are put for television stations, while more than 20 % goes to newspapers. It means that television stations and newspapers take about $\frac{3}{4}$ of the advertisement pie, although new ways of advertisements such as outdoor and digital ads increase in recent times.

²⁸ Numbers are incorporated from RTSC data, based on the shares of RTUK by an application via right to information act. It should be reminded that last 6 digits of Turkish Lira have been removed since 1 January 2005.

Table 3.2: Comparative Advertisement Investments²⁹

Million TL	2010	Market Share	2011	Market Share	Variation 2011 - 2010
TV	2.017,69	55,85	2.447,79	56,66	21%
Newspaper	855,82	23,69	952,83	22,06	11%
Magazine	86,30	2,39	94,72	2,19	10%
Radio	103,72	2,87	121,07	2,80	17%
Outdoor	252,00	6,98	306,35	7,09	22%
Cinema	45,50	1,26	53,30	1,23	17%
Digital	251,84	6,97	344,10	7,97	37%
Total	3.612,87	100,00	4.320,15	100,00	20%

After giving the importance of television and newspaper advertisements in the advertising market, it is possible to examine media conglomerates shares of advertisement revenues in order to understand the current media landscape in Turkey. Table 3.3 gives the media groups' estimated shares of advertisement revenues for 2011 and 2012. This table has been adopted from a recent TESEV report (Kurban and Sözeri: 2012). The authors of this report brought this statistics together according to data gathered through Mindshare Advertising Agency.³⁰ This table is significant because it enables the reader to compare the shares of 2011 and 2012, in other words before and after sales of Milliyet and Vatan dailies and Star TV

²⁹ Estimated numbers, without VAT. Table has been adopted from the related documents of Reklam Verenler Derneği (Association of Advertisers), <http://www.rvd.org.tr/haber.aspx?hID=109>

³⁰ Once again, it is necessary to note that RTSC does not share the advertisement revenues of radio and television stations, even for the applications via right to information act because of the so-called "trade secrets". At this point, it should be emphasised that new RTSC law regulates the ownership and capital structure of the audio-visual media according to their commercial communication revenues. And commercial communication revenues are calculated according to their monthly payments to RTSC. Television and radio stations are supposed to pay 3% of their commercial communication revenues as RTSC payments. Regarding the principles of transparency and accountability, the public has the right to know these payments to RTSC. It is the necessity of the public interest. This inconvenience should be solved as soon as possible.

by Doğan group. It is interesting to note that estimated advertisement shares for Doğan group did not change at all (Kurban and Sözeri, 2012: 30-31).

Table 3.3: Media Groups' Estimated Shares of Advertisement Revenues (2011 / 2012) ³¹

%	TV	Newspaper	Magazine	Radio	Internet
Doğan	36 / 27	58 / 58	30 / 30	8 / 8	20 / 20
Çukurova	12 / 12	3 / 3	6 / 6	6 / 6	1 / 1
Turkuvaz	19 / 19	24 / 24	18 / 18	2 / 1	4 / 4
Doğuş	8 / 20	-	4 / 4	9 / 9	7 / 7
Ciner	2 / 2	1 / 1	3 / 3	-	2 / 2
Other	23 / 20	14 / 14	39 / 39	75 / 76	66 / 66

To sum up, Turkey has a very oligopolistic media, with 5 giant media conglomerates at most controlling the media industry. Although Doğan group has decreased its media assets by selling Milliyet and Vatan dailies to Demirören group and Star TV to Doğuş group at 2011; it is still the leading player at both print press and audio-visual media. Oligopolistic structure is even worse at print press. Although there are plenty of daily national newspapers, Doğan and Turkuvaz groups control about 80 % advertisement revenues. Moreover, they have their own distribution companies that distribute all the newspapers available for mass circulation.

By the time of writing, SDIF seized the control of Çukurova media group because of its debts at 16th May, 2013.³² Ciner group has publicly announced that they have agreed for the heads of terms to purchase the main television channel of Çukurova group, namely Show TV.³³ It means that Show TV will remain inside this oligopolistic structure. Outside this picture, other smaller groups that have strong relationships with the political power control the rest of the media; Koza, Albayrak,

³¹ Table has been adopted from TESEV report which is based on Mindshare Advertising Agency data, Kurban and Sözeri (2012: 29).

³² <http://www.tmsf.org.tr/2013.tr?bid=163> , retrieved May 17, 2013.

³³ <http://www.cinergroup.com.tr/news/174> , retrieved June 3, 2013.

İhlas, Feza and Channel 7 groups. Recently emerged Demirören group should be added to this list. However, it is really hard to survive among these huge media conglomerates. That is why the only rivals of these conglomerates are the Islamist groups. These Islamist groups are evidently supported and assisted by various religious sects and orders. In this respect, İhlas Group is supported by the Nakşibendi order, Feza group is affiliated with the Nur order, and Channel 7 is identified by the Welfare Party, then the Virtue Party and now with the Felicity Party. These broadcasting institutions are able to survive with the support of their bases; otherwise they cannot compete with the big media conglomerates. However, there is an increasing dominance of the foreign capital in the media industry especially with the recent changes. There are currently two major foreign players in Turkey; Murdoch's FOX TV (former TGRT), and Time Warner's joint ventures with Doğan Group CNN-TURK, TNT, and Cartoon Network channels. Moreover, El Cezire is trying to start their Turkish broadcasting for a couple of years, though not successful yet. With the increase of the foreign capital share to 50 per cent with the recent RTSC law, the proportion of the foreign capital probably will be higher in due course.

In the light of the above observations, it is argued that there is not a genuine pluralism and autonomy of media in Turkey. Because all of these giant media conglomerates already have investments in finance, energy, infrastructure and construction industry etc. they are more or less dependant to political power via public procurements, mergers and acquisitions, advertisements etc. Therefore, they establish clientelistic relations with state to use for their interests, such as public procurements, concessions and favours from state. Kaya (2009) uses the term "power yarn" to describe the corrupt relations between media, capital and state. As a ball of yarn, we do not know where their corrupt relations start and end. Their relations are so intertwined and embedded that prevents us to separate them. This transformation from press to media conglomerates is explained as the industrialisation of press by I-41, an experienced journalist Ertuğrul Maviöglü;

What changed was, it is the difference of industrialisation between the old and new. In the past there was something called journalism, now there is something called business. In the

past there was press, now there is something called the media. Media is the industrialised version of the press.³⁴

In JDP (Justice and Development Party) period, corrupt and clientalistic relations between media, capital and state have proliferated with JDP's desire to control media via carrot and stick policies. There are two recent examples that show the problematic nature of the media autonomy in Turkey. In the last couple of years, there has been significant chain of events at Doğan and Doğuş groups' media corporations. The examination of these events can reveal the corrupt relations between media, capital and state in Turkey and put forward the problem of autonomy in a concrete way.

Doğan group has downsized its media assets in the last years by selling Milliyet and Vatan dailies and Star TV at 2011. Some of the critical journalists such as Emin Çölaşan and Bekir Coşkun have been fired from their media outlets. Moreover, Radikal daily newspaper has been transformed to a tabloid-size paper at 2010 under the new chief executive editor Eyüp Can with also elimination of some critical journalists. Furthermore, the well-known Hürriyet Media Towers were sold. The background of this strategic downsizing is crucial to illustrate the relations between media, capital and power. First of all, Doğan group's media outlets were not in favour of Justice and Development Party at 2002 elections that brought JDP to power alone since then, rather they supported Republican People's Party, one way or another. However, Doğan group has softened their criticisms against the JDP soon after the elections along with the big capital. Nevertheless, the crisis has appeared at the last months of 2008 with "Deniz Feneri e.V." case. The association's malpractices were revealed together with their Turkish links. Moreover, the leader of the main opposition party, Deniz Baykal has publicly announced that one of the main suspects of the case transferred money to Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. As it would be in any democratic country, this news hit the headlines in Doğan group's Milliyet, Hürriyet and Radikal dailies. At this point, PM Erdoğan transformed this to a personal dispute with Aydın Doğan, owner of Doğan group, by stating that it is

³⁴ Değişen ne oldu, değişen eskisiyle yenisinin arasında bir sanayileşme farkı oldu. Eskiden gazetecilik denilen bir şey vardı, şimdi business denilen bir şey var. Eskiden basın vardı, şimdi medya denilen bir şey var. Medya basının sanayileşmiş halidir (Interview with I-41, 09.06.2012, Istanbul).

because of an unauthorised re-construction permit for Hilton hotel area, that is why “he is assaulting with Hilton suffering” Aydın Doğan was responded as soon as possible with the same style, and it became a public dispute. Erdoğan publicly declared a boycott against Doğan’s newspapers, and claimed that there exist licensing problems of CNN Türk television channel. As a result of this open conflict, Doğan group has been fined by 3 billion dollars as a tax penalty in early 2009. It was incredibly high enough to bring an end to Doğan’s media corporations. However, this penalty was decreased to about 500 million dollars through court cases. Mavioğlu argues that there was a kind of a secret deal between the government and Aydın Doğan, but it was impossible to prove (Mavioğlu, 2012: 49-55). At this point, it is an important clue that penalties were reduced just before the elections.³⁵ One way or another, Doğan group chose downsizing and silenced their critical voices eventually. As I-56, Melih Aşık who worked for Doğan group for long years claimed;

The newspapers of Aydın Doğan group has clamped down the Deniz Feneri case like business as usual. Political power has been disturbed by this, so that great fights emerged. Although it may seem differently from the surface of some figts, it is the Deniz Feneri so to speak. A major inconvenience, fight, combat; just then came a tax penalty 3 billion dollar to Doğan group. At that point Aydın Doğan’s decline has began, has fallen into decrease. In the meantime, for instance, Mr. Aydın told this to Bekir Coşkun, and Bekir Coşkun share this in the interviews or so. Mr. Aydın went with a list, and told Bekir in Ankara that they gave him this list. I am on this list as well. They are saying that do not work with these guys, fire them. Prime Minister or someone close to him has given this list.³⁶

The above tax penalty was a threat for all media corporations. In the coming years, Doğuş group has transformed its broadcasting policies to a soft journalism in line with JDP’s electoral success. Doğuş group has increased its assets not only in media by purchasing Star TV, but also in other sectors especially the finance and the construction in JDP period. NTV was the first 24-hour news channel in Turkey. It

³⁵ <http://ekonomi.haberturk.com/para/haber/631766-dogan-940-milyona-anlasti-5-milyarlik-borcunu-sildi> , retrieved November 20, 2012.

³⁶ “Deniz feneri olayının üzerine Aydın Doğan grubunun gazeteleri olağan bir şekilde gittiler. Bundan rahatsız oldu iktidar, oradan büyük kavgalar çıktı. Deniz feneridir yani, yüzeyde deniz feneri olmayabilir bazı kavgalarda ama. Büyük bir rahatsızlık, kavga, dövüş derken 3 milyar dolarlık bir vergi cezası geldi Doğan grubunun üzerine. Aydın Doğan’ın burda artık inişi başladı yani, inişe geçti. Bu arada mesela Aydın Bey bunu Bekir Coşkun’a söylemiştir, Bekir Coşkun da röportajlarda falan söyler. Aydın bey bi listeyle gitmiş, demiş ki Bekir’e Ankara’da, bana bu listeyi verdiler. Bu listede benim adım da var. İşte bu adamlarla çalışmayın, bunları işten atın diyorlar. Bunu başbakan veya ona yakın birileri veriyor. (Interview with I-56, 16.06.2012, Ankara)

has an effective news reporting and critical discussion programmes with dissident voices as well. For better or worse, their broadcasting was preferred for many people because of their impartial and objective news making. However, 2011 has witnessed the transformation of their broadcasting policies. First of all, they started to cancel most of the discussion programmes of senior journalists starting with Çiğdem Anad, Mirgün Cabas, Nuray Mert, Banu Güven and finally Can Dünder. Moreover, they reorganised their newsroom. This change had started before the June 2011 general elections and it has taken its final form after the elections. Although executive editors of Doğu media group argued that this change is based on their own discretion, direct or indirect pressures coming from the ruling AKP government was evident. One interviewee, I-35 who works at NTV, explains the changes taking place at Doğu group with reference to the tax penalty fined to Doğan groups.

Broadcasting, journalism is a very expensive business. That is to say, no one except the conglomerates and big bosses has the capacity to take this job. In fact you say so, give your boss his right, he has a lot of pressure on himself. Because there is an obvious example of Aydın Doğan, the penalty of \$5 billion. No one can tolerate this and no one can stand against it, there is no such penalty. There is such a wide legislation that anyone can be convicted of tax cuts, so when it suits himself. You make it to either Doğu and Habertürk's bosses. The boss that feels this pressure on himself, he has nothing to do. So If I were in his place, my boss's place, I have to do it. Or thousands of people that I gave my bread to will remain unemployed, so you are gonna go off, you have nothing to do.³⁷

At March 2011, the owner of Doğu Group, Ferit Şahenk has received the most successful businessman of the year award from Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan with bowing respectfully in a striking way before him (Mavioğlu, 2012: 56-8). They tried to justify this policy change with defending so-called “BBC style of news reporting”, but it was not consistent and satisfactory. According to interviewees I-33 and I-47 working at NTV;

When you look why NTV did it, NTV said we will perform reporting like the BBC, in no way we will be in political debates, there will not be a disgrace in our screens, this was how

³⁷ Çok pahalı bir iş televizyonculuk, gazetecilik. Yani şu an holdingler dışında, büyük patronlar dışında bu işi götürebilecek kapasitede kimse yok. Aslında şey diyosun ya, patrona hak veriyorsun, patronun da üzerinde çok büyük bir baskı var. Çünkü ortada bir Aydın Doğan örneği var mesela, 5 milyar dolar ceza. Buna kimse tahammül edemez ve bunun karşısında kimse duramaz, böyle bir ceza yok. O kadar geniş bir mevzuat var ki, herkese vergiden cezayı kesersin, yani işine geldiğinde. Doğu'a da yaparsın, Habertürk'ün patronuna da yaparsın. Bu baskıyı üzerinde hisseden bir patron, yani onun yapacağı da hiçbir şey yok. Yani ben olsam onun yerinde, patronumun yerinde, ben de bunu yapmak zorundayım. Yoksa benim eklemek verdiğim binlerce insan da işsiz kalacak, yani kapatıp gidiceksin yani, yapacağın bir şey yok. (Interview with I-35, 02.06.2012, Ankara)

they set off, but currently a kind of reporting is practiced which is not smelling and not transmitted.³⁸

In my opinion, NTV was more like BBC style in the past. When I have started, Mustafa Hoş was the news coordinator, he was fired after the heading of “blockade to the chief prosecutor”. When Mustafa Hoş has come, we were blaming him like, although we did not know him well, he is already on the side of power, anyway. Yet, after he has gone, we have realised that we are just starting to everything, you know what I mean, we should bless his lucky stars. That process was too fast, because Banu Güven has gone all of a sudden, Ruşen Çakır’s programme was over, Mirgün Cabas’s programme was over, the programme of Emre Kongar and Mehmet Barlas was over, Mehmet Barlas has continued but excuse me Emre Kongar has been kicked out, Mustafa Hoş has gone, Can Dündar has gone. You know, we have experienced this process so fast that, well, all of us were aware of something happening but everyone has gone such a mad. Now for instance we are like that in the news meetings, a news is proposed, come on, a call will come in the next hour, let it go and so forth. That is to say, we have such moments that they will give us a ring in the next hour saying not to make that news, so just let it go. But this turns out to be something like a joke among us, perhaps we have internalised this situation. Honestly we are waiting that a newspaper writes it once, in any case newspaper has written it, so let’s make the news saying that paper has written it that is why we have make it.³⁹

3.4. Control and Division of Labour in the News Production

After examining the conglomeration process of media and its missing autonomy in this process, their effects on control and division of labour in the news production will be discussed with reference to the results of the field research. As it is mentioned above, commercialisation and conglomeration of the media have damaged the autonomy of the media *vis a vis* economic and political structures. Because of the disappearance of the journalist proprietors with the conglomeration of media, a

³⁸ Baktığımız zaman NTV niye bunu yaptı, NTV dedi ki biz BBC gibi bir habercilik yapıcaz, hiçbir şekilde siyasi tartışmaların içinde olmayacağız, bizim ekranımızda bi rezalet yaşanmıcak diyerek yola çıkıldı, fakat şu anda kokmaz-bulaşmaz bi habercilik yapılıyor. (Interview with I-33, 01.06.2012, Ankara)

³⁹ “Eskiden daha BBC tarzındaydı bence NTV. Ben gittiğimde Mustafa Hoş haber koordinatörüydü, bu “başsavcıya abluka” başlığından sonra işten atıldı. Biz Mustafa abi geldiğinde onu hep şöyle suçluyorduk böyle, çok da tanımiyorduk, ya işte iktidar yanlısı, öyle böyle. Ama ondan sonra o gittikten sonra fark ettik ki biz daha yeni başlıyor muyuz her şeye, anlıyor musun, onu öpüp başımıza koymalıymışız. O süreç çok hızlı oldu, çünkü bir anda Banu Güven gitti, Ruşen Çakır’ın programı bitti, Mirgün Cabas’ın programı bitti, Emre Kongar’la Mehmet Barlas’ın programı bitti, Emre Kongar afedersin kapıya konuldu Mehmet Barlas devam etti, Mustafa Hoş gitti, Can Dündar gitti. Hani o kadar hızlı yaşadık ki biz bu süreci, hani hepimiz farkındaydık bir şeyler olduğunun ama herkes böyle kafayı yiyordu. Şimdi mesela haber toplantılarında şeyiz böyle, bir haber söyleniyor, ya saatine telefon gelir, boşverin falan. Yani saatine telefon gelir o haberi yapmayın diye hani boşverin modunda anlarımız oluyor. Ama artık bu öyle bir şeye dönüştü ki bizim aramızda espri olmaya başladı hani, içselleştirdik artık heralde bu durumu. Gerçekten şeyi bekliyoruz, bir gazete yazsın da, nası olsa o gazete yazdı, biz de gazete yazdı diye haberini yaptık diye haberini yapalım.” (Interview with I-47, 12.06.2012, İstanbul)

significant change has appeared in the division of labour in media outlets directly affecting the autonomy and control.

To begin with, it is necessary to make a historical examination of the control and division of labour in the news production from a labour process theory perspective. At this point, Braverman's separation of conception and execution is crucial to understand the change in the labour process of reporters in a historical way. Yet, as it is discussed in Chapter 2, Braverman's perspective to labour process is limited regarding the control and subjectivity of the workers, because he primarily interested with the objective positions of the workers in relations of production as a "class in itself" rather than their subjective consciousness as a "class for itself". Therefore, to understand the control and division of labour in the news production, we will employ Braverman's notion of labour process together with his critiques by Burawoy, Friedman and others.

In addition to his contribution of direct control and responsible autonomy regarding the discussions on the capitalist control, Friedman makes a distinction between central and peripheral workers to understand the division of labour (1977: 109). He argues that central workers constitute the significant core, which is essential to provide long-run profits. His separation of central and peripheral workers is useful to understand the place of reporters in the news production. In this respect, there are two historical developments based on the separation of conception and execution in the news production. With the capitalisation and industrialisation of the press in the late 19th century, there has emerged a need for a rigid division between the conception and execution of labour in the news production. With this division, reporters had a lower status than editors and publishers as the basic information gatherers (Örnebring, 2010: 62). However, they have obtained a central role in the news production with the rise of objective reporting, while printers were in the centre of production in the 19th century. In those times, printing was the most important skill including editorial functions, which is why printers were "the aristocrats of the industry, while reporters were considered hangers-on, the most dispensable part of the operation" (Sobel, 1976, 11 as cited in Im, 1997: 35). The rise objective reporting and the development of technology have brought the reporters to the centre while restraining the printers to the periphery. Im (1997: 42) argues that this shifting of

newswork from a printing craft to an editorial activity corresponds to the changing mode of control from direct control to responsible autonomy, because reporters have gained a considerable autonomy as the central workers of the news production. However, Örnebring (2010: 62) emphasizes that press has followed the logic of industrial capitalism by separating the conception and execution of labour as Braverman described. As a result, reporters constitute the “proletariat” of the newspaper industry (Hardt, 1995; Salcetti, 1995), while those who control the capital or represent it as the management have gained highest status (Örnebring, 2010: 62).

The initial separation of conception and execution of labour with the industrialisation of the press takes a new form with the conglomeration of the media industry. As a result of the vertical, horizontal and cross media ownership, managers and executive editors become the representatives of their media outlets to their affiliated conglomerate. Therefore, managers and executive editors determine the editorial policies as the representatives of the owners of the media conglomerates in line with the commercial interests. However, the source of the pressure is the patronage system. As Ertuğrul Mavioglu exemplifies;

The pressure of editors on the reporters is an indirect pressure, editor is under that pressure as well. The pressure is based on the ownership structure, based on the patronage. There was a statement of Ertuğrul Özkök saying I did not start to work before I butter up to my boss every day.⁴⁰

It means that editorial autonomy has been significantly damaged along with the missing autonomy of the media. I-8, an experienced journalist and journalism scholar Doğan Tılıç explains the position of executive editors by “farm manager”;

In my thesis and book, I have said that executives have transformed to a kind of farm manager. There is no problem if the executive takes his power and strength on the people he manage from the principles of the profession. But it came to such a point that executive has started to take his power from the relationship he has with the boss, as if the boss gave him a farm and said that make maximum profit from here. The history of journalism is the history of honourable resignations, one of the cliches. They resign because they did not accept the intervention of the patronage. Yet today we live an era that there is no resignation among the executives. It can have two meanings. One of them means that there is no pressure at all. Another means the contrary, they have internalised these so that they are not against it any more. If that cliché is true and no more resignation, you state it is the end of history in

⁴⁰ Muhabir üzerinde editörlerin baskısı dolaylı baskıdır, editör de o baskının altında. Baskı sahiplik yapısından kaynaklanan bir baskı, patronajdan kaynaklı. Ertuğrul Özkök’ün bir lafı vardı, her gün patrona yalakalığımı yapmadan işe başlamıyordum diye. (Interview with I-41,09.06.2012, Istanbul)

journalism. Still I am not saying it, I would not deal with it if I say so, but it is apparent that there is a very dark picture. That is why there is a quest for an alternative journalism in everywhere in the world.⁴¹

In the hierarchical organisation of the newsrooms, reporters are part of the rank and file. Reporters whose considered as the central workers of the news production are excluded from the conception of the news production contrary to the rising status of the managers, executive editors, and especially columnists. Moreover, advertising and marketing departments have gained importance more than ever with the ever-increasing commercialisation of the media. As Friedman claims particular central and peripheral workers can change over time while the distinction continues (1977: 8). Following Friedman's distinction of central and peripheral workers, Cristopherson (2008: 85) argues that the core-periphery divide in the media industry has deepening and hence creating a huge gap between "above the line" and "below the line" workforces. The results of our field research also indicate that there are two tendencies when examining the class positions of Turkish journalists. On the one hand, it is possible to observe a tendency of "professionalization" in a shrinking centre that includes executive editors, columnists, anchor-men and a few so-called professional news-reporters who are literally traded between different media groups with astronomic transfer payments just like football players. For instance, I-4 tells his story of transfer;

I transferred from newspaper A to newspaper B. They pay you bene transfer fee (bonservis) like a football player and put some conditions. And you go to somewhere else. That means when you are transferred you can also put some conditions. You can say that you do not work with a time limited contract.⁴²

⁴¹ Yöneticilerin bir tür çiftlik kahyasına dönüştüğünü söylemişim ben tezimde, kitabımda. Eğer yönetici yönettiği insanların üzerindeki iktidarını, gücünü o mesleğin doğrularından alıyorsa bir problem yok. Ama öyle bir noktaya geldi ki yönetici iktidarını patronla ilişkisinden almaya başladı, patron ona bir çiftlik vermiş, buradan maksimum karı et demiş. Gazetecilik tarihi onurlu istifalar tarihidir, klişelerden birisidir bu. Sebebi bir patranaj müdahalesini kabul etmedikleri için istifa etmişlerdir. Ama bugün yöneticiler düzeyinde neredeyse hiç istifanın olmadığı bir dönem yaşıyoruz. İki anlamı olabilir, birisi artık hiç baskı yok demek, diğeri tam tersi artık bunları tamamen içselleştirmişler karşı çıkmıyorlar demektir. Eğer o klişe doğruysa ve artık istifa yoksa, gazetecilikte tarihin sonu dersin. Demiyorum hala, desem hala uğraşıyor olmam, ama çok karanlık bir tablonun olduğu da aşikar. O yüzden bir alternatif gazetecilik arayışı dünyanın her yerinde var. (Interview with I-8, 25.04.2012, Ankara)

⁴² Ben A gazetesinden B gazetesine transfer oldum. Size aynı futbolcu gibi, belli bir bonservis parası ödüyorlar ve belli şartlar sunuyorlar. Siz de başka bir yere geçiyorsunuz. Dolayısıyla transfer olduğunuzda belli şartlar öne sürebiliyorsunuz. Ben süreli sözleşmeyle çalışmam arkadaşım diyebiliyorsunuz. (Interview with I-4, 18.04.2012, Ankara)

On the other hand, there is a tendency of proletarianisation in a widening periphery of rank-and-file journalists that includes news reporters, photo-reporters, cameramen and video editing workers. We may also include casual and freelance workers in the media industry to this category. As Esra Arsan claims in the interview for this study,

As news production got more industrialised, reporters became more pariah. ... Yet, columnists have been brought to the fore in this process, they are made bright by very high wages, big offices, positions, cars etc. Actually, it is the other side of the process of making reporters pariah. That is to say the gap between reporters and columnists have widened, columnists work with very high wages, and most of this kind of good reporters, special reporters who has the mastery over their area, are put aside by appointing as a columnist.⁴³

This widening gap between journalists is also exemplified through Turkish and Greek cases in Doğan Tılıç's study (2009, [1998]: 144-150). Crucial amount of interviewees have claimed that this tradition has been started with the establishment of Güneş newspaper. In the commercialization and conglomeration process of the media industry, capital has invested huge amounts in media and Güneş newspaper was the foremost one in the 1980s. Its founders, Ömer Çavuşolu and Ahmet Kozanoğlu were owners of construction companies and banks. This newspaper has hired columnists and managers with very high wages and transfer payments. This tradition has started with this newspaper in Turkey and still continues for columnists and managers. They are treated and transferred like football stars.

As a result, the gap between reporters and managers/executive editors/columnists has broadened a lot. Furthermore, the neoliberal government and its Prime Minister Özal preferred to work with columnists rather than reporters, because they wanted appreciation of their works, but reporters have to make the news in an objective way. Thus, Özal and his government preferred to work with columnists to get their positive comments about their performance. Therefore, with the late 1980s, columnists started to become more important and high in number. As a result, today, there are about 20-30 columnists in one newspaper and their writing style and content is really unique to Turkey. Kaya (2009: 358) sees this rising

⁴³ "Haber üretimi endüstriyellettikçe muhabirler de gittikçe paryalaştı. ... Ama köşe yazarları bu süreçte çok öne çıkartıldı, parlatıldı, işte çok yüksek maaşlar, büyük makam mevki arabalar vs ile. Aslında emek sürecinde muhabirin paryalaştırılması sürecinin bir de öbür kutbudur o. Yani muhabirle köşe yazarı arasındaki gap açıldı, çok büyük paralarla köşe yazarları çalışıyor ve bu iyi muhabirler, konusuna hakim, uzman muhabirlerin büyük bir kısmı köşe yazarı yapılarak askıya alındı." (Interview with I-43, 11.06.2012, Istanbul)

number of columnists as the continuation of the tabloidization of the news journalism with the commercialisation process. They just talk about their lives, life-styles, and their ideas about different issues in one column. This differentiation that has started in the late 1980s has continued today. This study argues that this rising gap between reporters and columnists and other managerial staff points out to the deepening of core and periphery divide in the news media.

Moreover, as the field research has revealed, top editorial staff, whose names are stated in the identification records of the institutions, have also benefitted from yearly premium distributions⁴⁴, which may exceeds million dollars. This also proves their side against labour. I-57 exemplifies this;

When I got 50 Turkish Lira of wage rise, my editor-in-chief got 2 million dollars of bonus. I also know that in other instutions people whose names are on the name tag got unbelievable bonuses.⁴⁵

3.5. Censorship and Self-Censorship

The ever-increasing commercialisation of the media along with the conglomeration process has resulted in a significant change in the division of labour in the news production. With the separation of conception and execution of labour, reporters have lost their control over the production process. Declining control of news reporters over the news production process and losing professional autonomy, together with the rise of the importance of editorial and managerial staff in the news production are directly related with the censorship and self-censorhip in media. As Ahmet Abakay claims based on his experiences as the president of JPA;

The principles thought in the school are not practiced. Executives determine the broadcasting policies. Editorial autonomy does not take the importance it deserves. Your news are not published, or changed, etc. And then, reporters start to write accordingly. Self-censorship starts at this point.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ “Jestiyon ödemeleri” in Turkish.

⁴⁵ Ben 50 liralık zam alabilirken genel yayın yönetmenim yıllık 2 milyon dolar prim almıştı, diğer kurumlarda da künyede yazan isimlere akıl almaz primler ödendiğini biliyorum. (Interview with I-57, 21.06.2012, Istanbul)

⁴⁶ Okulda öğretilen ilkeler çok da uygulanmıyor. Yayın politikalarını tespit eden yöneticiler. Editöryal bağımsızlık falan çok önemsenmiyor. Yazdığın haber yayınlanmıyor, değiştiriliyor vs. Muhabir de

Censorship, especially in the form of self-censorship, is one of the most detrimental problems of the news media in Turkey. Changing ownership and capital structure of media resulted in a highly concentrated oligopolistic structure, which establishes clientalistic relations with the political power, affects the media output in a very negative way. This fact, directly affecting the media output, is revealed in the interviews as well. According to I-35, a television reporter with 18 years of experience;

In fact, self-censorship is a prevailing process in the whole media. Do you think what is written right now when you turn the page in the papers is your own agenda, own agenda of the people? What do you see as beneficial for the people? It is at that point, beyond the self-censorship. There are not plenty of jobs that a journalist can make, he can work as advisor, but not like banking business. For instance, I am a senior television reporter, but there are only 10 television channels, which one are you going to? It is not like banks, there are 100 branches, there is Akbank, İşbank, you can go to other one if you dismissed from one. There is no such thing in television. So there is a serious pressure on you in general because of the concern of earning money, you have to be successful. When you add the pressure from above thereupon, you do it without someone call you to do it.⁴⁷

Moreover, news reporters do not like the interventions to their news stories inwardly. They want to see their product of labour with minimum changes by editorial desk. This feeling opens the door for self-censorship as I-47 clarifies while explaining the transformation of NTV;

When I first came to NTV, we were making so much oppositional news, it was very much indeed. Even the writing of the news texts were quite different, I mean not technically, bur from the point of view. Then there was a process, we were writing but the news texts were changed. But it was not like that, let it be like that. Editors were changing them. After that we have realised that you continue to write as they wish on your own, because you know that that news will change anyway. In fact, you are applying an oto-control on your own. This interview will not be aired anyway so that I would not put it, this sentence will be like that anyway so that I would not write as such. Well, reporter has also a thing, but it is internal, reporter does not want his news to be changed that much. Because it is his own news, he went to make it, he made it. So he does not want people to intervene his news unless there are spelling mistakes. In order to prevent that intervention, you are writing as they wish

ondan sonra ona göre yazıyor. İşte oto-sansür de orda başlıyor.” (Interview with I-5, 20.04.2012, Ankara)

⁴⁷ Otosansür medyanın tamamına hakim olan bir süreç aslında. Yani şu an yazılanlar, okunanlar, sabah gazeteleri açtığınız zaman, sanıyor musunuz ki kendi gündeminiz, halkın kendi gündemi? Vatandaşın kendi faydasına olacak ne görüyorsunuz? İş o noktada yani, bırak oto-sansürü. Gazeteci adamın yapacağı çok fazla bir iş yok, danışmanlık yapar ama bankacılık gibi bir iş değil. Ben atıyorum işte televizyoncuym, senior bir muhabirim, ama işte 10 tane kanal var, hangisine gidicen? Banka gibi değil, 100 tane şube var, Akbank var, İşbankası var, ordan atılsan oraya gidersin. Televizyonda böyle bişey yok. O yüzden para kazanma kaygısı yüzünden çok ciddi bir baskı var üzerinde zaten genel olarak, başarılı olmak zorundasın. Şimdi bunun üzerine bir de yukardan gelen baskıyı eklediğin zaman birileri demeden de yapıyorsun. (Interview with I-35, 02.06.2012, Ankara)

saying that it would not be like that anyway. But let me tell you, I have been there for 3 years, a lot has changed during these 3 years, a lot.⁴⁸

As it is explained in chapter 2 on media industry, media corporations are part of giant conglomerations that have investments in energy, construction, finance and banking etc. They are in clientalistic relationships with political power. Therefore, journalists cannot behave independently from the capital structure of their corporation. This ownership structure determines the news-making practices of news-reporters. They cannot make news that can be harmful to their corporations' investments; rather they should make propaganda of their corporations. As an example of this kind of self-censorship because of instutional limits, one interviewee gives the incident of Hakan Şükür, a member of parliament from JDP. He became a commentator at a football programme at Lig TV with too high salary that opens up a lively discussion. This interviewee working in a television channel of Çukurova group, the same group owns Lig TV, indicates that they do not make the news of this debate because they know that it will not bu broadcasted even they make such a news one way or another.⁴⁹ There were a lot of similar examples throughout the field research. One of the remarkable ones related with Marmaray rail tube tunnel is below one from I-47;

The news that are not broadcasted here are the ones touching upon Doğuş group, our boss, for instance we can not make very bad news about banks because there is Garanti Bank on the corner, we can not make very bad news about construction because Doğuş group has plenty of places in construction sector. For example about Marmaray, workers of Marmaray has protested that much, they could not find a place at NTV, because Doğuş makes the Marmaray. We are not covering these news, we are told not to do so. For instance, we have recorded a protest at Taksim in my internship period, on our way back we have realised that Marmaray workers were protesting, well I said let's record it, and we recorded. Then I came, said that we have run across one more news, we have recorded it as well so I will write it. He

⁴⁸ Ben NTV'ye ilk geldiğimde biz çok fazla muhalif haber yapıyorduk, çok fazla yapıyorduk hem de. Yani haber metinlerimizdeki yazı bile çok farklıydı, teknik olarak demiyorum, görüş açısından. Sonra yavaş yavaş şey dönemi oldu bir süre, biz yazıyoruz, haber metinleri değişiyor. Ya ama bu böyle değildi, hayır böyle olsun. Editörler değişiyordu. Sonra yavaş yavaş şunu fark etmeye başladık, sen zaten o haberin değişeceğini bildiğin için kendi kendine onların istediği gibi yazmaya devam ediyorsun. Kendi kendine bir otokontrol uyguluyorsun aslında. Nasıl olsa bu röportaj girmez ben koymayım zaten, şöyle yazmayım cümleyi zaten o cümle şöyle olur gibilerinden. Şimdi muhabirin bir de şeyi vardır, içsel bir şey bu ama, muhabir yazdığı haberin çok fazla değişmesini istemez. Çünkü onun haberidir o, o gitmiştir, o yapmıştır. Yazım hatası olmadığı sürece fazla haberine müdahale edilmesini istemez. O müdahaleyi de engellemek için de biraz da sen nasıl olsa olmaz deyip bu şekilde yazıyorsun haberi. Ama şöyle söyleyim, ben 3 senedir ordayım, 3 sene boyunca çok şey değişti yani, çok şey değişti. (Interview with I-47, 12.06.2012, Istanbul)

⁴⁹ Interview with I-9, 26.04.2012, Ankara.

said that do you want to be dismissed on your own, as a joke, no he said we are not making that, so we did not.⁵⁰

Apparently such a censorship damages the principles of journalism and its practice, as well as the public's right to information. As I-7, an experienced journalist currently working as a member of executive board of PJA⁵¹ explains the current situation of news and current affairs journalism with respect to past practices as follows;

Sector has not invested in people, but invested in technology, machines. It used to be watched whether the news is true or not, are there missing points in the news. It used to be checked whether the views of both sides taken or not. These concerns do not exist now. It is controlled whether this news harm the bank, the conglomerate of the sector. The concern has transformed to such a concern. (...) There is worse, there are sectoral pages in the papers, automobile, consumer durable goods, housing etc. These are advertisements written as if they are news. So there is no more consistent and honest attitude that have existed in the papers published by a handful people 40 year before, no union, no investment in people. (...) News is not clean any more.⁵²

However, the field research shows that journalists are aware of their limits and freedoms and act accordingly. They clearly say that they do not feel independent both economically and psychologically, but behave according to the needs of their media corporation. As I-3 claims that;

⁵⁰ Bizde yayınlanmayan haberler genelde Doğu Grubu'na ucu dokunuyorsa, bizim patronumuza, mesela bankalarla ilgili çok kötü bir haber yapamayız, çünkü Garanti var bir köşede, inşaat sektörüyle ilgili çok kötü bir haber yapamayız, çünkü Doğu grubunun inşaat sektöründe bir sürü yeri var. Mesela Marmaray hakkında, Marmaray işçileri o kadar eylem yaptı, NTV'de hiç yer bulmadı, çünkü Doğu yapıyor Marmaray'ı. Yapmıyoruz bu haberleri, yapmayın deniyor. Mesela benim stajyerlik dönemimde ben Taksim'de bir eylem çekmiştik, dönerken bir baktık Marmaray işçileri eylem yapıyor, aa dedim abi bunu da çekelim falan, biz çektik. Sonra geldim ben abi dedim orda bi habere daha rastladık, onu da çektik onu da yazayım. Sen dedi işine son vermek mi istiyorsun kendi kendine, espri olarak söylüyor, yok yapmıyoruz dedi onu falan, yok yani yapmadık. (Interview with I-47, 12.06.2012, Istanbul)

⁵¹ Progressive Journalists' Association (Çağdaş Gazeteciler Derneği).

⁵² Sektör insana yatırım yapmadı, teknolojiye, makineye yatırım yaptı. Haber doğru mu yanlış mı haberde eksik unsur var mı, bunlara bakılırdı. İki tarafın da görüşü alındı mı diye kontrol edilirdi. Şimdi bu kaygılar yok. Acaba bu haber sektörün bankasına holdingine zarar verir mi vermez mi diye bakılıyor. Kaygı buna dönüştü. (...) Daha kötüsü var, gazetelerde sektör sayfaları var, otomobil, dayanıklı tüketim malzemeleri, konut vs. Bunlar haber gibi yazılmış reklamlar. Dolayısıyla bundan 40 yıl önce bir avuç insanın çıkardığı gazetede tutarlı dürüst tutum artık yok, örgüt yok, insana yatırım yapılmamış. (...) Haber artık temiz değil. (Interview with I-7, 20.04.2012, Ankara)

We take the shape of the container we get into, we adapt ourselves, this is not a difficult thing at all.⁵³

Apart from the institutional limits, there exists an obvious and severe political pressure over journalists in Turkey. According to last figures of Turkish Union of Journalists (TÜJ), 63 journalists are imprisoned in Turkey. Turkish penal code and the law on fight against terrorism includes very problematic articles open to discretionary powers of courts. The reasons and background of political power's pressure over journalists deserve to be a research topic for another study, but what is crucial for this study is under which conditions journalists' daily routine is affected from political power. As it is mentioned before, news-reporters' days are full of routine works for press releases of prime minister, ministers, members of parliament etc. in the newsgathering process. However, field research shows that there exist significant problems even in this routine works because of political power's pressure. For instance, news reporters supposed to state their questions to press counsellors of prime minister in written form or orally before the meetings. This is generally in oral form for ministers. Then, counsellors chose the questions accordingly. Therefore, news-reporters cannot ask whatever they want. If they have a chance to ask dissident questions, it may cause problems with their media corporation as the below quotation of I-30 exemplifies;

I had an issue with press advisers as well. Better not to give a name. But we were in abroad, I asked a question to PM, a bit critical question. My editor-in-chief called me up after 5 minutes. I was in abroad but editor-in-chief called me just after 5 minutes. He did not ask the reason that made me ask that question, but he warned me not to ask such kind of questions no more. It happened just in 5 minutes. I had asked the question, but someone called my editor and complained about my question before the PM answers me. I did not get an answer either, he just brushed me up. Brush from PM and warning from editor.⁵⁴

⁵³ Biz girdiğimiz kabın şeklini alıyoruz, adapte oluyoruz, bu hiç zor bir şey değil. (Interview with I-3, 17.04.2012, Ankara)

⁵⁴ Benim de başıma geldi basın müşavirleriyle falan. Şimdi isim vermem çok şey olmaz. Ama mesela yurtdışındaydık, başbakana bir soru sormuştum, biraz kritik bir soruydu, 5 dakika sonra İstanbul'dan yazı işleri müdürüm aradı, yurtdışındayım bak, 5 dakika sonra yazı işleri müdürüm aradı, sen başbakana niye bu soruyu soruyorsun, sorma, niye soruyorsun değil de sen bu tür soruları sorma şeklinde bir uyarı aldım 5 dakika içinde. O anda soru sormuşum daha cevap almadan birileri çıkıp bunu iletmiş, ya sizin muhabiriniz şöyle bir soru sormuş, cevap da almadım, fırçayı aldım. Yani başbakandan fırça, tepki, yazı işlerinden uyarı. Alesef o noktada var. Ama onun cevabını alsaydım, uyarıya rağmen yazardım. (Interview with I-30, 29.05.2012, Ankara)

Moreover, there may occur accreditation problems because of critical questions. I-25 whose accreditation is cancelled by the prime ministry exemplifies this kind of pressure;

I am one of the 8 journalists whose accreditation was cancelled by the Prime Ministry. The reason is a fabricated news I made according to them, but the penalty for the fabrication of news is not the accreditation. For them it was a fabricated news, yet the news was true in my opinion, totally as an excuse. Because I was playing against like, don't ask questions here and there, against his advisors, Prime Minister has always answered me whenever I ask a question. Some of the questions were even included in closure case, in the accusation. We are journalists in the end, I am not person who likes this kind of question limitations.⁵⁵

On the other hand, journalists are even dismissed by direct or indirect pressure of prime minister, ministers or their press counsellors. There are plenty of examples of such dismissals in the mainstream media. Most of them are well-known journalists and columnists, such as Banu Güven, Hasan Cemal, Can Dündar etc. A quick google search will help you to reach a lot of journalists fired because of fragility of media corporations against the political power's direct or indirect pressures. A relatively unknown example of this is the dismissal of previous news co-ordinator of NTV, Mustafa Hoş, because of the headline of "*Başsavcıya abluka*"⁵⁶. In February 2010, chief prosecutor of Erzincan has taken into custody, his house and office has searched simultaneously. It was a shocking incident and NTV used this headline for long hours of its live broadcasting. Mustafa Hoş tells his story with his own words;

They want to me abandon the headline, I did not find the style and method of the demand. On the contrary, actually I have done the broadcasting, for about 5 hours. Afterwards I have persisted because you can not decide what I am going to do as the political power. They called me up and they want me to abandon the headline in a way with an intense pressure, but I stand upon it. The reason that I stand upon was that I am not going to apply self-censorship against this censor. This is my professional reflex so to speak, this is business as usual. What if I have abandoned it, there would not be any problem. They just wanted to destroy the person saying no to what they did by treating him as traitor, it is that simple. I knew that it may cause problems to me, but I did not estimate that it will continue this much, it has been 2,5 years. According to them, I was one of the best executives of media and televisions, whose all the televisions try to transfer, I still do, nothing has changed for me. They

⁵⁵ Ben başbakanlık tarafından akreditasyonu iptal edilen 8 gazeteciden biriyim. Sebebi onlara göre yaptığım bir yalan haber, ki yalan haberin şeyi akreditasyon değildir. Onlara göre bir yalan haber ama haber bence doğru, tamamen bahane. Çünkü ben şeylere oynuyorum, orda soru sorma burda soru sorma, danışmanlarının aksine başbakan ben ne zaman soru sorsam cevabını vermiştir. Hatta birkaç soru kapatma davasına da girmiştii., iddianameye. Sonuçta biz gazeteciyiz, ben bu soru sınırlamalarından hoşlanan biri değilim. (Interview with I-25, 28.05.2012, Ankara)

⁵⁶ "Blockade to chief prosecutor"

destroyed my whole life in one day and even my closest people treat me as if I am dead, I do not exist, never lived before.⁵⁷

This kind of political power's pressure over media and its desire to control its output is always a problem in Turkey. However, it is not that much common and harmful before on the one hand and media corporations lose their ability to resistance against such kind of a pressure because of their clientalistic relations with political power and hence lost autonomy. This severe political pressure brings censorship and self-censorship accordingly.

A recent example of the censorship is Uludere/Roboski massacre. In this case, mainstream media outlets waited for an official announcement in order to break the news. Rather than competing to break a scoop by giving it first, they compete not to give it first. As a result, mainstream media could give the news after almost 20 hours of the incident when the news are circulating in the social media and also given by the international wire agencies such as Associated Press and Agence France-Presse. I-63, a television reporter from Doğan group shares the background of this censorship;

It is generally expressed that we are in deep sorrow for Uludere, we eat our hearts out, we were ashamed of our profession, as well as our humanity, but we could not do anything. (...) That day we were told not to report that news. Even when the news was covered via the website, executive editor jumped on them saying that "are you the only clever one?" and made them remove it. So it would not be covered, we are told not to give anything about Uludere. We could not, we did not. Did not we insist on it, we did. (...) It was a miserable situation so to speak. Was everyone happy, I saw that no one working here was happy because of this situation. Did everyone do their best, no, because everyone was concerned to secure their job and therefore insisted only up to a certain extent, no more.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Başlıktan vazgeçmem istendi, istenme biçimi ve yöntemini doğru bulmadım. Aksine ben aslında yayını yapmıştım, 5 saatlik falan bir yayını yapmıştım. Devamında da şunun için inat ettim, benim napıcama siz karar veremezsiniz siyasi idare olarak. Telefon geldi bana ve yoğun bir baskı bir şekilde başlıktan vazgeçmem istendi, ben de direttim. Yani benim direnmem şuydu, bu sansüre karşı oto-sansür uygulamayacağım. Yani bu benim mesleki refleksim, zaten böyle de olur. Kaldırısam nolurdu, hiçbir sorun olmazdı. Sadece onlar kendi yaptıklarına hayır diyen bir insanı hainleştirip yok etmek istediler bu kadar basit. Ben biliyordum başıma sorunlar açılabileceğini, hani bu kadar süreceğini tahmin etmemiştim yani 2,5 yıl sürüyor. Ben o gün bütün televizyonların transfer etmeye çalıştığı, medyanın, televizyonların en parlak yöneticilerinden birisiydim onlara göre, benim için hala öyle, bir şey değişmedi. Bir günde bütün hayatımı yok ettiler ve ölmüşün gibi davranıyor en yakınlarım bile, yokmuşsun gibi, hiç olmamışsın gibi. (Interview with I-48, 13.06.2012, İstanbul)

⁵⁸ Çok ifade edilen şey Uludere'de içimiz kan ağladı, burada kendimizi yedik, mesleğimizden de utandık, insanlığımızdan da utandık ama hiçbir şey yapamadık. ... O gün bize habere vermeyin dendi. Hatta internet sitesine o haber konduğunda mesela genel yayın yönetmeni tek akıllı siz misiniz diye bir çıkışta bulundu ve haberi çekti. Yapılmayacak yani, Uludere'ye dair bir şey yapılmayacak dendi. Yapamadık, yapmadık. Israr etmedik mi, ettik. (...) Yani öyle içler acısı bir durum vardı, herkes mutlu muydu, şunu çok net gördüm, burada çalışan hiç kimse bu durumdan mutlu değildi,

Although this may be seen as an exceptional situation, censorship and self-censorship is common in daily routine of journalists. It is also evident in the particular language of the news. According to field research, journalists cannot use some forbidden words or phrases in their media corporation. Significantly enough, a remarkable number of reporters give the example of abbreviation of Justice and Development Party (JDP) in Turkish (*AKP*) at this point;

Self-censorship already exists, it exists in our owns. But censor is not applied to me, because I do not let them to apply censor to me. Because you can not be much extreme, you apply self-censorship yourself. You are not writing *AKP*, but *AK Parti*. Prime Minister wants to do so. It is not accepted when you write it once, it is not accepted in the twice, and you write it as *AK Parti* in the third time, what are you supposed to do? Are you a donkey to make the same mistake, same thing more? But there are people, they are all in *Sözcü* now.⁵⁹

Esra Arsan's study (2011) on censorship shows daily functioning of the political pressure on journalists. Her research among journalists shows that "political power's pressure/censor to the contents of the news" is a very important problem of Turkish media according to 84.5 % of the respondents. President of PJA, Ahmet Abakay defines this self-censorship in line with famous German idiom of "die Schere im Kopf" which means "the scissors in the head".⁶⁰

herkes elinden geleni yaptı mı hayır, herkes öncelikle işini korumak derdinde çünkü ve bir yere kadar ısrar etti. (Interview with I-63, 25.06.2012, Istanbul)

⁵⁹ Oto-sansür zaten var canım, o bizim kendimizde var. Ama şimdi bana sansür uygulanmıyor, çünkü ben kendime sansür uygulatmıyorum. Çünkü çok yırtık olamıyorsun zaten, kendin oto-sansür yapıyorsun. *AKP* yazmıyorsun, *AK Parti* yazıyorsun. Başbakan öyle istiyor. Bi kere yazıyorsun geçmiyor, iki kere yazıyorsun geçmiyor, üçüncüde bi daha *AK Parti* yazıyorsun bi daha napıcan yani? Aynı şeyi aynı şeyi eşşek misin yapasın? Haa yapan var da, onlar da şimdi hepsi *Sözcü*'de. (Interview with I-15, 23.05.2012, Ankara)

⁶⁰ Interview with I-5, 20.04.2012, Ankara.

CHAPTER IV

TRANSFORMATION OF NEWSROOM AND NEWS PRODUCTION WITH INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATION TECHNOLOGIES

Media structures have experienced quasi-total transformation since the late 1980s in a global context. Development of information and communication technologies has a significant place in this transformation. Aş Raşit Kaya argues, “the sources and the forces calling for change has primarily been technological but also directed by economic and political forces that determine the media structures” (Kaya, 1994: 384). At this point, one should not fall into the trap of technological determinism. According to Curran (2010: 31), most of the journalists have a “taken-for-granted belief” that “new technology would prevail, and determine outcomes”. However, technology is not a determinant in itself, but it is determined by the economic and political structures. In this regard, technological development is not a self-sufficient transformative force in itself, but on the contrary, it is determined according to the realisation process of capital (Çakmur, 1998: 128). With such a perspective to technological development, this chapter examines the changes in the newsroom and news production practices with the development of ICTs. In line with the above remark about technological determinism, it should be noted that technology may not result a new form of newswork because it “originates with the specific determinations of social relations in the workplace” (Im, 1997: 38). In this regard, Im explains how we should understand technological development for studying newswork as follows.

Shifts in newswork are difficult to evaluate, because they do not necessarily coincide with a transformation of the physical work environment. For instance, when one discusses the impact of the telegraph on newswork in late nineteenth century America, it is necessary to distinguish two aspects of the historical process: the introduction of new technological devices, such as the telegraph, typewriter, and telephone, and the transition in the principles

of journalistic work, or the standards, by which news is produced. In short, neither the telegraph, typewriter or telephone brought about a completely new form of journalistic practice or newswork, but these technologies may have accelerated changes already under way. Indeed, the adoption of new technologies and their tremendous impact will make sense, when located in the context of shifts in the principles of journalistic work or the standards of newswriting (Im, 1997: 38)

It means that technological development should be evaluated with reference to the changes in the journalistic principles. Although technological determinism, which claims changes in contemporary journalism are fundamentally technology driven, is so common among journalists (Örnebring, 2010: 57-8), the development of technology should be discussed with respect to the changing practices of journalism with the ever-increasing commercialisation.

It is significant to note that technical skills have largely been separated from journalism for most of the 20th century, because journalistic skills such as good writing and information gathering have been seen as crucial competencies, rather than technical skills which changes according to the medium of production (Singer, 2004). However, this historical tradition is changing (Örnebring, 2010: 64). Development of ICTs has significantly changed the workplace and working practices for journalists. That is why “journalists more and more are expected to have technical skills in computer-based and digital technologies of production” (Örnebring, 2010: 64; cf. Cottle and Ashton, 1999; Liu, 2006; Lowery and Becker, 2001; Ursell, 2004). As Marjoribanks’ study (2000) on the transformation of Murdoch’s News Corporation shows journalists are expected to become more technically proficient and computer literate. Yet Ursell notes the contrary for the British Press Agency because it has differentiated the news gathering and news processing operations. News processing employees or production journalists do not necessary have journalistic skills (Ursell, 2004). Therefore, Örnebring argues that;

Both Marjoribanks and Ursell make clear that these changes are linked to management needs of rationalization and control. Technology than becomes a tool that allows managers to implement organizational changes aimed at making journalistic labour more cost-effective and more easily controlled (Marjoribanks, 2000a: 191, 2000b: 590; Ursell, 2004: 44) (Örnebring, 2010: 64).

Capitalists generally use the development of technology in order to increase the “relative surplus value” by increasing the productivity with new methods and machines (Marx, 1867 [1990]). However, the above quotation indicates that

technology is used to make journalistic labour cheaper and easily controlled (Marjoribanks, 2000; Ursell, 2004; Örnebring, 2010), because it fosters the separation of conception and execution in the labour process. Moreover, introduction of new technologies have increased the pressure and workload for news reporters. Development of ICTs has changed the necessary skills to work as a journalist as well. In this framework, this chapter examines the relationship between development of technology and the labour process of reporters. First, conceptualization of news will be examined with respect to its emergence and changing journalistic principles with commercialization. Then, the organization of the newsrooms with new technologies will be explained. From then on, we will elaborate on the changes in the news production processes, namely news gathering, writing and editorial processes. Finally, we will make a general discussion about the transformation of reporting work and journalistic labour.

4.1. Conceptualisation of News

To begin with, as Tokgöz (2010 [1994]) argues that it is hard to say that there is a commonly accepted definition of news, which can be used universally (2010 [1994]: 208). Although it is not possible to define the news precisely, she gives a definition as a first step: “News is a summary of an incident, idea or a question at any time” (2010 [1994]: 213). In this approach, journalists are considered to reflect the reality related with an incident or a phenomenon as a “mirror”. At this point, professional ideology of journalism gives impartiality as a necessary feature to represent the reality as it is. Such an approach to news is broadly defined as the liberal approach. It tries to hide ideology existing in the news, but a lot of studies examine the functioning of ideology in the news, for instance studies of İnal (1996) and Dursun (2001). On the other hand, there are critical approaches to news that underline the impossibility of impartiality and representation of reality as a mirror. These approaches emphasize the function of media in the capitalist societies that protects particular class interests. Therefore, they argue that news media distorts the reality in a way to reproduce the class interests of the capitalists and to maintain status quo by

reproducing the established relations of production.⁶¹ Another argument inside the critical approaches asserts that reality cannot be represented as it is in an impartial way because of the problematic nature of the reality. Our knowledge about reality and the reality itself is not the same thing. Our knowledge about reality is derived from a kind of representation of reality, and this representation is a collection of some particular aspects of reality that can be captured. In this respect, news production includes a selection process and its structured language plays its role to reproduce the existing power relations and inequalities in society (Dursun, 2005: 69-72; İnal, 1996). As a closed and tight text with its structured language, news should be considered as an extension of the power struggles in the society (Dursun, 2005: 85-6).

News values are the tools used by journalists in the selection process at the news production. Liberal approaches come with a collection of news values and codes of professionalism such as timeliness and proximity (Dursun: 2005: 70). According to Missouri Group's study (2008), three criteria for news values are relevance, usefulness and interest. Beyond these broad standards, the specific elements of news values are its impact, conflict, novelty, prominence, proximity, and timeliness (2007: 4-6). According to famous study of Galtung and Ruge (1973), news values are frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness (cultural proximity and relevance), consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite persons, personalization, and negativity (as cited in Hartley, 1982: 76-79). At this point, it is crucial to emphasize the underlining ideological background of the news values;

Of course news values are neither natural nor neutral. They form a code which sees the world in a very particular (even peculiar) way. News values are, in fact, an ideological code. (Hartley, 1982: 80).

⁶¹ At this point, two studies conducted by the Glasgow University Media Group, *Bad News* (1976) and *More Bad News* (1980), can be given as examples of the portrayal of working class and trade unions in media.

In his analysis of linguistic, semiotic and semantic analysis of news as discourse, van Dijk (1988) develops an approach to news as a specific type of discourse, which is a particular form of social and institutional practice (1988: 186). He gives three primary meanings of news after emphasizing the ambiguity of the notion of news;

1. New information about events, things or persons.
2. A (TV or radio) program type in which news items are presented.
3. A news item or news report, i.e., a text or discourse on radio, on TV or in the newspaper, in which new information is given about recent events (1988: 4).

In this regard, he chooses his object of study as the third definition of the news, which is also valid for this study as well. At this point, news is not an extra-ordinary incident happened just now, but its release and announcement (Eryılmaz, 2005: 154). As Esra Arsan (2005) shows it has to be published or broadcasted in order to be defined as a news. It means that it is a product of a selection process (2005: 137).

In his analysis of news as discourse, van Dijk (1988) defines specific cognitive constraints of news values for journalists as novelty, recency, presupposition, consonance, relevance, deviance and negativity, proximity (1988: 121-124). With such a discourse approach to news he argues that;

“Our approach shows how ideologies are related to the cognitive representations that underlie news production and understanding. This allows us to account at the same time for the important reproduction function of the news media. Partly autonomous in their form of cultural reproduction, partly dependent and monitored by more embracing societal structures and ideologies, the news media embody such structures and ideologies in the very routines of newsmaking (e.g., by selection of and focusing on elite actors and sources or understandable and ideologically consonant events) and the conventional structures of their reports” (van Dijk, 1988: 182).

This brief introduction to what the news is, there is a need for a historical background of news production as a commercial activity. As predecessors of newspapers, newsbooks and news ballads emerged in the 14th century especially for the use of aristocracy to transfer information and for trade related problems of the emerging bourgeoisie (cf. Stephens, 2007: 131-3 and Tokgöz: 2010 [1994]: 53-6). By the early years of 17th century, printed newspapers were in circulation in Europe (Stephens, 2007: 131). However, the main developments of the newspapers were in the 19th century. According to Schudson (1978), with the rise of “penny press” in the

19th century newspapers transformed themselves to commercial enterprises that sell a commodity in the market place, namely objective information, while subsidised by the political parties before then (Schudson 1978, as cited in Cranberg, Bezanson and Soloski, 1980: 1). The related capitalisation process of newspapers are examined in detail by the well-known piece of James Curran (2002). In his analysis, Curran (2002) opposes the thesis related with the emergence of “free press” in the mid-nineteenth century that legitimises market-based system. He argues that market forces succeeded to establish “the press as an instrument of social control”, an aim could not be materialized by the legal repression (2002: 81). He examines the rise of radical popular press in Britain in the first half of the 19th century, thanks to low establishment and running costs of newspapers. However, with the repeal of advertisement duty and stamp duty in 1850s, radical press lose power sharply and collapsed (2002: 91-94). He brings a new argument to account for this collapse. In his argument, he claims that establishment, publication and running costs of newspapers increased significantly with the growing demand for newspapers and the related development of press technology that increased the fixed capital costs (2002: 93). With the abandonment of press duties, the price of newspapers decrease sharply and their advertisement revenues increase significantly especially with the growing circulations. Therefore, he defines the advertisements as the new licensing system (2002: 95). Without the support of advertisements, newspapers were not economically viable any more. As a result, workers’ radical newspapers were no longer able to compete with the capitalised mass-circulation press. These newspapers were either closed down or began to transform themselves according to the needs of advertisers (2002: 97). Therefore, the control system was established by the market forces with the second half of the 19th century by the capitalisation process of the press. Although the news production has been always a commercial activity, a new commercial logic has started to dominate journalism with the concentration of ownership and conglomeration of the media industry since the neoliberal transformations with 1980s. News are started to be instrumentalised for the commercial activities of the media proprietors. This process is more evident and harmful in Turkey because of the highly concentrated ownership structure of the media and media groups’ business investments in other sectors, such as construction,

energy, finance and banking that are discussed in Chapter 2 in detail. The pressure of advertisements on the news production are explained by I-23 as follows.

Economy and politics has affected the media one way or another in any case. The least of it, plenty of people has been dismissed from the banks during the crisis, but it could not be news, because banks have a severe advertisement pressure over your television or newspaper. If you want that advertisements, you renounce something.⁶²

With the ever-increasing commercialisation of the media, type and degree of contents are also determined according to the economic imperatives, mainly by the advertisements. In below quotation, I-16, Hürriyet Ankara news director explains this change in the contents of the news.

There is a development in contents rather than a change. There are a lot more sectoral pages, economy pages, of course it is related with the advertisements. It is completely up to editorial staff and management in Istanbul in order to sell the paper more, this is a profit-making company in the end, not a charity, so it has to keep its revenues above a certain point. We do not have that much problems about circulations. On the contrary, the others working hard to increase their circulations and succeeded to do so make loss because they can not attract the advertisements.⁶³

As it is discussed in Chapter 3, the field research showed that news-reporters stay out of the conception of the news with the rising powers of managerial and editorial offices. Division of labour inside the newsrooms further separate the conception and execution of the news. This directly affects the news making practices of reporters. In this regard, I-9 tells daily functioning of the newsrooms;

We hold a run-down meeting with our news director every morning. Depending on the agenda, news director makes a sketch by saying that you go there, you go over there, you make a live broadcasting, you ask that question. You keep in touch throughout the day accordingly, making live broadcasting, recording pieces. When you are dealing with news, our representative is in a meeting with Istanbul via videoconference. Streaming becomes

⁶² Nolursa olsun ekonomi ve siyaset bir şekilde medyayı da etkiliyor. En basitinden kriz zamanında bankalardan dünyanın elemanı çıkarıldı ama bunla ilgili haber yapılamadı, çünkü bankaların çok ciddi bir reklam şeyi var senin kanalının ya da gazetenin üzerinde. Sen o reklamı istiyorsan bazı şeylerden feragat ediyorsun. (Interview with I-23, 25.05.2012, Ankara)

⁶³ İçeriklerde değişmeden ziyade gelişme var. Sektör sayfaları, ekonomi sayfaları çok daha fazla artık, tabi o da ilanlarla ilgili. Tamamen editoryal şeyin ve İstanbul yönetiminin gazeteyi daha iyi satmak, sonuçta burası da kar eden bir kuruluş, hayrat değil, kendi gelirini belli bir şeyin üstünde tutmak zorunda. Bizim tiraj konusunda o kadar bir sıkıntımız yok. Aksine diğer tirajı yükseltmek için çalışanlar ve tirajını yükseltenler daha fazla zarar ediyorlar ilan getiremedikleri için. (Interview with I-16, 23.05.2012, Ankara)

clear in this way. I look at the streaming when I return, my news is set down as 1.5 minutes, I am making the news accordingly.⁶⁴

Therefore, it can be argued that news-reporters are excluded from the conception of the news and they started to resemble the Taylorist factory workers doing the same job in front of the desk, without knowing what they produce (Mavioğlu, 2012: 108-110). This may be seen in the below answers related to the definition of the news in the interviews;

Actually everything is news, the life is news (a short silence). News is chosen according to its difference. It is too general, I could not answer this.⁶⁵

Doğan Tılıç, an experienced journalist and academician, also argues that reporters determine their news values according to the needs of their news directors, so that they do not have a conceptualisation of the news.⁶⁶ In this general framework, an analysis of the transformation of the news room and news production with the new technologies will open up new spaces for further discussion of the reporting work.

4.2. Organisation of the Newsroom with New Technologies

As Hoyer (2003) states newsrooms become integrated part of the newspapers in the late 19th century, two and half century after the emergence of newspapers. It means that news gathering and news production were not organised inside the print shop before the late 19th century (Hoyer, 2003: 451-3). From then on, newsrooms become an indispensable part of the news production. However, as it is mentioned above, technical know-how was seen as separate from the journalistic skill for most of the 20th century. With the introduction of new technology to the newsrooms, this tradition has been changing. Today, as field research also proves, all newsrooms are

⁶⁴ Her sabah haber müdürümüzle gündem toplantısı yapıyoruz. Haber müdürü gündeme bağlı olarak sen şuraya git sen şuraya git sen canlı yayın yap, sen şu soruyu sor diye zaten bir taslak çiziliyor. Ona göre gün içinde de iletişim halindesin, canlı yayın yapıyorsun, anons çekiyorsun. Sen haberdeyken temsilcimiz İstanbul'la toplantıda oluyor, video konferans. Akış belli oluyor bu şekilde. Döndüğümde akışa bakıyorum, benim haberim bakıyorum 1.5 dakika yazılmış, ona göre haberimi yapıyorum. (Interview with I-9, 26.04.2012, Ankara)

⁶⁵ Her şey haberdır aslında, hayat haberdır (kısa bir sessizlik). Farkına göre seçilir haber. Çok genel oldu, cevap veremedim ben buna. (Interview with I-9, 26.04.2012, Ankara)

⁶⁶ Interview with I-8, 25.04.2012, Ankara.

equipped with computer-based digital technologies of production. With the emergence of “the single platform of the internet”, a multi-skilled universe has emerged for journalists (Lee-Wright and Phillips, 2011: 63). With the centralisation of the news operations, converged/multi-platform/multi-media newsrooms have emerged with “multi-skilled” journalists able to produce news for print, online, audio and video editions. The case of BBC Newsroom is explanatory to understand merging news operations.

The BBC transformed its TV, Radio and Online news operations into a multimedia newsroom in 2008 not just as an appropriate modernisation, but also as part of a draconian cuts programme requiring many redundancies (Lee-Wright and Phillips, 2011: 73).

The expansion of agencies has also changed the form and content of the news coverage. Wire agencies become efficient news sources at a lower price. With this kind of industrialisation of the news process starting with the late 19th century, two types of news have emerged; namely routine and exclusive news. Routine news mainly depends on the agencies that provide “vanilla” content service (Phillips, 2011: 83). It was the first step towards today’s media in which similar news stories are produced by most of the news organisations (Davies, 2008). Actually, “objective reporting as a concept is very much the child of the agencies”, so that news outlets can rewrite this neutral copy for their own use (Phillips, 2011: 83-4). For this purpose, a new category of work has emerged inside the newsroom; “the sub (or copy) editor whose job was to shape and rewrite copy and add headlines” (Phillips, 2011: 84). As we will see below, today this can be called differently in Turkey as desk reporter, sub-editor etc. One way or another, it is for sure that digital homogenisation becomes observable because of the pooled content (Lee-Wright and Phillips, 2011: 68).

On the other hand, with the rise of television, routine news becomes old when they have published in the papers. Therefore, newspapers head towards the exclusive material via their investigative journalists. As a result, there exists two-speed news: breaking news which is called as stop-watch journalism by Schlesinger (1978) and “the slower, often deeper news produced by newspapers and magazine programmes, as well as specialist and ‘life style’ news” (Phillips, 2011: 87-8). Yet, today with the arrival of digital communications, instantaneous news become popular that blurred

the boundaries between spot news and in-depth reporting (Phillips, 2011: 89). News cycles become faster with the internet. Although internet is a very helpful as a resource for research, it has also caused homogenisation of the content and served the speed discourse. With the emergence of media convergence, different media outlets operating in separate platforms has started to compete with themselves to reach the same audience on the same platform (Witschge, 2011: 102). Speed and style become more important than knowledge and experience. As a result, “news journalists found themselves caught up in what often felt like a hamster wheel” with the age of 24-hour news cycle (Phillips, 2011: 89-1).

The main reasons behind the employment of new media technologies in newsrooms are commercial, rather than concerns about the news production such as accountability (Witschge, 2011: 107). Journalism has been changing, “but as an element of the perpetual development of capitalist production relations” (Webster as cited in Conboy and Steel, 2008: 655). Economic pressures have forced journalists to adopt their skills to the new technological environment. That is why “where journalists are being asked to ‘multi-skill’ it is most often where budgets are being heavily cut” (Lee-Wright and Phillips, 2011:72).

Recent times have seen many a budget cut in the field of journalism, with a considerable cut in the number of specialist reporters, foreign correspondents and others who are so very important to the diversity and quality of media content. The homogeneity in content that results from heavily relying on press releases and agency material is a serious threat to the public-service function of news media (Witschge, 2011: 130).

Our field research has exemplified this process as well. There has been a significant decrease in the newswriters working in the newsrooms, especially the number of specialist reporters. The fundamental reason behind these redundancies is the centralisation of the newsrooms and relying on the content provided by the wire agencies. Media groups establish their own news agencies by centralising their newsrooms so that they can produce different editions of the news to use in their online, print and broadcasting media. With the implementation of this new system, which is called “pool system”, the same reporter works for all media outlets of the corporation, its television channels, its radios, its newspapers, its news agency and their online versions without any extra benefits. As a result, the number of staff reporters in the newsrooms has decreased. This constitutes a good example of the use

of technology by capital to cheapen and control the labour. As it is explained in Chapter 3, media conglomerates have multiple televisions and newspapers. All of them are in a process of centralisation of their newsrooms, either by establishing their own agency such as Doğan News Agency (DNA)⁶⁷ or merging the newsrooms of different TV stations or papers. I-30, a DNA reporter has explained this process as follows.

The pool system in Istanbul has started about 3-4 years ago, still exists, if you look at Hürriyet for instance, there is not Hürriyet reporters in many of the fields, they take the news from the common pool. For example, DNA deals with Silivri, or with Balyoz case, others take from the pool. Star television was with us in that period. Except the 3-4 people for their exclusive news, they have transferred the team, reporters and cameramen of Star television, Channel D, CNN to DNA. The significance is still on DNA now, but others also extended their teams some more. But still they take the news from the pool of DNA so to speak.⁶⁸

This kind of centralisation of newsrooms is observable both for print and audio-visual broadcasting journalism. In addition to the agency centred news production, Doğan groups' television stations has tried to merge their newsrooms, but they abandoned it after a couple of unsuccessful months. As a reporter of CNN Türk explains,

There was a merging like a pool system in the past, I think it was in the period of Mehmet Ali Birand, lasted about 7-8 months. We have merged our reporters and newsrooms, so we were working together. We were submitting our texts by changing them, it has lasted about 6-7 months, but did not work. Now we do not have a direct connection with Channel D. It was 2 or 3 years ago, when Mehmet Ali Birand was the executive editor of CNN Türk.⁶⁹

Although it becomes unsuccessful, their reporters work together if necessary. Moreover, this kind of merged newsrooms of televisions exist in other media

⁶⁷ Doğan Haber Ajansı (DHA) in Turkish.

⁶⁸ İstanbul'daki havuz sistemi 3-4 yıl önce başladı, daha da var, mesela şimdi Hürriyet'te falan bakarsanız çoğu alanda Hürriyet muhabiri yok, ortak havuzdan alıyorlar haberi. Mesela ne biliyim Silivri'de DHA bakıyor ya da Balyoz davasına DHA bakıyor, havuzdan alıyorlar. O dönem Star televizyonu falan da bizdeydi. İşte Star televizyonundaki, Kanal D'deki, CNN 'deki ekibi, muhabirleri ve kameramanları, bir 3-4 kişi tuttular özel haberler için falan, diğerlerinin hepsini DHA'ya aktardılar. Şuanda da ağırlık DHA'da, ama diğerleri de ekiplerini biraz daha büyüttüler. Ama yine de aynı şekilde DHA havuzundan alıyorlar yani. (Interview with I-30, 29.05.2012, Ankara)

⁶⁹ Eskiden havuz sistemi gibi bir birleştirme oldu Mehmet Ali Birand döneminde sanırım 7-8 ay sürdü. Muhabirlerimizi ve haber merkezlerimizi birleştirdik sadece ve ortak çalışıyorduk. Metinlerimizi değiştirerek veriyorduk. 6-7 ay sürdü ve yürümedi. Kanal D ile herhangi bir bağımız yok. 2 yada 3 yıl önceydi. Mehmet Ali Birand'ın CNN Türk'ün genel yayın yönetmeni olduğu zamanda. (Interview with I-63, 25.06.2012, Istanbul)

groups. For instance, NTV newsroom has merged with the Star TV by the acquisition of the Star TV by Doğuş group. One interviewee working at Star TV, I-25, claims that they are using the same pool for visual content, they are sharing the newsroom. So that reporters complete each other when necessary.⁷⁰ More recently, Show TV and Skytürk has merged their newsrooms as well. I-9 states her happiness with this new system because they were working with very few reporters before.

I am so glad that SkyTürk and Show has merged. We are now working for both channels. The name of SkyTürk has also changed, it was a news channel, concern for last minutes, concern for becoming the first, live broadcastings by the hour. But Show TV, Channel D and so are prime time channels. There is not rating concern in news channels. It is very much apparent in prime time, writing of the news is also very much different. You should write in a way that people, everyone can understand, even the students of secondary school, you should keep the audience by visions, with a fancy language. Our staffing patterns did not change, mine is in SkyTürk, others are in Show. For example one is following the programme of Prime Minister, reporter makes a live broadcasting to SkyTürk. After he came to bureau, he writes his news, and it is broadcasted in Show prime news. ... We were three people in Ankara in total, we were going to certain main places, we could not make exclusive news at all. Show TV was 5 people, now we are 8 people. I think we are going well like this.⁷¹

As a result of this centralisation process, newsrooms have decreased their staff. I-13, an experienced reporter working at Hürriyet explains what is going on at Hürriyet below.

There are about 20 people working at Hürriyet Ankara bureau including the executives, photo-reporters. We are decreased so to speak. I give such an example, our team for only the parliament was 10 people and our bureau was about 50-60 people when I have started to this profession. Photo-reporters were a service department, not just one person, the parliament was 10 people, now 3 people, this is it. Employment has changed in parallel to technological development. There was 2-3 people in the darkroom, one person for telex, some people for fax, it means that there were 5-6 people as administrative staff. Now everyone takes their own photo, there is only one person responsible for sending photos. Journalism became a digital business.⁷²

⁷⁰ Interview with I-25, 28.05.2012 Ankara.

⁷¹ Skytürk ve Show'un birleşmesinden ben çok memnunuz. İki kanala birden çalışıyoruz. Skytürk adı da değişti, haber kanalıydı, son dakika kaygısı, haberi ilk verme kaygısı, saat başı canlı yayınlar olur. Ama prime time kanalı Show TV, Kanal D falan. Sadece ana haber önemli, seyirciyi tutma, reyting kaygısı. Haber kanalında reyting kaygısı yok. Prime time'da bu kaygı çok var, haberin yazılış tarzı da çok farklı. Daha çok halkın, herkesin, ortaokul öğrencisinin anlayacağı şekilde yazman lazım, izleyiciyi görüntülerle, süslü bir dille tutman lazım. Kadrolarımız değişmedi benim kadrom Skytürk'te, onlarınki Show'da. Mesela başbakanın bir programına gidildi, muhabir Skytürk'e canlı yayın yapıyor. Büroya geldikten sonra da haber yazıyor, Show'da ana habere giriyor. ... Ankara'da toplam 3 kişiydik biz, belli başlı yerlere giderdik, özel haber hiç yapamazdık. Show TV de 5 kişiydi, şimdi 8 kişi olduk. Bence iyi gidiyor bu şekilde. (Interview with I-9, 26.04.2012, Ankara)

⁷² Hürriyet Ankara bürosunda yaklaşık 20 kişi çalışıyor, yöneticiler, foto-muhabirleri dahil. Küçüldük yani biz. Mesela şöyle bir örnek veriyim, ben ilk mesleğe başladığımda sadece bizim meclis büromuz 10 kişiydi ve bizim büromuz 50-60 kişiydi. Foto-muhabirleri bir servisti şimdi bir kişi, meclis 10

With the introduction of digital technologies, there has emerged an increasing pressure and workload in the newsrooms for reporters. As a result, journalists become more bound to their newsroom.

Technologies whose primary function was transcending space made journalists less mobile. Thanks to the telegraph, and later the telephone and the teletype machine, journalists did not need to leave their desks to get the news (Pavlik, 2000: 229.). Based on Boyer's (2004) study of the role of the typewriter in the mechanization and 'Taylorization' of office work, primarily by spatially linking the office worker to his/her desk, one can speculate that the typewriter might have been used for similar purposes in newsrooms. Indeed, MacGregor attributes exactly this function to the computer, making journalists into 'mouse monkeys', bound to their computers and tasked with repackaging incoming information into a variety of multimedia content in a way that undermines their autonomy and gives more power to editors (1997). Deuze and Paulussen note that online journalists studied in the Netherlands and Belgium spend most of their time in front of their computers and rarely leave the newsroom (2002: 243). (Örnebring, 2010: 66).

This should be taken into account with the changing necessary skills of journalism because reporters are expected to fulfil the other duties as well with the possibilities opened up by the new technologies. In this regard, the number of photo-reporters has been significantly decreased with the widespread use of digital cameras and smart phones with high-resolution cameras. Most of the time reporters are expected to take their own photos with their cameras or smart phones because media outlets no more employ photojournalists more than one or two. The field research has revealed that most of the media outlets included only have a few photo-reporters left. Ankara bureaus have at most one photo-reporter, or not at all. This is in line with Lee-Wright and Phillips's conclusion about their field research on the British reporters.

Whereas reporters would previously be accompanied by a photographer, now they have to whip out their mobile phone to take a still or a squirt of video while, at the same time, conducting interviews and taking notes (Lee-Wright and Phillips, 2011: 72).

Moreover, type-setting functions of the printers have also incorporated into the newsroom with the computer technology (Im, 1997: 36). However, most of the media outlets do not employ necessary copy-editors, so that copy-editing becomes an additional duty of the reporters themselves. Furthermore, a new type of category has emerged for broadcasting journalists with the digital production, called as

kişiydi şimdi 3 kişi, böyle yani. Teknolojiye paralel olarak da istihdam oldu, karanlık odada çalışan 2-3 kişi vardı, teleksçi vardı, fax'a bakan birileri vardı, yani 5-6 kişilik bir idari kadro vardı. Şimdi herkes kendi fotoğrafını kendisi geçiyor, sadece fotoğraf geçmekle görevli 1 arkadaşımız var şimdi. Dijital bir iş oldu gazetecilik de. (Interview with I-13, 23.05.2012, Ankara)

videojournalists (VJs). They are responsible to set up their own camera and doing their reporting themselves in front of news events. Wallace shows videojournalists' own critics because it decreases their journalistic ability, although he argues the control over the medium for VJs is also liberating (Wallace, 2009).

In addition to the increased workload of reporters, media outlets rely on the audio-visual content provided by the wire agencies. Frequent use of the content provided by the agencies has created a need for a new type of news reporter working like a copy editor. Therefore, a new type of reporter has emerged who is bound to desk and processing the information they get via wire agencies and user generated content without going on to dig stories. In this respect, some of the reporters work only within the institution. They just follow the agencies and live streaming in the desk. Usually, they are also involved in technical production process, especially video editing. I-63 defines herself as a centre reporter working in the writers' desk. She adds that they can be called differently in different media outlets, such as writer, centre reporter, desk reporter, copy-editor, producer etc. It is significant to note that their working conditions, especially economic and social rights are worse than reporters. For instance none of the centre reporters in her institution are entitled with 212 press labour law. Regarding the specialisation, she argues that;

For instance, we are called as Istanbul centre reporter, in fact we are responsible to follow the developments in Istanbul and statements of politicians in Ankara. But, for instance, we have found ourselves inside the sports when the match-fixing operation broke out. (...) There is some mode that we do it all.⁷³

In television, the field research shows that there is an increasing number of live broadcasting via mobile technologies, i.e. 3G broadcasting. It is theoretically labelled as "the fetishisation of the live link" (Lee-Wright and Phillips, 2011: 68). 3G broadcasting has enabled the media outlets to broadcast anywhere and anytime. Moreover, it has provided a cost-effective production by decreasing the need for outside broadcast vehicle's personnel. I-37 explains the functioning of 3G broadcastings;

⁷³ Mesela biz İstanbul merkez muhabir diye geçiyoruz aslına bakarsanız İstanbul'daki gelişmeleri takip etmek ve Ankara'da siyasilerin anlık açıklamalarını takip etmekle yükümlüyüz. Ama mesela şike operasyonu patlak verdiğinde birdenbire kendimiz sporun içinde bulduk. (...) Biraz her işi yaparız modu var. (Interview with I-63, 25.06.2012, İstanbul)

3G broadcastings have increase the action, it has played into the hands of channels like Habertürk whose aims are to make actual broadcastings. 3G device is like a big back pack, it includes 6 sim cards in itself. It divides the image it takes to these 6 sim cards, and send them to Istanbul, these images merge again via computer in Istanbul so that an image emerges whose quality is can be watched in television, although not in line with the live broadcasting vehicle. This was the technical explanation. Live broadcasting vehicle can not enter everywhere. For instance it can not step up after the 8th floor of a building, its cables are not enough. Live broadcasting vehicle means that 3-4 people have to be there at the same time. But 3G device means adding one more back pack to the reporter and cameramen already going to there, that is it. Cameramen carry the camera, I carry the 3G device, so that we go and make live broadcasting from everywhere like crazy.⁷⁴

Reporters can be assigned to cover some important stories continuously throughout almost whole the day via 3G live broadcasting, so that they find themselves doing a repetitive work rather than making the news. I-36 exemplifies this as below;

In this new era, journalists, television reporters, do not go after exclusive news that much because of the shaping of the framework by the ruling party which came to power alone. We follow the routine. For instance, you came to work on Monday and look what is going on, there is council of ministers on Monday, you go out for the council of ministers right after. Friend who goes out for the council of ministers has been passified by the hourly live broadcastings to Sky. Because his news making is over now, how can you expect news from a person that makes hourlu live broadcastings, you cannot.⁷⁵

As a result of this transformation of the newsrooms, reporters do not have necessary time and monetary funds for original and in-depth reporting mainly because of the increasing workload and deadline pressure. I-16, Hürriyet Ankara news director elaborates on the effects of technology on the workload;

Technology allows us to work more. In the past, it was harder to find resources, the information or you could spare time for yourself after work, but now we can put our staff to work in everywhere with mobile phones, laptops and ipads (laughing). News become faster, we compete with the time in the end, we are making the paper for tomorrow, it has become old for

⁷⁴ 3G yayınlar aksiyonu arttırdı, amacı aktüel yayın yapmak olan Habertürk gibi kanalların ekmeğine yağ sürdü. 3G denilen cihaz büyük bir sırt çantası boyunda, içinde 6 tane sim kart var bunun. Aldığı görüntüyü bu 6 sim kart 6'ya bölüyor, İstanbul'a gönderiyor, İstanbul'da tekrar o görüntüler bilgisayarda birleşiyor ve canlı yayın aracının görüntüsü kadar kaliteli olmasa da televizyonda izlenecek nitelikte bir görüntü ortaya çıkıyor. Bu işin teknik anlatımı. Canlı yayın aracı her yere gidemez. Mesela bir binanın atıyorum 8. katından sonrasına çıkamaz, kablosu yetmez mesela. Canlı yayın aracı demek, 3-4 kişinin aynı anda oraya gitmesi demek. Ama 3G cihazı demek, zaten oraya gitmekte olan bir muhabir ve bir kameramanın sırtına bir çanta daha eklemek demek, o kadar. Kamerayı kameraman taşır, 3G cihazını ben taşırım, gideriz her noktadan deli gibi yayın yaparız. (Interview with I-37, 03.06.2012, Ankara)

⁷⁵ Bu yeni dönemde bu iktidarın tek başına gitmesinin de şekillendirmesiyle birlikte çok fazla özel haber peşinde koşturuyor artık gazeteciler, televizyon habercileri. Bizler rutini kovalıyoruz. Örneğin pazartesi günü oturursun, gelirsin işine, ne vardır, bakanlar kurulu vardır, hemen bakanlar kuruluna çıkılır. Bakanlar kuruluna giden arkadaş zaten Sky'a her saat başı bağlantı yaparak pasifize edilir aslında bir noktada. Çünkü onun haber yapması artık bitmiştir, her saat başı yayın yapan bir insandan haber nasıl bekleyebilirsin, bekleyemezsin. (Interview with I-36, 02.06.2012, Ankara)

us when you read the paper in the morning. Therefore, there is nothing problematic about the technology, it allows us to make faster and more reporting, but it makes us more tired at the same time.⁷⁶

General reporters routinely cover stories about which they have little background knowledge. That kind of journalism is referred to as “churnalism” by Davies (2008: 60). Moreover, a new type of reporter has emerged that deals with everything because of the so-called “multi-skilling”. In their research, Lee-Wright and Phillips found “little evidence of full integration or successful use of multi-skilling” (Lee-Wright and Phillips, 2011: 74). This is also valid for our field research as well, but we should remark that it is an on-going process, so that we can observe the general tendencies in this centralisation of the newsrooms.⁷⁷

4.3. Newsgathering and News Writing Processes

News production starts with newsgathering process. Therefore, it is an essential starting point for the news-reporters. In this part, the newsgathering processes for newspaper and television reporters are investigated with the help of field research. As a substantial part of their work routine, it constitutes necessary materials for the news production.

Reporters normally start to work at about 9 am in the morning. Generally, both newspaper and television reporters have a quick look to that day’s main newspapers for an overall information about the agenda of the country. Newspaper reporters particularly look for their news at their newspaper because they do not even know whether it is published or not. At this point, Ankara bureau chief of one of the biggest daily newspapers mentioned that;

⁷⁶ Teknoloji daha fazla çalışmamızı sağlıyor. Eskiden kaynaklara ulaşmak, bilgiye ulaşmak daha zordu ya da işten çıktığımızda biraz daha kendinize vakit ayırabiliyordunuz ama şimdi cep telefonları ve laptoplar, ipad’lerle gittiğiniz her yerde çalıştırabiliyoruz elemanlarımızı (gölüşmeler). Haberin daha hızlı olması, biz zamanla yarışıyoruz sonuçta, ertesi güne gazete yapıyoruz, siz sabah gazeteyi okuduğunuzda bizim için eskimiş oluyor. Onun için teknoloji bakımından bir şeyimiz yok, daha fazla daha hızlı habercilik yapmamızı sağlıyor, ama daha fazla yorulmamızı da sağlıyor aynı zamanda. (Interview with I-16, 23.05.2012, Ankara)

⁷⁷ For instance, Ankara bureaus of Radikal and Hurriyet Daily News papers were closed at the end of December, 2013 when this study was about to finish. Reporters are fired, so that these papers will use the pool system in order to access the news about Ankara. Workers of Radikal and Hürriyet Daily News have written up a manifest against these redundancies, for more information visit; <http://birgun.net/haber/kahrolsun-bagzi-donusumler-9407.html> (accessed on January 4, 2014).

Istanbul, the centre of our editorial office, the centre of our newsroom Istanbul decides to what extent public opinion is concerned with our news and how it would be published. Except that nothing comes to us like this is fine, but it is not, or write down this but not that. They do not return to us whether it is published or not. We also see it the other day.⁷⁸

As it is indicated, even Ankara bureau chiefs of the newsrooms are not informed about the news content of their newspapers. Along with this quick look to newspapers, reporters control their news management system whether they are assigned a beat or not. Newsrooms have their own particular news management programmes in their networked computers such as Inews. Via this programme, reporters can access the news agenda, assigned news to them, their past news stories etc. This management system can be called differently in different media outlets, but the basic functions are more or less same. I-14 working at Hürriyet states that;

We are coming in the morning, we have a system, I look for it whether there is an assignment for me or not. It is a system like, all of us see the same system, Istanbul etc. I am coming every day and looking what is followup to by clicking here so that is there something for me, there was something today but it is asked to take from the agency. If it is not specified as from agency, it means that I will go to this assignment. Our news director, here across, Mrs. Saffet decides so. If there is nothing for me that day, then I go out to look for exclusive news to my fields, I go to see general directors or someone else. This system is called as Hürriyet publishing system.⁷⁹

News agenda has been composed with the release of routine agenda by Anatolian Agency in the morning and the related faxes from institution. Regular morning meetings about the agenda of the each service take place at the newsrooms about 9:30-10:00 o'clock in the morning. Except from a few smallest newsrooms and some exceptions, it is seen as a must for the newsrooms. Main services at a newspaper are intelligence, economy, foreign news, home news, sports, showbiz, and supplements. Each service gathers around a table for the morning meeting with their chief, editors, and Ankara representatives if applicable. Same reporter I-14 continues;

⁷⁸ Haberimizin kamuoyunu ne ölçüde ilgilendirip gazeteye ne ölçüde gireceğine İstanbul, yazı işleri merkezimiz İstanbul, haber merkezimiz İstanbul karar verir. Onun dışında dönüp bize yani şu olur bu olmaz, şunu yazın bunu yazmayın gibi herhangi bir şey gelmez. Bize bir dönüş de olmaz yayınlanıp yayınlanmadığıyla ilgili. Biz de ertesi gün görüyoruz. (Interview with I-16, 23.05.2012, Ankara)

⁷⁹ Sabah geliyoruz, bizim bi sistemimiz var, o sistemde bana görev var mı yok mu ona bakıyorum. Şöyle bi sistem, İstanbul vs hepimiz aynı sistemi görüyoruz. Her gün gelip şuraya tıklayıp izlenenlere bakıyorum bana bir şey var mı, bugün varmış ama ajanstan almam istenmiş. Eğer burada ajans yazmıyorsa ben bu göreve gideceğim demektir. Bunu haber müdürümüz Saffet hanım belirliyor, bak karşıda. Eğer o gün bana hiçbir şey yoksa ben direk özel haber aramaya çıkıyorum alanlarıma, gidiyorum genel müdürlerle görüşüyorum başkalarıyla görüşüyorum. Bu sistemin adı Hürriyet yayın sistemi. (Interview with I-14, 23.05.2012, Ankara)

We are making agenda meetings every morning. It starts at 10:00 am, and finishes at 10:20. Representative, vice representatives come there, what is going on in the agenda, who can make what is discussed. First they tell us something about what can be done, then they ask us, and we tell what we have got. What we have seen in the system has been already composed at about 8:30 am before we came, so that our first thing to do is to look for it by opening the system when we came to work at 9:00 am. They call me every morning at 8:00 am if I have an assignment, and tell me not to come to work but ask for a car to go there directly.⁸⁰

At television stations, news-reporters attend morning meetings with their news editor⁸¹, newsroom director⁸², broadcasting co-ordinator⁸³, and Ankara representatives if applicable. For instance, I-37 tells the morning routine;

We have a meeting with the news director at 9:00 am in the morning. Then he has a meeting with the directors at Istanbul via phone at 10:00. He takes the views from us at 9:00, then he goes inside and talks with the chief cameramen, after that they tell us you are going there, you there, then we start to run up.⁸⁴

In these regular morning meetings, reporters are assigned for their routine news and they suggest special news stories. It means that there are two types of news stories; routine news and special news. Regarding the newsgathering, there are significant differences between routine news and exclusive news. As I-4 clarifies;

Definition of news come from 5N 1K. There are two kinds of news, exclusive news and routine news. We determine our agenda for exclusive news ourselves, our news editors at bureau, our news director so to speak, determine our agenda for routine news. Our news director tell us everymorning that today there is a meeting of Foreign Affairs Minister in there, so we will follow it. So you go there to follow up, ask your questions, write your news when you come back. We go to such routine news 2-3 times everyday. Besides, there are exclusive news that you find important for yourself and for the public opinion. These are scoops. You add your own view in the exclusive news different than the routines. But rather than routine, the centre of newsroom at Istanbul decides whether to publish the exclusive

⁸⁰ Her sabah gündem toplantısı yapıyoruz. Saat 10'da başlıyor, 10:20'de bitiyor. Temsilci, temsilci yardımcıları gelir, gündemde ne var ne yok kim napabilir diye konuşuluyor. Önce onlar napılabilir diye bir şeyler anlatıyorlar, sonra sizlerde ne var diyorlar, biz de bizde olanları anlatıyoruz. Bu sistemde gördüklerimiz biz gelmeden 8.30 gibi oluşturulmuş oluyor zaten biz 9'da geldiğimizde ilk işimiz o sistemi açıp bakmak oluyor. Her sabah 8'de görevim varsa beni evden arıyorlar, sen bugün işe gelme araç iste direk ordan git göreve diyorlar. (Interview with I-14, 23.05.2012, Ankara)

⁸¹ İstihbarat şefi.

⁸² Haber müdürü.

⁸³ Yayın koordinatörü.

⁸⁴ Sabah 9'da haber müdürüyle toplantı yapıyoruz. O sonra saat 10'da İstanbul'daki müdürlerle toplantı yapıyor telefonda. 9'da bizden görüşleri alıyor, sonra gidiyor içerde kamera şefiyle konuşuyorlar, sonra geliyorlar, sen sen sen şuraya gitçeksiniz diyorlar, sonra başlıyoruz koşturmaya. (Interview with I-37, 03.06.2012, Ankara)

news or not – of course the centre decides routine as well. How they decide this? First is it appropriate to the publishing policy of the paper, second can it bring revenue in return for the place it covers in the paper, or you can take advertisements instead, maybe advertisement will cause to earn more money rather than to sell it, third is it true or false? This is related with trust to the reporter. . . . The balance between exclusive and routine news is more or less equal in the paper. Taking into account its prestige, exclusive news is more precious for me. Every journalist wants to write 15 news and all of them included in the paper, never goes to routine, make the interview and publish it, sitting in the bureau, but it is not like that, you have to follow one to one in practice.⁸⁵

Exclusive news is more valuable for reporters, because they have a relative autonomy over their special news and it includes their name on it as a sign. Rather than regular routine works, reporters want to make exclusive news. However, the limited staffs struggling to cover all the busy agenda of the country do not let them to deal with their own exclusive news. With the development of information and communication technologies, access to news is very easy and fast via internet. Wire agencies provide written and audio-visual content for routine news to their member press and broadcasting outlets. At this point, the effect of development of information and communication technologies on the news production is apparent. Wire agencies bring every kind of news to desk via internet. Therefore, media corporations do not need to send their staff (reporters, cameramen etc.) for each story. An experienced journalist, I-6 criticises the agency journalism. He argues that no one run after the news any more, because they take it from the agencies unless it is not so much important. While there were mobile vehicles in the past looking for news, news come from the agencies now.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Haber tanımı – 5N 1K'dan gelir. İki çeşit haber vardır, özel haber ve rutin haber. Özel haber gündemimizi kendimiz belirliyoruz, rutin haber gündemimizi bürodaki istihbarat şeflerimiz belirliyor, haber müdürümüz yani. Haber müdürümüz bize o her sabahki toplantıda diyor ki bugün Dış işleri bakanının şurda şu toplantısı var bunu izleyelim diyor. Siz de gidiyorsunuz izliyorsunuz, sorunuzu soruyorsunuz, geri dönüp haberi yazıyorsunuz. Her gün 2-3 defa biz böyle rutin haberlere gidiyoruz. Bir de özel haber var, kendiniz için, kamuoyu için önemli gördüğünüz haberler. Atlatma haberdır bunlar. Özel haberde rutin haberden farklı olarak siz kendi görüşünüzü dahil edersiniz. Ama rutinden ziyade özel haberin yayınlanıp yayınlanmayacağına haber merkezi karar veriyor (İstanbul), tabi rutin habere de haber merkezi karar veriyor da. Buna da nasıl karar veriyor? Bir gazetenin yayın politikasına uygun mu, iki gazetede kapladığı yerin karşılığını bize para olarak getirebilir mi, ya da yerine reklam da alabilirsiniz, belki de reklam daha çok kazandıracak sattırmaktan çok, üçüncüsü doğru mu acaba yanlış mı? Bu da muhabire güvenle ilgili bir şey . . . Aşağı yukarı denktir özel haber – rutin haber dengesi gazetede. Prestij olarak özel haber benim için çok daha değerli. Her gazeteci ister ki 15 tane özel haber yazıyım hepsi de gazetede yer bulsun, hiç rutine gitmeyim, yapıyım röportajımı yayınlansın, oturayım büroda, ama öyle olmuyor pratikte birebir izlemeniz gerekiyor. (Interview with I-4, 18.04.2012, Ankara)

⁸⁶ Interview with I-6, 20.04.2012, Ankara.

At this point, trends for newsgathering processes are different for newspapers and televisions. Newspapers need something exclusive to their title so that people want to buy them. Therefore, newspapers prefer to spare relatively more time for special news comparing to televisions. This point is directly related with the materials used by print journalism and broadcasting journalism. For broadcasting journalism, audio and visual of the news is decisive in the news production process. Without them it is almost not possible to make the news. However, print journalism is much more advantageous at this point. Even if there is no picture of the news, it is not a decisive problem for the news. Therefore, television news is full of routine news with small room for special news. I-11, an experienced reporter states that;

Newspaper and television is so different regarding the news production. The working practice of the friends in television and in the period I worked is based on following the routine agenda. Exclusive news is very much rare. Because there are conditions to be able to make exclusive news, there is visual condition, audio condition, you always have to go around 2-3 people, you, cameramen and driver. But routine agenda is not important at all in the paper, in any case agency follows it and brings that routine agenda to you. Except the very important routines, they are not followed by papers. Each reporter follows his exclusive news, his file, investigation, indictment, whatever it is. There is no importance of the news written by the agency for the newspaper workers. But in television, they go to news with possibility of providing audio and visual material. If someone is going to talk, a case emerges, they record it themselves, the existence of agency is not important for them there. Regarding the news reporting trait, print journalism is more beautiful. Print journalists make the reporting. Recent news channels are trying hard, but it is up to a certain point, because there is no expression without an image in television, but in paper you can scratch even if there is no image.⁸⁷

Most of the television reporters were disturbed from this bulk of routine work. News-reporters' days are full of routine works for press releases of prime minister, ministers, parliament etc. Especially the news-reporters in Ankara could not find time for their practices and researches of investigative journalism because of the high degree of routinisation. Interestingly enough, three television reporters used the

⁸⁷ Gazete ve televizyon haber üretimi açısından çok değişik. Televizyondaki arkadaşların çalışma pratiği ve benim çalıştığım dönemde, tamamen rutin gündemi izlemek üzerine. Çok nadiren özel haber yapılır. Çünkü özel haber yapabilmek için bir görüntü şartı var, ses şartı var, sürekli 2-3 kişiyle dolaşmak zorundasın, işte kameraman şoför ve sen. Ama gazetede rutin gündemin hiçbir önemi yoktur, zaten ajans onu izliyor o rutin gündemi sana getiriyor. Çok önemli rutinler dışında genelde rutinlere gidilmez gazetelerde. Her muhabir kendi özel haberinin peşini kovalar, kendi dosyasını, soruşturmasını, iddianamesini neyse onu takip eder. Ajansın yazdığı bir haberin gazete çalışanı için hiçbir önemi yoktur. Ama televizyonda ses ve görüntü olabilecek haberlere giderler. Biri konuşacaksa, ne biliyim bir olay çıkacaksa, ajansın olması hiç önemli değil, kendileri çekip kendileri orada şey yaparlar. Habercilik tavı noktasında gazetecilik daha güzel bir şey. Haberciliği gazeteciler yapar. Televizyonda son dönem haber kanalları biraz zorluyor ama bir yere kadar görüntü olmayınca televizyonda bir ifade yok ama gazetede görüntü olmasa dahi gerekiyorsa kara kalemle çizersin. (Interview with I-11, 19.05.2012, Ankara)

phrase “get drown in routine work” while explaining their daily routine. I-37 is one of them stating that;

We are trying to make something exclusive as much as we can, but we are suffocated into routine because we are 6 people. For instance, when 1 person is on leave, the other is sick, you remain to 4. Two of these four goes to the parliament, one is to Prime ministry, the other is taking care of all the other jobs in Ankara, it is like a nightmare. There is nothing exclusive remains, you can even type the routine via phone, sending the images etc., news is broadcasted but like a mess.⁸⁸

The balance between routine news and special news is not something pre-determined. As a newspaper reporter argues it may be 50-50 at total. However, some newspapers and televisions are known with their emphasize on special news. For instance, Vatan newspaper is particularly interested with special news, leaving routine news to agency. It is their characteristic since its emergence. Nevertheless, I-17, an experienced reporter from Vatan newspaper shows the disadvantages of this choice;

In fact, it is not a good system, I do not defend it, because to leave the routine developments to the agency means to be condemned to the eye of the agency. Especially in these days under the influence of the government, agency reports the news as partial, biased, and applying some kind of censors, these are missed scoops from the ground up for instance, there is such kind of drawbacks.⁸⁹

Main motivation behind the prominence of special news is to present something different and special to readers beyond the television news circulating all the day and to break a scoop for the front-page of the paper. With the development of technology, news stories are consumed via television stations and internet. Therefore, newspapers are in need of special stories for their readers. And these special news stories are more likely to be produced by the specialist correspondents via their established news sources. Main areas for specialisation are economy, politics, prime ministry, presidency, parliament, political parties, police-court, judiciary, defence /

⁸⁸ Biz yine de elimizden geldiğince özel bir şeyler yapmaya çalışıyoruz ama rutinin içerisinde boğulmak durumundayız çünkü 6 kişiyiz. Mesela 1 kişi izne çıkıp, öbürü de hastalandığı zaman 4'e düşüyorsun. Bu 4'ten ikisi meclise gidiyor, öbürü Başbakanlık'a gidiyor, öbürü Ankara'da kalan bütün işleri topluyor, kabus gibi. Özel mözel hiçbir şey kalmıyor, yaptığın rutin haberi bile sen telefonla yazdırıyorsun, görüntüleri gönderiyorsun falan, haber giriyor ama bir çorba kıvamında giriyor. (Interview with I-37, 03.06.2012, Ankara)

⁸⁹ Aslında iyi bir sistem değil, ben bunu savunmuyorum, çünkü rutin gelişmeleri ajansa bırakmak ajansın gözüne mahkum olmak demek. Hele bugünlerde hükümetin etkisi altında bir ajans çoğunlukla rutin haberlerde dahi taraflı, yanlı ve bazı sansürler uygulayarak haber geçiyor, onlar atlanmış oluyor en başından mesela, böyle bir sakıncası var tabii. (Interview with I-17, 24.05.2012, Ankara)

General Staff sports, home news, foreign news, health, war, and show-biz. However, degree of specialisation decreases continuously. As it is discussed in chapter 3, specialisation becomes a luxury for reporters because of the limited staffs and precarious working conditions. Experience in a specific area is devalued. Therefore, the number of specialist correspondents decrease year by year.

In the newsgathering process, reporters are in contact with their news sources. At this point, it is necessary to make a differentiation between Ankara as the capital city and the other cities. For Ankara, main peculiar news sources are Presidency of the Republic of Turkey, Prime Ministry, Turkish Grand National Assembly, Turkish General Staff, ministries, and headquarters of political parties. For any city, main news sources are governorship, municipality and related assemblies of the municipality, directorates, police, gendarme and armed forces, political parties and trade unions, chamber of commerce and chamber of industry, private sector, art and entertainment venues, and institutions of education (Tokgöz, 2010 [1994]: 247-8). Other than these sources, journalists have their own personal news sources acquired through their experience in the field. In addition, even an ordinary citizen may be a news source for a reporter depending on the information he/she provides. However, it is apparent that news-reporters rely on official sources in most of the time. Therefore, it is possible to claim that newsgathering process directly helps to reproduce the status quo by delivering official sources to the masses. At this point, one of the crucial problems of the newsgathering process is the relations between journalists and their news sources because this relationship is open to corruption and abuse. For instance, as it is discussed by Gerger's article (2003) on police-court reporters, police reporters may start to behave as a police in their daily life with their police walkie-talkies in their hands.

Another problem related with the newsgathering process is the rise of so-called "service journalism"⁹⁰ which means the distribution of news by political and economic institutions as news sources to some of the media corporations. Such kind of journalism is not in line with journalistic principles as I-2 clarifies;

⁹⁰ "Servis gazeteciliği" in Turkish.

Service journalism has become common in the last period in Turkey rather than news reporting. Both sides of the news are not taken into account. Institutions as news resources bring files, they tell to write them as news and papers write it. The above managements do not stand up against this, maybe they do not want to come across with these institutions. Cases of taking envelope in this framework, well-known case of taking the yellow envelope. It is not asked to the other side at all, it is not evaluated.⁹¹

After collecting the information in the newsgathering process, reporters suppose to write their news stories to submit. There are some rules of the news writing taught at schools and practiced in the journalism. News should be short and precise, clearly understandable for everyone. It should be in line with spelling and grammar rules of the language. Moreover, there are some particular points that should be included in the news texts. They are summarised as the rule of “5N-1K”.⁹² It means that the answers of the questions of “what, where, when, how, why and who” (5W + how) should be included in the news content (Tokgöz, 2010 [1994]: 268-9). This academic rule of the journalism is supported by the field research as well. News as defined as a mathematical thing based on 5N-1K formula by an experienced reporter, I-13;

A news is also a mathematical thing, not subjective or such, there are rules so that you measure it according to 5N 1K, news is a technical thing.⁹³

However, the field research reveals that there exist significant problems even related with this simple rule in practice. News contents do not answer these necessary questions. An experienced and well-known journalist Umur Talu explains the transformation of the news language as follows;

News was with indicative mood using –dır, –dir, such as has come and has seen, these are changed to simple past tense with –di. The softer news languages are placed. Rules which seem to be necessary but sometimes can be ridiculous such as 5N 1K are softened, but irregularity has become this time. Now I am reading the news so to speak, there is no date in it, that is to say the date of the incident is not mentioned. ... From the other side, I do not

⁹¹ “Son dönemde Türkiye’de habercilikten servis gazeteciliği çok yaygın hale geldi. Haberin iki tarafına çok yönelinmiyor. Kurumlar haber kaynağı olarak bir dosya getiriyor, bunu yaz diyor gazeteler de yazıyor. Yukarı yönetimler de çok fazla itiraz etmiyor buna, o kurumlarla karşı karşıya gelmek istemiyor belki de. Bu çerçevede zarf alma olayları, meşhur sarı zarf olayı. Karşı tarafa hiç sorulmuyor, değerlendirilmiyor.” (Interview with I-2, 11.04.2012, Ankara)

⁹² 5N-1K: In this Turkish abbreviation, the letters of “N” and “K” refers to initial letters of the necessary questions that should be answered in the news content; Ne (what), Nerede (where), Ne zaman (when), Nasıl (how), Neden (why) and Kim (who).

⁹³ Bir haber de matematik bişeydir, böyle sübjektif falan değildir, ölçersiniz 5N 1K’ya göre kuralları vardır, haber teknik bir şeydir. (Interview with I-13, 23.05.2012, Ankara)

know, there is no care any mre. Correction services are removed as well, litterateurs were working at the correction, they are removed so that everything cost cheaper.⁹⁴

Far worse than the lack of 5N-1K in the news, reporters started to pay attention to different interests of their employers in the news writing process with the changing ownership and capital structure of the media. As the below long but precise quotation from I-34 clarifies, this has significantly reduced the freedom of press.

Frankly speaking, turning point of the profession of the journalism was Sedat Simavi, if I do not remember it wrong, handing down his paper has become a turning point. Because he was the last journalist proprietor. From then on, people from the business world, the media bosses always become businessmen. So that journalism has been put aside, economic interests has started to constitute other side. In other words, a situation has emerged like that businessmen use their newspapers, televisions in order to carry out their own businesses. Under these circumstances, journalism has started to loose its independence. You came to such a point that you can not behave with thinking only the principles of journalism for the news. This is valid for all the papers. What you should pay attention becomes how the news will return to your corporation rather than 5N 1K in the news. Therefore, journalists are not completely free. They are not free to perform the profession of journalism so to speak. You go somewhere and labelled as partisan media, you go somewhere else and labelled as our media. In fact, journalist is neither in this side nor in the other. There is one side of the journalist, to be on the side of the rightful. There is nothing called impartial journalism. That was the only thing we have learned at the university. Journalist is not impartial, he is objective. He is on the side of the good, he is partial with the good, rightful. I am neither your side nor the other, I am on the side of the rightful. This is important. In a fix saying your side, our side, it has lost its independence.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ Haber dili –dir’li, -dir’liydi, gelmiştir görmüştür falan, bunlar –di’li geçmişe döndü. Daha yumuşak haber dilleri konuldu. 5N1K gibi gerekli gibi gözüken ama bazen saçma sapan bir şey olan kurallar yumuşadı ama bu sefer de kuralızsızlık oldu. Yani şimdi ben haber okuyorum, tarih yok yani içinde olayın olduğu gün yok yani. . . . Bir yandan da bilmiyorum yani özen gösterilmiyor artık. Tashihi servisleri de kaldırıldı, tashihte edebiyatçılar çalışırdı, daha ucuza gelsin her şey diye onlar da kaldırıldı. (Interview with I-46, 12.06.2012, Istanbul)

⁹⁵ Açıkçası gazetecilik mesleğinin dönüm noktası, yanlış hatırlamıyorsam Sedat Simavi’ydi, elindeki gazeteyi devretmesiyle bir dönüm noktası oldu. Çünkü en son gazeteci olup patron olan kişi oydu. Ondan sonra hep iş dünyasından isimler, yani medya patronları hep işadamları oldu. Böyle olunca da işin içinde gazetecilik bir yana kondu, ekonomik çıkarlar başka bir yerini oluşturmaya başladı. Yani bir anlamda işadamlarının kendi işlerini yürütmek için gazetelerini, televizyonlarının kullanması gibi bir durum ortaya çıktı. Hal böyle olunca gazetecilik bağımsızlığını giderek yitirmeye başladı. Siz yazdığınız haberde sadece gazetecilik ilkelerini düşünerek hareket edemez duruma geldiniz. Bütün gazeteciler için bu geçerli. Sizin dikkat etmeniz gereken haberde 5N 1K’dan daha çok o haberin bulunduğunuz kuruma nasıl dönüş yapacağı gibi bir duruma geldi. Bu yüzden gazeteciler tam özgür değiller. Yani gazetecilik mesleğini yapma konusunda tam özgür değiller. Bir yere giderseniz yandaş medya olarak nitelendirilirsiniz, bir yere giderseniz bizim medya olarak nitelendirilirsiniz. Aslında gazeteci ne o taraftadır ne bu tarafta. Gazetecinin tek bir tarafı vardır, haklıdan yana olmak. Tarafsız gazetecilik diye bir şey yoktur. Bizim üniversitede öğrendiğimiz tek şey buydu. Tarafsız olmaz gazeteci, objektif olur. İyiden yana olur, iyiden haklıdan yana taraftır. Ben ne sizin yanınızdayım ne sizin yanınızdayım, kim haklıysa ben o taraftayım. Önemli olan bu. Sizin tarafınız bizim tarafımız diye böyle bir ortada kalmışlıktan dolayı özgürlüğünü yitirdi. (Interview with I-34, 01.06.2012, Ankara)

Apart from the necessary features of the news, there are some pragmatic rules of the news writing process. Knowing that their news will not be published or significantly changed, reporters write their stories according to needs of their newsroom directors. This is where the self-censorship begins that will be discussed below in another heading. I-37 frankly explains his style of writing according to the needs of his news director;

You pay attention what your news director wants when writing the news. Now I am working with my second news director at Habertürk, the style of him is quite different than the former one. Every director wants his reporter to write as himself, I am writing accordingly.⁹⁶

News reporting from the field via live broadcasting is different than regular news writing. The necessary features of the news, i.e. 5N-1K, are also a significant rule in this regard. However, reporters pay more attention to their language and punctuation. Throughout the time period of conducting the interviews, there were no rating measures in Turkey because of the corruption in the ratings. I-3, a television reporter who regularly go live air indicates that;

You try to speak with the language of the news in time. There was rating measurements in the past. Our directors were looking the results second by second and they do not let the reporters who decrease the ratings go live no more. This was a more ruthless process in past.⁹⁷

4.4. Editorial control processes

After the reporters have finished the writing process, the editorial and managerial staffs control the news. The decision to publish/broadcast it or not is in the hands of editorial and managerial staff. They also revise the news texts, determine the headlines and leads/intro/spot of the news. Furthermore, they even redact the news because the redaction services do not exist in most of the media outlets any more because of the budget cuts. The editorial control process in print and broadcasting

⁹⁶ Haber yazarken müdürün ne istiyorsa ona dikkat ediyorsun. Ben şu anda Habertürk'te ikinci müdürümle çalışıyorum, öncekiyle bu müdürümün tarzları çok farklı. Her müdür muhabirinin kendisi gibi yazmasını ister, ben de ona göre yazıyorum. (Interview with I-37, 03.06.2012, Ankara)

⁹⁷ Zamanla daha fazla haber diliyle konuşmaya çalışıyorsunuz. Eskiden reyting ölçümleri vardı. Müdürlerimiz saniye saniye onlara bakıyorlardı ve reytingleri düşüren muhabir bir daha canlı yayına çıkartılmıyordu. Eskiden daha acımasız bir süreçti bu. (Interview with I-3, 17.04.2012, Ankara)

journalism is practiced a bit different because of the difference between written and audio-visual material. Therefore, it is necessary to examine this process separately for print and broadcasting journalism.

Before such an examination, the field research showed that there is a particular terminology of the editorial control. To revise the news by editorial desk is called as “haberi makaslamak” or “kolunu bacağını çekmek”. To reserve a place for the news or not is defined as “haberi görmek/görmemek”. Removal of prepared news is named as “haberin düşmesi”. Furthermore, the length of the news is determined by the keyboard strokes (“vuruş”). In addition, if an important point of the news is hidden in the end of the text, it is called as “haberi gömmek”.

Print journalism gives significant opportunities for editorial control process before publishing. After reporters submit their news stories, their service chief or bureau chief reads the news first. Then, copy editors in Istanbul control the news, make the necessary cuts and revisions, combine with other similar news if possible and then send it to page design editors. Page design editors optimise the news for publication generally by editing, cutting down the last parts, and adding photos. After that a draft version of the newspaper is controlled by the news co-ordinator. The name of this position may be different in each paper: news co-ordinator / deputy chief editor / deputy executive editor / director of newsroom. This person supposes to read all the news, and then make some changes, cuts and revisions to news texts, headlines, lines/intro/spot and photos. After these modifications are finished, the newspaper is ready to be controlled by the chief editor. He/she is the last person to approve, change and cut and revise the news. However, this is not a one-sided process. In the editorial meetings throughout the day, editors decide the headline, leads/intro/spot of the news and determine the general outline of the paper. Then they control this process continuously. What is crucial for our study is reporters’ part in this process is in a constant decrease while the role of editors increase in the news production process. Reporters have no control over their news after they submit it. Editors determine the headlines, leads/intro/spot of the news. They cut and revise the news texts significantly and make substantial changes in a way that reporters cannot recognise their news after it is published. They lose their control over their news.

Field research showed that this might cause crucial problems for reporters that cause lawsuits even though it is not their fault, as I-59 exemplifies below.

Certainly a lot of times we are engaged in lawsuits. The news has changed totally so to speak. It occurs at Takvim very often. For instance my friend sitting at my opposite, it was a court news but editor gets it wrong, he does not ask either, so changed it to something else. Even one sentence could become very important in the court news when it is changed, so even he has not written it, he both falls out with the editor and has been filed a lawsuit. Or me for instance, for example someone calls and say that you are not going to show child's face, it has been pixelated in somewhere, for instance at Sabah, but Takvim is in our cooperation as well, it has opened there. The guy has filed a lawsuit against you saying that it is not my business. You have closed it at Sabah, you should have closed it on the other as well, it is your responsibility, why do not you follow your news, so many mistakes may occur. Our news publish at Takvim, but it can occur at Sabah as well. For instance, he was my friend, it is not possible to misunderstand my friend, but I have copy pasted your sentences for example as if they are someone else's words, it has totally changed. They have made someone's words as if they are someone else in the news, changed a lot, I mean I was so embarrassed, I did not write that way. It was published like that my friend has appeared as if he is problematic, unhappy, troubled, taking psychological support, but it was not him, they have mixed the names, nothing happens because they now me, but I was embarrassed in the end. You have the clean version of the news, ask it when you shorten, so that kind of mistakes occur. You can be engaged in lawsuits as well.⁹⁸

Although the general trend is similar in broadcasting journalism regarding the importance of editorial staff vis a via reporters, editorial control process functions differently in broadcasting journalism because of the audio-visual material. News editors and newsroom directors determine the general work routine in the morning meetings for agenda. After that meeting, television reporters are assigned to beats for live broadcastings and other routine works. Reporters are in constant communication with the newsroom throughout the day, they make live broadcastings and make announce for other news. After they return to the newsroom, they control the inner

⁹⁸ Tabi davalık olduğumuz çok oluyor. Yani haber tamamen değişiyor. Takvim'de çok meydana geliyor. Mesela karşımda oturan arkadaşım, dava haberi ama editör yanlış anlamış, sormamış da, bambaşka bir şey yapmış. Tek bir cümle bile bazen dava haberlerinde çok önemli olabiliyor değiştirdiğinde ve yazmadığı halde, hiçbir şekilde yazmadığı halde hem editörle papaz oldu, hem de dava açtılar. Ya da ben aynı şekilde, açıyor yani mesela diyor ki yüzünü göstermeyeceksin diyor çocuğun, bir yerde mesela Sabah'ta mozaikleniyor ama Takvim gazetesi de bizim bünyemizde, orda açıyor. Sana dava açıyor adam beni ilgilendirmez diyor. Sabah'ta kapattın, bu senin sorumluluğunda onu da kapatıracaktın diyor, niye takip etmiyorsun haberini falan deyip, çok hatalar da yapılabilir. Takvim'de de çıkıyor haberlerimiz. Ama Sabah'ta da yaşanabilir. Ben mesela, üstelik bir arkadaşım, haberini yaptığım arkadaşını yanlış anlamam vs mümkün değil, mesela senin kurduğun cümleleri onun ağzına yapıştırmışım, tamamen değişmiş. Yani birinin cümlelerini başka birinin ağzından çıkmış gibi yapmışlar haberde, çok değişmiş, yani ben çok mahcup olmuştum, ben öyle yazmadım falan. Öyle bir şey çıkmıştı ki, benim arkadaşım şey olmuştu, yani tabi o beni tanıdıkları için bir şey olmadı, ama mahcup oluyorsun yine, işte problemler, mutsuz, sorunlu, psikolojik destek gören biri gibi, halbuki onda değil, ama isimleri karıştırmışlar. Sende temizi var haberin, yani bir sor, böyle kısaltırken falan böyle hatalar yapılabilir. Davalık da oluyorsun tabii ki. (Interview with I-59, 22.06.2012, İstanbul)

news management programme for the news feed where they can find the length of their news stories. The lengths of news are determined by the editors in the meetings for news feeds. Generally it can change from 30 seconds to 2 minutes, but the average time period for news is about 60 seconds. Reporters write news stories accordingly and then editors, directors and bureau representative if applicable read and edit the news stories. After this editing process of the news content, reporters or voice-over persons read the news text to record as voice-over⁹⁹. Because of the budget cuts, media outlets do not prefer to voice-over persons. Instead, some of the reporters inside the newsroom make the voice-over job or they share this work. The next step is the video editing of the news. The film editors of the newsroom edit videos. Although it is not a must to enter into video editing for reporters in general, some reporters prefer to be involved in the video editing process of their news. Then the final version of the news is controlled and ready to be broadcasted. This is the process for prime news. However, some of the news may not be broadcasted in the prime news because of the limited time or breaking news. In that case, these news stories are used for other news bulletins.

The significant difference between the print journalism and broadcasting journalism regarding the editorial processes is about the reporters' control over their news stories. Newspaper reporters have totally lost their control over their news stories after they submit it. From that point on, they do not have any word to say on it. However, television reporters are included in the whole process of the production of news, writing, editing, voice-over, and video editing. They cannot be surprised when they watch the final version of their news, because they are part of the whole process one way or another. But in this process, they are notified about how to approach to stories they are assigned to and which points to be highlighted. Their perspective to news is much more determined by the editors. Therefore, the field research reveals that reporters' autonomy in the news production processes decrease continuously.

They lose their control over the production process and their professional autonomy is in constant decline especially with the development of information and

⁹⁹ It is called "*perfore okumak*" in Turkish.

communication technologies, which open up the opportunities and mechanisms for editorial control. Automobiles and live streaming vehicles are tracked via GPS devices. 3G live-streaming devices, emitting high level of radiation, are carried in the backpacks of cameramen or news-reporters as an additional ten kilos weight. It means that they are able to make a live-broadcasting at any time which increase the burden of reporters while decreasing their control and autonomy over the news production as I-33 argues;

The broadcasting device called 3G has created a pressure on us like that it allows you to make broadcasting wherever you take a step. To make broadcasting is a risk for the reporter, so any reporter wants to appear in the television without any data, information, a guest if possible. But it provides such an opportunity to editors, top management, news management staff so that they can catch you napping to broadcasting. For example, you are going to a field and they want you to start broadcasting right after. Because there is no need for a live broadcasting vehicle, no need for a setup process. They want you to make a broadcasting immediately, that is quite challenging for a reporter. You have to make up something, I mean you have to say something immediately, and unfortunately sometimes we are obliged to make plenty of hallow connections without any information, any facts, any details. Purely and simply to show that we are there. They force us this, we are obliged to make this so to speak.¹⁰⁰

Moreover, news reporters must always use their mobile phones and access to Internet. There is a constantly increasing time pressure with the increasing technology. Therefore, they have to use their mobile phones even in the cinema;

Your mobile always has to be available, in everywhere and every time. You would go out and talk even if you were in a movie theatre. I have turned off the volume once in the movie theatre, then it became a problem and I got that you should not close it. That is to say, you live like every thing can happen at any moment.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ 3G denilen yayın cihazı bizde şöyle bir baskı yarattı, adım attığımız her yerde yayın yapma imkanı sunuyor size. Yayın yapmak bir muhabir için risktir ve mümkünse elinde done olmadan, bilgi olmadan, konuk olmadan televizyonun karşısında hiçbir muhabir çıkmak istemez. Ama editörlere ve üst yönetim kadrosuna, haber yönetim kadrosuna öyle bir fırsat sunuyor ki o, sizi bazen hazırlıksız bir şekilde yayına zorluyorlar. Mesela bir bölgeye gidiyorsunuz ve hemen yayına başlamanız isteniyor. Çünkü bir canlı yayın aracının gelmesine gerek yok, bir takım kurulma sürecinin geçmesine gerek yok. Sizden hemen bir yayın yapmanızı istiyorlar, o da muhabiri çok zorlayan bir şey. Hemen bir şeyler uydurmanız, uydurmanız derken hemen bişeyler laf dolaştırmanız ve bazen de zaman zaman maalesef içi son derece boş, içinde bilgi olmayan, fact olmayan, detay olmayan bir sürü bağlantı yapmak zorunda kalabiliyoruz. Sadece ve sadece orda olduğumuzu göstermek için. Bunu da dayatıyorlar bize, yani bunu yapmak zorundayız. (Interview with I-33, 01.06.2012, Ankara)

¹⁰¹ “Telefonun hep açık olması gerekiyor, her zaman her yerde. Sinemada bile çıkıp konuşacaksın. Bir kere sesini kapattım ben sinemada, sorun oldu, o gün anladım ki kapatmaman gerekiyor. Her an, her şey olabilir şeklinde yaşıyorsun yani.” (Interview with I-9, 26.04.2012, Ankara)

4.5. Degradation of Reporting Work and a Tendency for De-skilling

In the light of the above examination of the reporters' labour and the news production processes, a general evaluation is necessary for the transformation of the reporting activity. The examination of the news production processes reveals that news reporters cannot act autonomous in the news making. Starting from the news gathering process to news writing, they have to be in line with the corporate interests of the media corporations. Increasing routinisation and mechanisation of the news gathering and writing processes together with the standardisation of the language and content of the news in line with the prominence of the form of the news, all points out to the fact of industrialisation of the news production. With the separation of conception and execution of the labour in the news production, reporting activity has been in a degradation process. Braverman's (1998) emphasis on the unity of manual and mental labour, i.e. unity of conception and execution has been damaged for the reporters. The industrialisation of the news production contributed to the degradation of the reporting work. As Ruşen Çakır, an experience and well-known journalist dismissed two years ago;

“There is nothing like being a reporter any more, it is over. Reporters are treated as dog.”¹⁰²

The power of editorial and managerial staffs increase in this industrial production while decreasing importance of the reporters. Development of information and communication technologies also makes a significant contribution to the reporters' delegation of control over news production process to editorial and managerial staffs and decreasing professional autonomy. Their development contributed the devaluation and trivialization of the reporting activity as well as de-skillisation of the news reporters (Liu, 2006). With the separation of conception and execution of the news, news production is depreciated and news reporting activity is just seen as the transmission of facts via technological devices. It has resulted in emergence of multi-skilled/mobile journalists. Although there is a strong pressure on journalists to

¹⁰² “Artık muhabirlik yok, bu bitti. Muhabirlere köpek muamelesi yapılıyor. (Interview with I-58, 21.06.2012, Istanbul)

become multi-skilled, the new regime is called as de-skilling journalists (Phillips, 2011: 94).

The major changes, it turned out, were not about multi-skilling at all but more a process of what journalists felt was 'de-skilling', as management demands for higher productivity took their roll (Lee-Wright and Phillips, 2011: 73).

In addition, institutional limits and pressure of political power also damage the professional autonomy of journalists and their role at the news production processes. Therefore, news production processes have been depreciated and reporting tasks have been trivialised, which can be defined as the degradation of reporting work. An experienced journalist Assoc. Prof. Doğan Tılıç explains this transformation of news production processes as follows;

In this process, reporter follows a path from subject to object, from a determiner to a determined. While reporter's decision, reporter's concern were more on the front in the news making process in the past (how long you go to past), other concerns have started to become prominent with internalising them, concerns of the boss, interest relationships, concerns of the institution... Perhaps the journalist was developing a measure about what is news and he was following that measure when looking for the news and writing. But now this news would not publish if I write it, for instance I am working at Cumhuriyet, even if it fits with my measure of the news. Or let's say I am working at Zaman, there is a success story of a man who is identified with his secular identity, what if I have seen this or not, the paper would not publish it anyway. So a type of journalist without his own measures has emerged who has substituted his own measures with the measures of the newspapers. What is more is that a type of reporter has emerged who has developed an awareness related with the relationships of the boss, so that knowing what would have published as to enhance these relationships rather than damage them. We have come to a news production process from a period in which the preferences and evaluations of news by reporters were more important in the past more and more, to a period in which the factors and preferences outside of reporters become more important.¹⁰³

Therefore, senior correspondents are the exceptions in news media in Turkey. It has repercussions for the news output as well. I-62, Altan Öymen, an experienced

¹⁰³ Bu süreçte muhabir öznelikten nesnelige, belirleyenden belirlenene doğru bir yol izledi. Haber yapım sürecinde geçmişte (ne kadar eskiye gidersen git) muhabirin kararı, muhabirin kaygıları daha öndeyken başka kaygılar ön plana çıkmaya başladı, ve içselleştirilerek öne çıkmaya başladı, patronun kaygıları, çıkar ilişkileri, kurumun kaygıları, çıkar ilişkileri... Geçmişte belki de gazeteci haber nedire dair bir ölçü geliştiriyor ve o ölçünün peşinde koşuyordu haber ararken, yazarken. Ama şimdi ben bu haberi yazsam, mesela Cumhuriyet'te çalışıyorum, bu haber yer almaz, benim haber nedir ölçüme uysa da. Ya da Zaman'da çalışıyorum, laik bir kimlikle özdeşleşmiş birisinin başarı öyküsü var, ben bunu görsem ne görsem ne, nasılsa gazete bunu basmaz. Böyle diyen ve gazetelerin bir takım ölçülerini kendi ölçüleri yerine geçiren, kendi ölçüleri olmayan bir gazeteci tipi ortaya çıkmaya başladı. Dahası patronun pek çok ilişkisinin farkında olan ve onları zedeleyecek şeylerin haber olmayacağı, tam tersine onları parlatacak şeylerin haber olacağına dair bir farkındalık geliştiren bir muhabir tipi ortaya çıktı. Eskiye doğru gittikçe muhabirin habere dair kendi tercih ve değerlendirmelerinin daha önemli olduğu bir dönemden muhabir dışındaki etkenlerin, tercihlerin daha önemli olduğu bir haber yapma sürecine geldik. (Interview with I-8, 25.04.2012, Ankara.)

journalist and retired politician, explains the work of senior correspondents in Western countries in comparison with Turkey;

Of course I encounter with that a lot of times, reporters of other countries, international institutions or the ones come to me when I was in politics. Such man come from abroad, almost at my age, but reporter, senior reporter. He comes, makes an interview, he knows what he says of course. But the paper, New York Times or as such gives his news from the first page. And the guy definitely writes his name, he even has his own style. I mean someone else does not summarize it. He makes his interview with his style, for instance he starts his news like that I came in the door, a fat man was talking with someone, he tells his story. He writes as novel, he is a reporter. Reporting is important, the people who will deal with the future of this profession have to perform this. He has to put emphasis on this. ... Reporting is an art, it is not something to be underestimated.¹⁰⁴

Increasing number and significance of columnists is also crucial to understand the transformation of the reporting work in Turkey. While reporting work is degenerated, columnists start to make their work instead (Kaya, 2009). I-57, Ahmet Şık, criticizes the devaluation of reporting work in contrast to plenty of columnists;

Especially in this process, I mean in this environment of pressure, being a correspondent has been emasculated. Why, because something can be made that has left the boss in a difficult situation, am I clear? So it returns to you definitely as a “panel” response in quotation marks, either as a threat to arrest, or tax penalty, or cancellation of a procurement which is supposed to be taken from the government. This is very effective. For instance, they have built a kind of journalism based on the columns of writers, especially Ankara representatives. There is a serious difference between the reporter Ahmet Şık and Ankara representative at the possibility of meeting with a minister or a significant bureaucrat. They have columnists do the reporting work. This construction is wrong. Turkey is a garbage of writers. I think that writing is a very tough job. Someone has written that he writes his piece in half an hour, better not to give the name, and this guy writes in seven days a week, how do you write so? Really, it is not a talent, am I clear, for me it is an indicator of negligence. Such kind of job does not work so to speak.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ Tabi şimdi ben çok rastlamışım ona, başka ülkelerin muhabirleri, uluslararası kuruluşlarda falan veya bana gelenlerde ben politikada iken. Şimdi dışarıdan gelir adam nerdeyse benim yaşında, muhabir, senior muhabir. Gelir, interview yapar, işte tabi bilir ne söylediğini. Ama onun o haberini de gazete işte New York Times falan birinci sayfadan verir. Ve herif mutlaka adını yazar, adamın kendi bir üslubu da vardır. Böyle hani oturup da başkası öyle özetlemez. Mesela şey diye girer, mesela Wall Street’te vardır, kapıdan girdim ondan sonra işte şişman bir adam biriyle konuşuyor, röportajı bir üslupla yapar, öyle anlatır. Yani roman gibi yazar, o muhabirdir. Muhabirlik önemlidir, bu mesleğin geleceğiyle uğraşacak adamların bunu yapması lazım. Yani bunun üzerinde durması lazım. ... Sanattır yani muhabirlik öyle hafife alınacak şey değil.” (Interview with I-62, 25.06.2012, Istanbul)

¹⁰⁵ Özellikle şu süreçte, yani şu baskı ortamında muhabirlik daha çok iğdiş edildi. Niye, çünkü patronu zor durumda kalcak şeyler yapılabilir, anlatabiliyor muyum? Yani o da ya sana tutuklanma tehdidi olarak döner ya vergi cezası olarak döner ya hükümetten patronun alacağı bir ihalenin alınmaması olarak döner, mutlaka tırnak içinde söylüyorum “cezaî” bir karşılığı var. Bu da çok etkili yani. Bir dönem mesela tamamen yazarların, özellikle Ankara temsilcilerinin köşe yazıları üzerine kurulu bir gazetecilik anlayışı inşa ettiler yani. Şimdi muhabir Ahmet Şık’ın işte bilmem ne bakanıyla ya da bilmem ne bürokratyyla görüşebilmesiyle Ankara temsilcisinin görüşebilmesi arasında kolaylık anlamında ciddi bir fark var yani. Muhabirin yapacağı işi köşe yazarına yaptırıyorlar. Şimdi bu kurgulanma da yanlış. Türkiye tam bir yazar çöplüğü. Ben yazı yazmanın çok zor bir iş olduğunu

A final quotation from the field research summarizes the entire argument related with the reporting work. Banu Güven, who is an experienced journalist, had to quit journalism because of the problems with her media outlet right before the 2011 elections. She explains the current picture of reporting work in Turkey as follows;

Strongly qualified reporters are no more needed. They need reporters that make the news in favour of the status quo. Therefore, the skill of reporting is degenerated. Actually, there is a group of senior journalists in Turkey between 40 and 50 years old, but they are eliminated from the newsrooms whether inside or outside of their institutions such as Çiğdem Anad, Mete Çubukçu, Mirgün Cabas.”¹⁰⁶

The field research shows that there is a constant tendency for flexible and precarious work in the media industry as it will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. In this regard, long term internships or unpaid work, casual/stamped work, subcontracted work, temporary work, dual structure of wages, freelance work and pool system are the most preferred employment policies. This picture shows that atypical work becomes the typical employment policy in the media industry in Turkey. However, this situation is not unique to Turkey. The ILO report (Walters, Warren and Dobbie: 2006) prepared by International Federation of Journalists “The Changing Nature of Work: A Global Survey and Case Study of Atypical Work in the Media Industry” shows the results of this global trend for journalists. Gülcan Seçkin’s article (2010) based on her Ph. D. thesis successfully describes the situation of journalists, their employment and working relations with their problematic aspects. Her empirical research shows long internship and trial periods, temporary and part-time work, wage policies and dual structure of wages, pool system, problematic aspects of the implementation of law no. 212, the problem of job security, and the organizational problems of journalists’ unions. Her arguments are in line with the results of our field research. Because of these employment policies, news reporters suffer from economic dependency. As a result of these employment policies and de-unionisation

düşünüyorum. Birisi yazmıştı, isim vermiyim, yarım saatte yazıyorum yazıyı diye ve bu adamın haftanın 7 günü yazıyor, nasıl yazıyorsun yarım saatte ya? Gerçekten, hani bu bir yetenek değil anlatabiliyor muyum, bence bir özensizliğin göstergesi. Yani böyle iş olmaz.” (Interview with I-57, 21.06.2012, İstanbul)

¹⁰⁶ Nitelik açısından güçlü muhabirlere ihtiyaç duyulmuyor artık. Düzenin işine gelen haberleri yapacak muhabirlere ihtiyaç var. muhabirlik becerisi değersizleşiyor. Aslında Türkiye’de de 40-50 yaş aralığında bir senior gazeteci grubu var. ama çalıştıkları kurum içinde ya da dışında tasfiye olmuş durumdalar; Çiğdem Anad, Mete Çubukçu, Mirgün Cabas gibi. (Interview with I-64, 26.06.2012, İstanbul).

process, today there remains any unionized media institution. The de-unionization process in the media has been started with the late 1980s and early 1990s in Turkey, especially with the Aydın Doğan's acquisition of Hürriyet in 1994. Previous to this, it was a strong union with large membership; it can make collective bargaining agreements in most of the sector. Atilla Özsever (2004) examines this de-unionization process in the monopoly capital period in detail and argues that the monopolization of the media has resulted in the reductions of the journalists' rights and union. De-unionization process has been continued through 1990s and 2000s. Its main source of power was Anatolian Agency, the state funded news agency, but it has lost its authorisation in the previous months with the intervention and pressure of government. Today, the union is not organised in none of the mainstream corporate media outlets. I-3 states his desperateness in this disorganized media as follows;

You are helpless, there is nothing you can do, there is no association, no power, no friend, no comrade, you are alone in a businesscenter, you sit at your desk and it surrounds you like a cathedral. You go inside and start worshipping, you wait for your payment day and think that you will not interfere with anything but just get your payment. But that does not work either. You don't know how to engage and you find yourself in between and maybe it is worse than seeing a corpse... That is it. (*Silence*) Just it is.¹⁰⁷

Together with the depreciation and trivialization of the news reporting, young and inexperienced news-reporters are preferred in exchange for low wages. Therefore, what we observe in the news media is precarious, flexible and de-unionized labour. Media proprietors reduce their labour costs on the one hand, and they are able to control these young and inexperienced reporters easily on the other. Transformation of news production does not let journalists to use their professional skills gathered via occupational training and working experience. Experienced news reporters are either resign from the news centres or promoted to editor, manager or columnist positions as soon as possible because of economical and organisational reasons related with news production. Because of these reasons, news reporting is just seen as a transition step to become a columnist, editor or other managerial staff. It is seen as a starting job. At this point, one of the main motivations of reporters is to write

¹⁰⁷ Çaresizsin, iki büklümsün, yapacak bir şeyin yok, örgüt yok güç yok eş yok dost yok arkadaş yok, tek başınasın bir plazadasın, oturuyorsun zaten içeri giriyorsun katedral gibi seni sarıyor böyle içeri girip tapmaya başlıyorsun, ay başı olsun maaşımı alayım hiç bir şeye karışmayım arkadaş diyorsun falan, o da olmuyor o da olmuyor, nereden tutacağını bilemiyorsun, arada kalıyorsun, belki ceset görmekten daha kötü... İşte bu yani... (sessizlik) Öyle... (Interview with I-3, 17.04.2012, Ankara)

independently as a columnist. Interviewee Ahmet Şık, an experienced but unemployed reporter argues that there is a weird perception that you are talentless and unsuccessful if you are still a news reporter after 10 years. People desire to be a columnist so that they can write independently. Difference between wages has also increased too much between reporters and columnists along with managers. This process starting with Güneş newspaper increasingly continues today.¹⁰⁸

Although there were relatively old and experienced news reporters in Turkey in the past, today they are either resigned or excluded from the news media. Esra Arsan, a journalism academician working on the identity of journalists explains this transformation of reporters' skills with her words;

I think journalist identity has become crumpled, rabble, getting easier to fire, working with a job security which is about what editor says, so they live with a fear of getting fired so they just obey their superiors. In Turkey there is a journalist group who only obeys and writes what their superiors say. And right now they are equally the same amount in TVs and newspapers. Journalists of good quality withdrew from the field. Some of them started working in other professions; writing, editing or some of them are in academy. Some of them started trading; there are even fishermen in Istanbul. From the ones who resist and stay inside there are ones who got some corners like economy pages and magazine pages and write columns but they are not satisfied psychologically. I personally know that there are problems about work satisfaction, production satisfaction, self-respect, ethics and moral values. I think it is a really hard process psychologically.¹⁰⁹

As a result, we usually do not see senior correspondents and/or news reporters in Turkey against the settled practices in the Western world. Actually, there is a slight difference in the meanings between the words of “correspondent” and “reporter”. According to online version of Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (2013), “correspondent” means “a person who reports news from a particular country or on a

¹⁰⁸ Interview with I-57, 21.06.2012, Istanbul.

¹⁰⁹ Gazeteci kimliği bence örselenen, paryalaştırılan, giderek güvencesizlik nedeniyle, sendikasızlık nedeniyle işten atılması çok kolaylaşan, editörlerin iki dudağının arasında bir iş güvencesiyle çalışan, bu nedenle de müthiş bir korku ve işsiz kalma iklimi içinde gidip gelen ve sadece obey eden üstlerine, itaat eden, onların istediği haberleri yazan bir gazeteci grubu oluştu Türkiye’de. Ve şunda bu televizyonlarda da gazetelerde de eşit şekilde var. Kaliteli gazeteciler alandan çekildiler. Bir kısmı başka işler yapmaya başladı, yazarlık yapıyor, editörlük yapıyor veya akademiye geçenler oldu iyi gazeteciler içinden, mesleği bırakıp ticarete başlayanlar oldu, yani işte balıkçılık yapanlar var bilmem ne yapanlar var İstanbul’da, direnip içerde kalanlar arasında ise hani belli köşeleri kapıp, işte ekonomi sayfalarında, siyaset sayfalarında köşe yazıp veya magazin sayfalarında köşe yazıp meşhur olanlar var, fakat onlar da gene psikolojik olarak yaptıkları işten memnun değiller, iş tatmini, üretim tatmini, kendine duyulan saygı veya işte etik, ahlaki tavrıyla övünme gibi meselelerde ciddi problemler olduğunu ben kendi tanıdığım arkadaşlardan duyuyorum, görüyorum. Psikolojik olarak hakikaten zorlu bir süreç bence. (Interview with I-43, 11.06.2012, Istanbul)

particular subject for a newspaper or a television or radio station”. It gives the examples of “the BBC's political correspondent”, “a foreign/war/sports, etc. correspondent”, and “our Delhi correspondent”¹¹⁰. On the other hand, “reporter” means “a person who collects and reports news for newspapers, radio or television” as in the examples of “a reporter from the New York Times” and “a crime reporter”¹¹¹. It means that a correspondent generally refers to a journalist with a particular specialisation in one field, while a reporter lacks such specialisation and assigned to stories by the news desk. Although specialisation exists in practice, it is in a constant decline. And generally, journalists do not have opportunity to become experienced in their fields. I-9, I-26 and I-37 specifically use the word “joker reporter” to define their working areas. For instance, I-26 states that “I am generally responsible with internal politics, but they send me every kind of news. I mean I am sort of a joker reporter”.¹¹²

Apart from the nuance among these words, reporter and correspondent, Turkish media industry does not train “senior” reporters/correspondents. As Mete Çubukçu, an experienced journalist argues;

Today, you can see reporters working in the war/conflict areas over 40 years old with white hairs in all over the world. However, reporters are promoted to the desk as editor or manager after 35 years old in Turkey. It means that they do not benefit from them in their most productive and experienced periods (Çubukçu, 2005: 30).

Throughout the field research, an interesting and illustrative story about the establishment of CNN-Türk news channel has been repeatedly told with respect to the situation of skills and experiences of news reporters. In the establishment period of CNN-Türk, a seminar has been organised for their news reporters. For this seminar, people came from America to give training. However, audiences were all young and inexperienced reporters. After the seminar, they supposed that it was for the young reporters, so that they can make a new one for the seniors, but there was no such senior reporter. This also supports the argument of this study. This point is

¹¹⁰ <http://oald8.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/dictionary/correspondent> , retrieved July 22, 2013.

¹¹¹ <http://oald8.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/dictionary/reporter> , retrieved July 22, 2013.

¹¹² İç siyasetten sorumluyum, ama beni her habere gönderiyorlar. Hani joker muhabir gibi birşeyim, öyle diyim yani. (Interview with I-26, 28.05.2012, Ankara)

also related with the physical appearance of the news reporters, especially for television. A television reporter, I-63 argues that;

You can not grow older here, they do not let you to grow in this profession. I mean you can not grow old, because they always need to work with dynamic staff. Maximum is 35, if very strong, let's say 38, 40. In order to be 40 years-old, you should look younger (*referring to women*). They do not let you to grow, in order to realize quickly, move quickly, selective perception and to be more active.¹¹³

Her statement shows that there is always a need for dynamic and good-looking reporters especially for television. This is one of the significant reasons of unemployment of experienced journalists. As an answer to a question about the value and appreciation of news reporters, Ruşen Çakır summarizes the situation in Turkey as follows;

“That was already over long ago. Such a problem has existed in Turkey, as in the West, what they called as senior in the West, or as grand reporter of Frenchs, there is no such kind of implementation in here. Such a title is not given and financial means attached to this title is not improved, so that reporters tend to become an executive in the editorial office or write a column. It happens because they are not honoured with their identity of being a reporter. However, look at the average age of the journalists asking questions to presidents, look at the ones in USA and Turkey. In Turkey, people attend and learn as such, but then they quit at a certain point, so that new young people come instead of them. There is no continuity. There are so much problems like this. Another point is that there is no teaching, growing is over after a certain point. People do not care so much. There is nothing like cooperation, collectivism etc. (...) It is a really very bad period at the moment. Sometimes it comes to one's mind who I employ as reporter if I publish a paper, I could hardly count 10 names even though I am so much interested. It is not because of their inferiority, their way is not cleared away. Or some people blow up and then go periodically. They are not here to stay. Several news resources, so to speak here some gunmans etc.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ Burada yaşlanamazsınız, bu meslekte size yaşlandırmazlar. Yani şöyle yaşlanamazsınız, her zaman dinamik bir kadroyla çalışma ihtiyacı var. (...)En fazla hani 35, çok dayanıklı yaşlanmıyor, 38 olsun, 40 olsun. Ama 40 olabilmek için de genç görünmek zorundasınız (*kadınlardan bahsediyor*). Yaşlandırmazlar yani, daha hızlı kavramak, daha hızlı hareket etmek, algıda seçicilik vs. daha aktif olmak. (Interview with I-63, 25.06.2012, İstanbul)

¹¹⁴ O çoktan bitti zaten. Türkiye’de şöyle bir sorun oldu batıdaki gibi, batıda olan senior dedikleri ya da grand reporter dedikleri Fransızlar, o uygulama bizde olmadı. Böyle bir tilt verilmedi ve bu tilte bağlı olarak da maddi imkanlar muhabirlere geliştirilmeyince muhabirler ya bir saatten sonra yazı işlerinde yönetici olmaya ya da köşe yazmaya yöneliyorlar. Çünkü onları muhabir kimlikleri ile onurlandırılmadığı için böyle bir olay oluyor. Halbuki batıda mesela şeye bakın bir devlet başkanına soru soranların yaş ortalamasına bakın ABD’dekilerin Türkiye’dekilere bakın. Türkiye’de belli bir şeyde insanlar gidiyorlar ediyorlar, öğreniyorlar, sonra bırakıyorlar yerine yeni gençler geliyor falan. Devamlılık da yok. Böyle çok sorun var. Bir diğer husus öğretme yok, yani yetiştirme olayı belli bir aşamadan sonra koptu. İnsanlar çok fazla umursamıyor. Böyle bir dayanışma, kolektivism gibi vs olaylar yok. (...) Şu anda gerçekten çok kötü bir dönem. Muhabirlik insanın aklına geliyor bazen ben şimdi bir gazete çıkartsam muhabir olarak kimi alırım diye, ben ki o kadar ilgilimim 10 tane isim zor sayarım. Bu çocukların kalitesizliğinden değil, öyle bir önleri açılmadığı için olan bir şey. Ya da dönemsel bir takım insanlar balon gibi şişiyorlar ve gidiyorlar. Kalıcı olmuyorlar. Bir takım haber kaynakları, yani bu işte tetikçi kişiler vs. (Interview with I-58, 21.06.2012, İstanbul)

His arguments clearly explain the situation of reporters in Turkish media industry with reference to their Western counterparts. Lack of career progression of reporters significantly damages the reporters' position and power in the news production. Reporters desire to become a columnist or to get a managerial position in order to get rid of economic and editorial problems. As a result, young and inexperienced reporters are commonly employed in the industry, but this is not long lasting. We need to examine the labour market issues for reporters in order to be able to evaluate the changes and trends in the news production process as well.

CHAPTER V

LABOUR MARKET FOR REPORTERS: FLEXIBLE AND PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT POLICIES

General trend of the degradation reporting work and the tendency of de-skilling of reporters' labour are complemented by the flexible and precarious employment policies for reporters. Via this kind of employment policies, reporters do not have the necessary economic and social rights to stand against the general tendencies for the news production. In other words, flexible and precarious employment policies disempower the reporters in the labour process so that they cannot have a word to say. When discussing the employment policies for journalists, there are two types of journalists in the media industry; journalists on the shop window and journalists on the hinterland. The word "journalist" is generally associated with a type of journalist on the forefront, i.e. a columnist, a newspaper editor or manager who is from an upper class background, taking high wages and transfer payments. However, reporters who bear the heavy burden of the news reporting are on the hinterland (Öke, 1994: 36). They even risk their life for the sake of the news, but no one knows their names as a journalist. They are subject to high level of exploitation. After the so-called internship periods, they are employed as piece/stamped reporters, sub-contracted reporters and staff reporters – if they succeeded to become one. This employment strategies function as a disempowering force in the news production process for reporters. Yücesan-Özdemir defines the sub-contractual work as the despotic labour regime (2010). In this regard, this last chapter examines characteristics of news reporters' labour-power sold to the media proprietor, namely the capitalist in the market and conditions under which this exchange takes place, along with the working conditions of news reporters and overall implications of these points for reporters' labour process. Reporters' labour is examined in the general

framework of neoliberal restructuring of the labour markets based on flexibilisation, a new wave of proletarianisation and precarisation. In this respect, reporters' labour with respect to their entrance to sector, different employment strategies for reporters, press labour law and its problematic practices along with working conditions of reporters are investigated.

5.1. Entrance to sector: Networking and Long Internship Periods

To become a journalist is a rather common career ideal in order to become a popular face in media. Moreover, significant amount of people desire to work as a journalist because of their ideological motivations. One way or another, journalism is a highly popular profession in Turkey. That is one of the main reasons of increasing number of communication faculties in the last two decades. According to 2013 guide for higher education programs and quotas, there are 48 communication faculties in Turkey.¹¹⁵ It means that each year thousands of students graduate from these faculties. Considering the young population of Turkey and the fact that it is not necessary to graduate from a communication faculty to become a journalist, it is a very competitive labour market. However, news media industry is a rather small and closed working area for labourers working in newspapers and televisions, because of its oligopolistic ownership structure discussed in chapter 2. Recruitment policies are determined accordingly. None of the newspapers and televisions recruits their staff via job advertisements or related recruitment policies. This is like an unwritten code of recruitment policy of journalism. At this point, networking via personal connections like colleagues, friends and relatives become prominent. Therefore, in this small and closed sector, finding a job and struggling to survive in this jungle is a very tough work itself. As I-26 who has found his current job at a newspaper and his previous, i.e. first job at a news agency via his personal connections exemplifies;

¹¹⁵ [http://dokuman.osym.gov.tr/pdfdokuman/2013/OSYS/2013%20ÖSYS%20KONT%20KILAVUZU%20BASKI%20\(Tablo%204\)_KB.pdf](http://dokuman.osym.gov.tr/pdfdokuman/2013/OSYS/2013%20ÖSYS%20KONT%20KILAVUZU%20BASKI%20(Tablo%204)_KB.pdf) , retrieved June 28, 2013.

Finding a job in journalism is just about networking; nothing more. None of the newspapers find their employees from advertisements.¹¹⁶

As it might be expected as a result of such a network-based recruitment policy, media proprietors and executive officers are influential at hiring new staff via their personal connections. This is not only valid for the local offices or small media groups, but also for Istanbul-based centres of significant media players. As I-47, a reporter at NTV has observed;

NTV is a very aristocratic institution. Generally people who know someone work at NTV and those people are really wealthy. Boss' nephew or somehow related to him, he/she is already wealthy and works at NTV. I do not know anybody else but me working as much as me and getting the same salary. There are lots of people not doing much but earning so much money.¹¹⁷

Therefore, it is extremely difficult to enter into media industry without help of personal connections. Internships may be considered as another way of finding a job as a journalist-to-be. However, the effect of networking is highly observable even in the selection of interns. One way or another, even if a candidate journalist has succeeded to find an internship, it is not that easy to be employed as a permanent staff. Dedicated interns should have wait for months in order to get a staff position inside the newsroom. The field research has showed that unpaid internship periods may extend up to a few years. Two interviewees' own experiences (I-9 and I-3) regarding the internship periods are below;

Internship period really disappoints you. For nine months I went to work for free and bought my own lunch. I got closer to breaking points many times. But this is a different profession. You cannot give up. It happens so many times but I can't give up. When I started to work, I was living with my family it really relieved me, otherwise I couldn't do it. After I became a staff reporter I couldn't get my payment for five months but I was with my family. Even people with kids and families were not paid. After a while they finished that procedure.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Gazetecilikte iş bulma tamamen networking yani, başka hiçbir şey değil. Hiçbir zaman bir gazete ilanla muhabir aramıyor. (Interview with I-26, 28.05.2012, Ankara)

¹¹⁷ NTV çok aristokrat bir yapı. Genelde hep birbirlerinin tanıdığı insanlar NTV'de çalışıyor ve durumu gerçekten iyi olan insanlar oluyor. Yani işte patronun yeğenidir, bilmem nesidir falan filan bilmem ne, hani maddi durumu zaten yerinde olup bir de NTV'de çalışıyorlar. Ve hani ben kendim dışında benimle aynı maaşı alıp bu kadar çalışan bilmiyorum, onun dışında çok fazla iş yapmayı çok fazla para alan çok insan var yani. (Interview with I-47, 12.06.2012, Istanbul)

¹¹⁸ Stajyerlik dönemleri insanın çok şevkini kırıyor. 9 ay boyunca ücretsiz geldim gittim, yemeğimi de kendim aldım. Çok kırılma noktalarından geçtim. Bu değişik bir meslek, bırakılmıyor. Çok oluyor ama bırakamıyorum. 2 hafta önce de yeter artık dediğim oldu, ama bırakacağımı da düşünmüyorum.

In journalism, there are long periods of internships because of that for the first 5 years; you need a sponsor; your family or a scholarship. You need to live with your family at the beginning. I started making money to look after my own household after 5 years. Actually I am one of the lucky ones.¹¹⁹

As it is seen from these quotations, it is not possible to make one's own living without family assistance or scholarships in the beginnings for a journalist-to-be. It means that the difficulty of entrance to sector also becomes a barrier for this sector. Candidate journalists who come from rather upper-middle class families can endure these long internship periods with their family assistance or savings, others have to quit to earn their living. This also changes the class background of the journalists. I-1 explains her quit from journalism with economic reasons;

I gave up journalism because I will never make enough money in this profession. The money I earn will never be enough.¹²⁰

The difficulty of entrance to sector is not something new. On the contrary, long internship periods are inherited from past experiences. It has always been seen as a training period to become a journalist and evaluated as a transition period between the school and sector in order to fulfill the gap between the two. This is directly related with the absence of a specific training programme for journalists.¹²¹ Reporters themselves agree with the gap between the school and sector as I-11 indicates below.

Journalism is not a profession that can be done by just going to school. Because what you learnt from school is completely different from practice in market. So there is a need for those processes (internship, stamped reporter etc). If you got the chance of training in powerful news centre, that means you really will be trained. You learn about experienced people in the business and also see how they look at news and try to produce news. This has to happen but there is a great amount of exploitation in there. Instead of teaching something,

... İşe başlarken ailemin yanında kalıyor olmam beni çok rahatlattı, yoksa yapamazdım. Kadroya geçtikten sonra da 5 ay maaş alamadım ama ailemle yedim, evli çocuklu insanlar da maaş almadı yani. Sonradan onu kapattılar. (Interview with I-9, 26.04.2012, Ankara)

¹¹⁹ Çok uzun süren stajyerlik dönemleri var gazetecilikte. Bu yüzden ilk 5 yılın sponsorun olması lazım; ailen ya da bursun olması lazım. Ailenle yaşamam lazım ilk yıllarda. Ben de 5 yıldan sonra kendi evimi geçindirecek kadar para kazanmaya başladım, ki ben bu konuda şanslılardan biriyim aslında. (Interview with I-3, 17.04.2012, Ankara)

¹²⁰ Ben gazetecilik sayfasını kendim için kapattım, çünkü bu işten para kazanamayacağım, kazandığım para benim hayatımı geçindirmeme yetmeyecek. (Interview with I-1, 06.04.2012, Ankara)

¹²¹ In UK, National Council for the Training of Journalists (NCTJ) perform such a function since 1951.

how we can exploit him/her, s/he comes himself; with this logic there is a serious exploitation.¹²²

The gap between the school and sector was one of the controversial points encountered throughout the field research. This may also be used to justify the long internship periods. Experience and opinions of a TV news editor, I-25, regarding the trainee reporters clarifies this point;

We had to start working in university. Now internship is different but since human resources is dominant in companies, internships do not take long. But before internships used to take 2-3 years and then we used to become permanent reporters. Because of this reason, you have to start working in university. If you ask me what is the right thing to do I think internship should be long, yes, but with basic rights guaranteed. I mean even though they don't have a permanent place, interns should be entitled to 1475 and should be given a payment, lunch, and transportation etc and they should go on for 2-3 years. But it is not like that. Human resources don't do that because of social security pressures and investigation pressures.¹²³

As the interviewee claims, long internship periods are about to decline with the prominence of human resources departments at the media industry. Actually, there are other reasons behind this decline such as tax fines and related fears of media outlets. At this point, I-38, an experienced journalist shows that Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan uses the stick of financial auditors, but not inspectors of Ministry of Labour and Social Security;

And in this framework there was a legal limit for internship: 3 months. It was time allowed for internship; you had to take the intern as staff or send him/her away. But it is not a matter of discussion any more. It is not executed at all. Normally Ministry of Labour inspects whether there are anyone working without insurance. But before 1980 Inspectors of the Ministry did not have any power. Bosses have been always dominant. But comparing with today, they used to be intimidated more. Bosses used to stand back. After 1980, their legal

¹²² Gazetecilik direk okulunu okuyarak yapılabilecek bir meslek değil, çünkü okulda öğrendiğinle piyasada uygulama çok farklı. Dolayısıyla o süreçlerin olması gerekiyor (staj, kaşeli muhabirlik vs). Eğer güçlü bir haber merkezinde böyle bir eğitim şansı yakalarsan, gerçekten bir eğitim şansı oluyor, hem meslek büyüklerine, hem o insanların habere bakışı, haber üretme çabalarının nasıl olduğunu gözlemliyorsun. Olması lazım ama artık orada çok ciddi bir sömürü noktasındalar. Yeni başlayan genç arkadaş hani 1 yıl, 1,5 yıl herhangi bir para almadan çalışmak zorunda kalıyor. Artık o insanın emeğini sömürme noktasında. Bir şeyler öğretmektense biz ondan ne sömürebiliriz, madem geliyor, kendisi geliyor bir şeyler öğrenmeye çalışıyor, bu mantıkla çok ciddi bir sömürü var orada. (Interview with I-11, 19.05.2012, Ankara)

¹²³ Biz üniversitedeyken çalışmaya başlıyorduk mecbur. Stajyerlik şimdi biraz daha farklı tabi ama şeyden dolayı insan kaynaklarının şirketlerde egemen olmasından dolayı stajyerlik çok uzun sürmüyor. Ama eskiden stajyerlik 2-3 sene sürüyor ondan sonra kadroya geçiyorduk. O nedenle üniversitedeyken başlıyorsunuz çalışmaya. ... Şu anda, yani aslında olması gereken ne diye sorarsanız bence stajyerlik uzun sürmeli evet ama özlük haklarını sağlayarak. Yani stajyerler en azından basın kadrosu olmasa bile 1475'e alınıp belli bir maaş, yemek, servis gibi koşullar sağlanarak 2-3 sene devam etmeli. Ama böyle olmuyor. O yüzden de insan kaynakları bir sosyal güvenlik baskısı, müfettiş baskısı nedeniyle bunu yapmıyorlar. (Interview with I-25, 28.05.2012, Ankara).

benefits were limited. With AKP it has become totally useless. And those people cannot even get into media buildings anymore. They cannot do it. Today if an inspector enters any media building, s/he will find numbers of uninsured workers. Tayyip Erdogan has discussions with some media bosses from time to time because of various reasons. But he never mentions illegal workers; he sends Treasury auditors for tax fines but never sends the Ministry inspectors. Because there are workers there, nobody cares for workers. It can be a religious boss or a liberal one, they never care about workers. And I see my colleagues in this loose and uncontrolled situation. We started this profession in a luckier period, I did not have that long internship periods.¹²⁴

Generally, it can be argued that the sector entry was always so hard, but the conditions and procedures were relatively better before the industrialisation of the media starting with 1980s. I-5, Ahmet Abakay, president of PJA clarifies this point based on his experiences;

Before, getting a staff job was very short. I was an intern for 3 months and then I became permanent reporter. I got my Press Card in 6 months. Generally in one year press insurances were made. 212 was in force. Everybody was members of union.¹²⁵

The main problem of entrance to sector is that long internship periods turn out to be a necessary step to find a staff job. The oligopolistic structure of the media industry and the high rate of turnover because of the increasing numbers of job seekers in media leaves no way out of this option. I-44, a reporter at Radikal newspaper explains this;

Internship periods are long; working without payment is very common and long. It happens also in Radikal from time to time. There is a crisis that after 3 months s/he will be sent and will never have a chance to have a job or be permanent in this profession or s/he will hang on

¹²⁴ Ve bu çerçevede eskiden yasal olarak bir süre vardı mesela 3 ay stajyer olarak çalıştırabilirsiniz ondan sonra ya kadroya alacaksınız ya çıkaracaksınız. Artık o söz konusu değil, hiçbir şekilde uygulanmıyor ve şu; çalışma Bakanlığı müfettişleri denetler sigortasız çalıştırıp çalıştırmadığını işverenlerin. Gerçi 1980 öncesinde de Çalışma Bakanlığı müfettişlerinin etkisi yetkisi çok fazla değildi. Patronlar hep egemendi. Ama yine de bugüne oranla biraz göz korkuturlardı. Patronlar biraz çekinirdi. 80 sonrası onların yasal anlamda yetkileri daraltıldı. AKP dönemiyle artık tamamen hiçbir işlevi olmayan hale getirildi. Bu insanlar bir de şu gazete televizyon binalarından içeri giremez hale geldi. Hiçbir şekilde giremiyor. Bugün herhangi bir televizyon, gazete binasına girsin bir müfettiş bir sürü sigortasız insan bulur. Şimdi Tayyip Erdoğan zaman zaman medya patronları ile kavga eder şundan bundan dolayı. Ama hiçbir zaman siz kaçak işçi çalıştırıyorsunuz, ben sizi Maliye müfettişi gönderir vergi cezası için ama sigorta müfettişlerini hiçbir zaman göndermezler. Çünkü orada emekçi vardır, emekçi kimsenin umurunda değildir. Dinci patron olsun liberal patron olsun, dinci iktidar olsun laik liberal olsun emekçi hiçbir zaman onların umurunda değildir. Ve bu başıboşluk, denetimsizlik içinde artık ben burada görüyorum arkadaşları. Biz tabii daha şanslı bir dönemde başladık mesleğe ben o şeyi pek yaşamadım, stajyerliğin uzaması dönemini. (Interview with I-38, 04.06.2012, Ankara).

¹²⁵ Eskiden kadro alma süreleri çok kısaydı, ben 3 ay stajyerlik yaptım, sonra kadroya geçtim. 6 ay içinde de basın kartımı aldım. Genelde de en geç 1 yıl içinde basın sigortası yapılırdı, 212 uygulanırdı. Herkes sendikalydı. (Interview with I-5, 20.04.2012, Ankara)

until her/his conditions are made better. There is not third option or it is very hard or coincidence. In Radikal, in each section there are 1 or 2 interns that make 20 in total.¹²⁶

Therefore, internship converts itself into something different rather than compulsory internships for students of communication high schools and communication faculties, which serves educational objectives. Regarding the work done by these trainee reporters for ages, I-50's observation, who has worked at a major media outlet for about one year, is valuable to share with his own words;

By the way when I was leaving, there was intern in then newsroom. She had already finished her first year. But I did not know that she was an intern. Because she was there before me and a normal foreign new editor (laughters) and then she was there as I was leaving. She had a lunch card. It was so weird; I didn't even think that she could be an intern. Because she used to come at nine with us, sat with us at the same table and making the foreign news, is it an internship anymore. She had already finished her school, she was a normal editor.¹²⁷

This supports the transformation of the idea of internship from a training period for students in order to get experience to a necessary step before employed. In this framework, it can be argued that absence of training programs is de facto filled with long and unpaid internship periods at the media corporations. Actually, these unpaid interns should be seen as a type of "free labour" in the 21th century. Nevertheless, there is a high rate of turnover in the industry thanks to "reserve army of labour" (Marx, 1990 [1867]: 781-4). This high rate of turnover also contributes to the cheapening of the price to hire the labour-power. It is clear that not all the people can endure these long internship periods, but just the people with financial or material support for their living. As a result, class background of journalists has also changed because of this recruitment policy.

¹²⁶ Stajyerlik süreleri uzun, parasız çalıştırma yaygın ve uzun. Radikal'de de dönem dönem oluyor tabi. Şöyle bir kriz var orda, ya 3 aydan sonra gönderilecek ve bir daha bir yerde iş bulma, meslekte tutunma şartı olmayacak ya da koşulları düzelinceye kadar dışını sıkacak gibi bir denklem bu yani, üçüncü bir şans daha olamıyor orda ya da çok zor, tesadüf olabiliyor. Şu anda Radikal'de her serviste 1-2 tane stajyer vardır, bu da 20 kişiye falan tekabül eder. (Interview with I-44, 11.06.2012, İstanbul)

¹²⁷ Bu arada ben çıkarken haber merkezimizde bir tane stajyer vardı, o stajyer ben ayrılırken birinci yılını doldurmuştu yani. Ama ben onun stajyer olduğunu bilmiyorum, çünkü kız normal benden önce de ordaydı, baya dış haber editörü yani (gülüşmeler), ben çıkarken de ordaydı, yemek kartı alıyordu. O kadar garipti ki onun stajyer olabileceği aklıma bile gelmiyordu, çünkü normal sabah 9'da bizle gelip dış haberler masasına oturup dış haberleri yapan bir insan yani, bunun stajyerliği mi kalmış. Üniversiteyi çöktan bitirmiş falan, normal editördü yani. (Interview with I-50, 14.06.2012, İstanbul)

5.2. Three Different Employment Strategies for Reporters

If a trainee reporter succeeds to be employed as a permanent reporter by his/her employer at the end, there are mainly three different employment policies implemented in the media industry for reporters and other media labourers working in the production process like cameramen. Generally, these are considered as respective steps of promoting as a reporter.

5.2.1. Piece/stamped reporter

If a media outlet has a vacancy in its newsroom or if there is a successful trainee reporter working for ages whose they do not want to lose, they offer to employ the trainee reporter as a piece/stamped reporter. It is considered as the first step of employment after the internship period. Generally, piece labour is the form of employment whereby the labour-power is purchased by the capitalist not according to his/her labour-time but according to the unit of outputs he/she produces. That is why Marx employs the term piece-wage in Chapter 21 of Capital vol. 1 against time-wage in the previous chapter (Marx, 1990 [1867]).

Given the system of piece-wages, it is naturally in the personal interest of the worker that he should strain his labour-power as intensely as possible; this in turn enables the capitalist to raise the normal degree of intensity of labour more easily. Moreover, the lengthening of the working day is now in the personal interest of the worker, since with it his daily or weekly wages rise. This gradually brings on a reaction like that already described in time-wages, quite apart from the fact that the prolongation of the working day, even if the piece wage remains constant, includes of necessity a fall in the price of the labour (Marx, 1990 [1867]: 695-6).

In its customary form, piece/stamped wages are used to pay for the content free-lance journalists produce. Considering the rise of free-lance journalists in all over the world because of the decreasing full-time staff of the newsrooms and development of information and communication technologies, journalists' unions started to raise their voice for free-lance journalists as well as staff journalists.¹²⁸ However, currently

¹²⁸ For instance, National Union of Journalists (NUJ) in United Kingdom supports the membership of free-lance journalists to struggle for their economic and social rights; <http://www.nuj.org.uk/innerPagenuj.html?docid=157> (accessed on May 15, 2013).

such a system of piece-wages remains ancillary in Turkey, which is used occasionally in order to purchase particular news either in the form of audio-visual or written content. Although it is used in its customary form until 2000s, nowadays reporters are employed as a piece/stamped labour despite the fact that they have a regular work in the newsroom, making news just like their colleagues. I-29, a junior television reporter exemplifies this;

When we were working as stamped reporters, we used to get a fixed payment for each month. Payment per piece of news was something 10 years ago; it is not something that can be implemented now. They find a fixed amount for you, whether you work or bring news or not you get the same money.¹²⁹

Piece/stamped reporter is seen as the continuation of traineeship period, an interim period on the road to become a staff reporter. I-4 explains the position of stamped reporter in such a way below;

Working as a stamped reporter is some kind of an internship, co-reporter, a learning period. It is about the institutions approach.¹³⁰

However, duration of the time period as a piece/stamped reporter is not something determined. It totally depends on media outlet's decisions and reporters' personal relations. Therefore, it constitutes another barrier after internship period for a journalist-to-be. This is true even if it is accepted as part of a learning process, because it may not be possible for everyone to endure this time period. Thanks to high rate of turnover in the industry, it is possible for media outlets to "constantly spinning the wheel by piece/stamped labours" as I-45 states;

Working as a stamped reporter affects you so much because you can't work with experienced people, you make daily news. At my desk, three people are new in sector and when they leave, for example they say you didn't employ me as staff reporter and leave, then new people will come, you will also teach them the business but eventually they will also leave. There are not any experts in their fields, no informational progress in team. There is always change around 1 or 2 fixed people. It is bad also for individuals, it makes keeps you distant from your profession. There are lots of people studying in schools for this profession but there is no employment. It has turned into a cycle working with stamped reporters. So it is

¹²⁹ Telifli çalışırken aylık belirli bir ücret alıyorduk. Zaten haber başı ücretler bundan 10 sene önce verilen bir şeymiş, şuan uygulamada olan bir şey değil. Belli bir miktar belirleniyor sana, iş yapsan da, haber getirsen de, yapmasan da aynı ücreti alıyorsun. (Interview with I-29, 29.05.2012, Ankara)

¹³⁰ Telifli çalışma aslında bir çeşit stajyerlik, yardımcı muhabirlik, bir öğrenme süreci. Kurumun tutumu ile ilgili bu. (Interview with I-4, 18.04.2012, Ankara)

getting away from being a profession. Profession is something you devote your life. But it is becoming something people are afraid to devote their lives.¹³¹

Piece/stamped reporters get a monthly wage around the national minimum wage. It may be a little bit higher for the reporters working in Istanbul. However, they do not have social security, pension rights or severance pay rights. Media corporations employ this reporters as if they are self-employed persons in order to benefit from tax exemption for the self-employed people according to article 18 of the income tax law.¹³²

5.2.2. Sub-contracted reporter

After a certain period of working time, piece/stamped reporter employed as a staff if there is a vacancy at the newsroom. However, it does not necessarily mean that the reporter will be employed as a permanent staff according to press law. Rather than press law that provides advantages for the press labour¹³³, media proprietors prefer to apply general labour law no.4875.¹³⁴ They use every means possible in order to disengage the reporters from the press law. As a result, reporters are employed as if they are sub-contracted labour of the media corporation. As it is the case for the

¹³¹ Telifli çalışma çok kötü etkiliyor çünkü alanında uzman isimlerle çalışmıyorsun, g n birlik haber yapıyorsun. Benim masamda çalışan, benim dışımda 3 kiři sekt rde yeniler ve onlar gittiđi zaman,  rnek veriyorum beni kadroya almadınız deyip gittikleri zaman, yenileri gelecek, bařtan iři  ğreteceksin, sonra onlar da gidecekler. Alanında uzmanlařma olmuyor, ekipte bilgisel anlamda bir ilerleme olmuyor. Sabit kalan 1-2 kiřinin etrafında s rekli bir deđiřim. Kiřiler iin de k t , insanları da meslekten sođutuyor. Sonuta bu iři yapmak iin o kadar  niversite okuyan insan var ama iře alınan insan yok. S rekli telifliler  zerinden y r yen bir arka d n řt . Bu bir meslek olmaktan ıkmaya bařlıyor o y zden. Meslek hayatımı adadıđın řeydir. Ama insanların hayatlarını adamaktan korkacađı bir řey haline d n ř yor. (Interview with I-45, 12.06.2012, Istanbul)

¹³² For detailed information about tax exemption for the self-employed persons; <http://www.ivdb.gov.tr/TAMIMLER/GV/14458.htm> (accessed on February 6, 2013).

¹³³ Press labour law no.5953 is enacted in 1952, ann revised in 1961 with law no.212. For the full text of the up-to-date press labour law; <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.3.5953.pdf> (accessed on February 6, 2013).

¹³⁴ Labour law no. 4857 is the renewed version of the former general labour law no.1475. All the articles and clauses of the former labour law no. 1475 have been revised except the article 14 which regulates the severance pay. For the full text of the up-to-date labour law; <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.1475.pdf> (accessed on February 7, 2013).

For the article 14 of the labour law no.1475 which is still in effect; <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/MevzuatMetin/1.5.1475.pdf> (accessed on February 7, 2013).

piece/stamped labour, sub-contracted work is not implemented in its customary form in Turkish media landscape. Rather than outsourcing a particular type/part of the work to a contractor, staffs of the newsroom itself are employed as a sub-contracted labour. I-19 explains his employment below;

I had worked in a local newspaper and was not a permanent staff for a very low wage. Then I started looking for an internship for national media. Then I came for an internship for a month and they liked me and wanted me to stay. I worked without getting paid for almost one and a half year. Then I started to be paid with a system called stamped reporting. It was my third year when I became a staff reporter. I had 2 or 3 prizes. It changes according to your stamp fee but there are people, called as freelance reporter abroad, living by trusting that. You can live like that. But we do that full time. We work, they say we can make you staff reporter right now. It is not just for Milliyet, the whole market is like that. Until you become permanent, you will get 600 Turkish lira and it will get better once you are permanent. It goes on like that for a while. But now it is not very likely to keep on like that. It is not used for the last 4 or 5 years. I mean they make you permanent staff or just send away. It is not possible to wait that much long.¹³⁵

Although interviewee argues that it is not in effect currently, the field research shows the contrary although it has been decreased in recent years. There are number of advantages of this employment strategy for the media capitalist, but the main motivation is to get rid of the legal obligations of the press law. I-47 shares her employment story below;

I worked for free in Fox (7 months); it is like that in our sector. If you don't miss out your first two years, nothing happens. I started in NTV three years ago around this time. I worked without being permanent for two years without any insurance or lunch allowance. For a year I did not get any money. Second year I got 1000 stamp payment. Two years later they made a contract (for 6 months), it was lengthened three times, and it is still lengthened. I have insurance but I don't have any private health insurance or anything. We don't benefit from 212 that reporters do. But now even reporters that worked for 10 years cannot benefit from it. They suffered from 212 so much that they don't use it for anyone.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Yerel gazetede zaten kadrosuz çalışıyordum, çok düşük bir paraya. Daha sonra ulusala geçelim diye staj olanaklarını araştırdım. Sonra 1 ay staja geldim. O sürede beğendiler ve sen kal bizimle dediler. 1,5 seneye yakın ücretsiz çalıştım. Sonra telif denen bir sistemle haricen para almaya başladım. Kadro aldığımda 3. yılımdı, 2 veya 3 tane ödülüm vardı yani. Telif sözleşmesine göre de değişiyor ama yani hakikaten telifli çalışan, yurtdışında da bağımsız gazeteci denilen nitelikte, üretimlerini satarak geçinen insanlar var yani, böyle de yaşayabilirsiniz. Ama biz tam zamanlı yapıyoruz bu işi, çalışıyoruz, onlar diyor ki sana işte biz sana şimdi kadro yapamıyoruz, bu sadece Milliyet için değil yani bütün piyasa böyledir, kadron gelene kadar ayda 600 lira verelim, atıyorum, kadron gelince iyileştiririz. O öyle bir süre devam ediyor. Ama şimdi çok uygulanabilir değil, son 4-5 yıldır hemen hemen kimseye uygulanmıyor o yöntem, yani ya kadro yapıyor ya gönderiyor, artık çok beklemek falan pek mümkün olmuyor. (Interview with I-19, 25.05.2012, Ankara)

¹³⁶ Fox'ta hep ücretsiz çalışmıştım (7 ay), bizim sektör öyle zaten, 2 yılını ücretsiz kafadan gözden çıkartmadıysan bir şey olmuyor. NTV'ye de üç yıl önce bu aylarda başlamıştım. İşte 2 sene kadrosuz çalıştım, sigortasız, Sodexo'suz. Ben 1 yıl hiç ücret almadım, ikinci yıl 1000 lira telif ücreti aldım. 2 sene sonra işte sözleşme yaptılar (6 aylık), 3 kere sözleşmemi uzattılar, hala uzatıyorlar. Sigortam var ama özel sağlık sigortam falan yok. Muhabirlerin yararlandığı 212'den yararlanamıyoruz. Ama zaten

As it is seen in this case, sub-contracted reporters are not necessarily considered as part of a transition period contrary to internship and piece/stamped labour. Staff reporters are employed through sub-contractors under labour law no.4875. Nevertheless, fixed-term contracts may be considered as a transition to open-ended employment contracts.

In order to provide the legal framework that makes sub-contracted labour inside the newsrooms possible, media corporations are divided into imaginary sub-contractors, which seem to employ office workers. By increasing the number of sub-contractors at the work place, the employer gains the advantage to prevent unionisation. I-50, worked for Doğu group once, who has left-wing political attitudes, shares his own experience for the difficulty of unionisation at his work place;

I said let's look into it and gave the name of the company from the pay cheque. Colleagues from DISK checked it and said I was working as an office worker so Tez-koop-iş or sosyal-iş should be my union. Then we checked size of the channel, how companies were divided and realized that it is not possible to get unionized there. Because there were a few different teams, different companies and each company had to be followed by a different union and there had to be different works with each one. So we gave up. We thought there were easier bites in media.¹³⁷

News reporters working in the same newspaper or a television newsroom are employed according to different status, although they follow the same work routine in the production of news. This kind of flexible employment policies disempowers and divides the workers in their own right.

In addition, these long processes until full-time employment as a permanent staff also affect the type of journalists as I-17 claims;

Now generally reporter does not have a great importance. Actually reporter is the basic unit that produces news but newspapers don't make any investments to reporters. So quality of

şu anda kanalda çalışan 10 yıllık muhabirler bile yararlanamıyor bundan. O kadar çok dilleri yanmış ki 212'den, şimdi yapmıyorlar yani bildiğin yapmıyorlar. (Interview with I-47, 12.06.2012, İstanbul)

¹³⁷ Dedim araştıralım, şirketin adını verdim maaş bordrosundaki. Disk'teki arkadaşlar baktılar, ya dediler siz büro çalışanı görünüyorsunuz, yani siz Tez-koop-iş ya da sosyal-iş örgütler o zaman. Sonra baktık kanalın büyüklüğüne, şirketlerin bölünmüşlüğüne falan filan, orda örgütlenemeyeceğini anladık yani. Çünkü birkaç farklı kadro vardı, birkaç farklı şirket vardı, her şirkete ayrı sendikanın bakması gerekiyordu, her biriyle ayrı çalışma yapılması gerekiyor falan, dolayısıyla vazgeçtik, daha kolay lokmalar var diye düşündük medyada. (Interview with I-50, 14.06.2012, İstanbul)

the reporters is lower. To put it simply, the time you spend to be a reporter (internship and stamped) is 3 to 5 years. If you are very lucky or very talented the story is different. But if you don't have these two, for a normal press worker it is 3-5 years. A journalist who is a fresh graduate has to work free or to feed himself/herself so sometimes by paying from his/her pocket. And good, smart and bright students from Communications Faculties don't prefer to be a journalist. Instead of that, what I observe is –I don't want insult anyone but there is an apparent quality difference- students from private schools or with wealthy families can prefer to be a journalist. Because their families can finance them 3-5 years. So quality of the newcomers gets lower.¹³⁸

5.2.3. Staff reporter

The final employment policy is the employment of the reporters and all other journalists according to press labour law, in other words as a staff reporter. Generally, media proprietors do not prefer to employ their staff under press labour law because of the economic and social advantages it provides for the journalists. For instance, to be employed as such after years of working may be seen as a source of pride by reporters themselves as in the case of I-4;

I worked as an intern for three months for free, I only had lunch. After three months, I started working as stamped reporter. My name was published in newspaper and they paid me for that: that was what I thought as a student. I kept on going as stamped for 3, 5 years. Then I got 212 in 2004. Generally you don't get entitled to 212 in years in Cumhuriyet, it is 4-5 years. So it was a proud for me.¹³⁹

Therefore, to be employed as a staff reporter under press labour law remains as a gift or a prize provided by the discretion of the employer. It is necessary to examine press labour law and its problematic implementation in order to understand the employment conditions of staff reporters.

¹³⁸ Şimdi zaten genel olarak muhabirin pek bir önemi yok, yani aslında haber üreten temel birim muhabir ama gazeteler muhabire yatırım yapmıyorlar genel olarak, dolayısıyla muhabirin niteliği de çok düşmüş durumda. Şöyle diyim, gazeteci olmak için bu geçirilen süre (staj ve telifli çalışma) 3-5 yıl sürüyor. Eğer çok şanslıysanız ya da çok yetenekliyseniz ayrı, ama bu ikisi de yoksa normal bir basın emekçisi için bu süre 3-5 yıl. Okuldan yeni mezun olan bir gazeteci 3-5 yıl neredeyse ücretsiz, karın tokluğuna, hatta bazen kendi cebinden vererek çalıştırılmayı göze alamıyor çoğunlukla. Ve iletişim fakültesinde okuyan iyi, zeki, parlak öğrenciler gazeteciliği pek tercih edemiyor. Bunun yerine benim gözlediğim, onları küçümsemek açısından söylemiyorum ama bir nitelik farkı olduğu da kuşkusuz, özel okul mezunları ve ailelerinin maddi durumu iyi olan çocuklar gazeteciliği tercih edebiliyorlar, çünkü aileleri onları 3-5 yıl finanse edebilir. Dolayısıyla gelen kişilerin niteliği bu açıdan düşmüş oluyor. (Interview with I-17, 24.05.2012, Ankara).

¹³⁹ 3 ay ücretsiz staj yaptım, sadece yemek yedim. 3 aydan sonra telifli çalışmaya başladım. Hem gazetede adım çıkıyor hem de üzerine para veriyorlar diye düşünmüştüm öğrenciyken. Telifli olarak 3,5 yıl devam ettim. Daha sonra 212 kadrom yapıldı 2004'te. Genelde 3 yılda yapılmaz kadro cumhuriyette, 4-5 yılda yapılır, bu da bir gurur benim için. (Interview with I-4, 18.04.2012, Ankara).

5.2.3.1. Press Labour Law and Its Implementation

The press labour law no. 5953 is enacted in 1952 by incumbent government of Democrat Party. It has brought significant advantages for the journalists. Then, it has been revised to extend journalists' rights by law no. 212 in 1961 by the national unity committee of the coup d'etat.¹⁴⁰ That is why it is generally referred as the law no. "212". There are number of advantages of the press labour law compared to labour law (Özsever, 2004: 36-47). It protects press labourer in the struggle between labour and capital in media industry. That is the why media proprietors do not prefer to employ their staff according to press labour law. However, they have to employ some of their staff because of the minimum necessary staff. As a result, to be employed as a journalist according to press labour law is seen as a gift or a prize of the employer. However, the field research has showed that staff reporters working under the press labour law cannot enjoy their economic and social rights arising from the press labour law to a significant extent. In this respect, it is argued that there is a gap between de jure regulations and de facto practices for journalists. In other words, the advantages of the press labour law are started to lose their importance because of their non-execution in practice. Accordingly, differences between de jure advantageous regulations and their de facto problematic practices are necessary to examine in detail. Based on Özsever (2004) analysis, main distinctive points of the up-to-date press labour law are summarised below. After the examination of the articles, their problematic implementation are discussed with reference to the results of the field research.

1. According to article 4 of the press labour law, there must be a written contract between the employee and the employer that explains the kind of work, wage and journalist's length of working experience. It is significant that this contract is considered to be an open-ended one. Moreover, after two years of

¹⁴⁰ At that time, nine of the media proprietors of the period protested the extension of journalists' rights by not publishing their newspapers for three days. On the contrary, journalists working in these papers publish their own newspaper called "*Basın*", which means "*press*" in Turkish (Özsever, 2004: 44).

working, journalist is entitled to promotion according to the percentage prescribed in the contract.

2. According to article 6 of the press labour law, a journalist gains severance pay right after 5 years of experience in the profession. However, this has been considered as 1 year in the article 14 of the labour law no.1475. Notice periods for the annulment of the contracts are also different. While notice period is 1 month for journalists with less than 5 years of experience in the profession, it is 3 months for the journalists with more than 5 years of experience. The labour law regulates the notice periods according to working period in the place of employment from 2 weeks for less than 6 months to 8 weeks for more than 3 years of working. Another crucial difference is related with the limits of the severance pay. Labour law limits the yearly severance pay by the maximum yearly retirement pension for the public officer in its highest degree. However, there is no such limitation for the journalists according to press labour law.
3. According to article 10 of the press labour law, probation period for the new journalists is maximum 3 months, and the number of trainees cannot be higher than % 10 of the total editorial staff. This is considered as 2 months in the labour law article 15, but can be increased up to 4 months by collective labour agreements.
4. Article 11 of the press labour law brings a new concept to Turkish labour law; namely “conscience clause”. According to this clause, a journalist can cancel his/her contract without waiting the notice period if his/her media outlet changes its attitude and character in a way that can harm the reputation, honour and moral interests of the journalist. In such a situation, journalist can claim an amount of compensation as if labour contract has been cancelled as a result of the failure of the employer.
5. According to article 13 of the press labour law, a journalist can work in another job at the same time whether it is related with the press or not, if the contrary is not stated in the contract.
6. According to article 14 of the press labour law, journalists’ wages are paid in advance, just like public officers. For the unpaid wages, default interest rate

of 5 % per day is charged. Moreover, journalists are entitled to yearly premiums at least equal to their monthly wage in return for their labour.

7. Article 15 of the press labour law regulates the additional works done by journalists in contrast to their contract. In these cases, they are entitled to additional wages and social security payments.
8. According to article 16 of the press labour law, journalists are entitled to 50 % of their last monthly wage during the military service period. The same 50 % of the monthly wage is paid for pregnant journalists from the 7th month of pregnancy until the end of second month after the birth.
9. According to article 17 of the press labour law, imprisoned journalists are entitled to their monthly wages if their imprisonment is related with their journalistic activity in their workplace.
10. According to article 19 of the press labour law, journalists gain one day weekly off as a result of their 6 working day. Journalists working at the night shifts have two day weekly off. Article 20 regulates the annual leaves. Journalists are entitled to 4 weeks of annual leaves unless they work not less than a year. Journalists with more than 10 years of experience in the profession are entitled to 6 weeks of annual leaves.
11. According to additional article 1 of the press labour law, normal working day is 8 hours for journalists. Working times after 8 hours per day and during national holidays are considered as overtime work. For the overtime work, wages are increased by 50 %, and overtime work cannot exceed 3 hours per day. For the unpaid overtime work wages, 5 % daily default interest rate is applied.
12. Last but not the least, press labour law provided journalists with depreciation right¹⁴¹ because of their harsh working conditions. According to this depreciation right, journalists are considered to work 1 more year in return for their 5 year of working. It means that their severance pay would be % 20 higher than their actual working period. Moreover, these depreciation periods

¹⁴¹ “Yıpranma hakkı” in Turkish.

can also be deducted from the retirement age up to 5 years. However, this clause was lifted at 2008 by JDP government on the basis of development of information and communication technologies.¹⁴² Throughout the field research, interviewees complained about the annulment of the depreciation right. There was a massive unreset about this issue. Then, especially with the tragic effect of death of two journalists after the Van earthquake working in the field¹⁴³, journalists got their depreciation right back in January 2013 albeit with some reductions.¹⁴⁴

These are the main advantageous points of the press labour law on paper. However, they are either not in force or reduced to a significant degree in practice, as it will be discussed below regarding the working conditions of the journalists. There are especially two main reasons of the non-execution of this law by media corporations. First of all, as it is explained in no.2, there is no limit for severance pay of journalists contrary to labour law. Moreover, as it is mentioned in no. 13, journalists regain their depreciation right up to a certain extent, which increase the burden of social security payments for employers. As a result, journalists may be entitled to very high retirement payments according to their wage level and the length of the working period. Media proprietors do not want to make these high payments. Secondly, as it is clarified in no.6 and no.12, there is a 5 % daily default interest rate for the unpaid

¹⁴² Interview with I-55, 16.06.2012, Istanbul.

¹⁴³ Dogan News Agency (DHA) reporters Cem Emir and Sebahattin Yılmaz were working at the field in Van after the Van earthquake, October 23rd 2011. They stayed and died under the debris of their hotel after the second earthquake at November 12th, 2011. For details; <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/toplum/133992-gazeteci-emir-ve-yilmaz-i-kaybettik> (accessed on November 14, 2011).

This incident created a huge unrest between press workers. Their colleagues organised a protest in Ankara for their remembrance and they warned the government by saying, “Are there anyone hearing our voices? We are not depreciated, but dying.”. For details,

<http://www.bianet.org/bianet/emek/134029-sesimizi-duyan-var-mi-oluyoruz> (accessed on November 16, 2011).

¹⁴⁴ With the new legislation, depreciation right is entitled only for the journalists with yellow press card. Formerly, this right was valid for all journalists and print workers. Moreover, deduction from the retirement age up to 5 years was reduced to 3 years. However, the extension of depreciation right in a way to involve members of the parliament was criticised. For the full text of the related legislation, <http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/eskiler/2013/01/20130119-2.htm> (accessed on February 11, 2013).

wages and overtime payments of journalists. That makes 1825 % interest rate for a year. Actually, such a high interest rate is considered to be a barrier to prevent misconduct of employers. Although courts make significant reductions from these compensation amounts, media employers do not want to take such a responsibility. Furthermore, sanctions for non-execution of the press labour law is not deterrent for the employers. As Orhan Erinç, president of Journalists Association of Turkey (JAT)¹⁴⁵, argues it is based on the ownership structure of the media in those times;

In making process of 212, they did not consider the possibility of not being executed. Because bossed were journalists too. So they did not foresee anything like that would happen.¹⁴⁶

Therefore, application of this law remains very exceptional apart from the minimum necessary staff, although press labour law is in effect for the people performing all kinds of intellectual and artistic works at all the newspapers, periodicals, news and photo agencies except the state-owned ones according to article 1 of the law. Regarding the year of enactment of this law, it is understandable that it has not included the newsroom workers of radio and television stations. They have been included with the establishment of Radio and Television Supreme Council in 1994. Even though it has enforced, journalists cannot enjoy their economic and social rights of the press labour law to a significant extent in practice.

5.2.3.2. Minimum staff

As it is mentioned before, media proprietors do not prefer to employ their staff according to press labour law. Nevertheless, newspapers must employ at least a minimum number of journalists under the press labour law in order to be suitable to get official advertisings. Official advertisings are one of the significant sources of revenue for newspapers. Local newspapers cannot survive without them. In the long run, they are very much vital for national titles as well. Press Advertising Agency determines the related responsibilities and obligations of the newspapers to be able to

¹⁴⁵ Türkiye Gazeteciler Cemiyeti.

¹⁴⁶ 212'nin yapılış aşamasında uygulanmaması durumu için herhangi bir yaptırım düşünülmemişti, çünkü bütün patronlar zaten gazeteci olduğu için böyle bir durumun oluşacağı öngörülmemişti. (Interview with I-55, 16.06.2012, İstanbul)

get official advertisings. Minimum number of journalists is also determined in this respect. According to current regulation, the minimum number of journalists working under the press labour law is 12 for daily political newspapers published in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. 7 of them must be reporters; others include managerial and other staff. For local newspapers published in other cities, the minimum number of journalists is 7, four of which are reporters.¹⁴⁷ Table 5.1 shows the minimum number of journalists working in newspapers according to press labour law to be eligible for official advertisings. Apparently, these minimum numbers are very low considering the number of workers in a national daily newspaper. This has strengthened the media proprietor's hand for not to employ their reporters according to press labour law.

	Daily political newspapers published in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir	Daily trade papers published in Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir	Occupational newspapers	Local newspapers
Minimum number of reporters working under press labour law	7	4	2	4
Total minimum number of journalists working under press labour law	12	7	4	7

Table 5.1: Minimum number of reporters and total journalists working in newspapers under press labour law

¹⁴⁷ “Madde 51- Gazetelerin, türüne ve yayınlandığı yere göre, ilgili çalışma mevzuatı gereğince, kendileri ile yazılı sözleşme yapıp 20 nci madde hükümlerine uygun olarak çalıştırmak zorunda olduğu fikir işçilerine ilişkin asgari kadrolar aşağıda gösterilmiştir.

a) İstanbul, Ankara ve İzmir’de yayınlanan günlük siyasî gazeteler: (1) Sorumlu Müdür (Yazı İşleri Müdürü), (1) Sayfa Editörü, (1) Haberler Müdürü (İstihbarat Şefi), (7) Muhabir (ikisi Kurum şubesi olan illerde bulunabilir), (2) Yazar veya Düzeltmen,

b) İstanbul, Ankara ve İzmir’de yayınlanan günlük ticaret gazeteleri: (1) Sorumlu Müdür (Yazı İşleri Müdürü), (1) Sayfa Editörü, (4) Muhabir (biri Kurum şubesi olan illerde bulunabilir), (1) Yazar veya Düzeltmen,

c) Meslek gazeteleri : (1) Sorumlu Müdür (Yazı İşleri Müdürü), (2) Muhabir, (1) Yazar veya Düzeltmen,

d) Kurum'un şubesi bulunan diğer yerlerde yayınlanan günlük gazeteler: (1) Sorumlu Müdür (Yazı İşleri Müdürü), (1) Sayfa Editörü, (4) Muhabir, (1) Yazar veya Düzeltmen.

Asgari kadroda istihdam edilenlerden biri, görev yaptığı gazetenin internet sitesinde editörlük de yapabilir.”

For the full text of the decision, visit;

http://www.bik.gov.tr/kurumsal/mevzuat/iframe/basin5.htm#5_11 (accessed on February 18, 2013).

With the emergence and expansion of radio and televisions, Radio and Television Supreme Council has been founded in 1994. According to the article 38 of RTSC law no.3984, employees of newsrooms of radio and televisions are subject to press labour law no.5953, and the council determines the minimum number of journalists with yellow press card.¹⁴⁸ The related regulation enacted in 1995 determines the minimum number of journalists with yellow press card.¹⁴⁹ At this point, it is crucial to note that to be employed under the press labour law does not necessarily mean that you have a yellow press card. Controversially, yellow press card is distributed via Directorate General of Press and Information under the Office of the Prime Minister.¹⁵⁰ Related application requirements for press card are determined by the Regulation of Yellow Press Card.¹⁵¹ Even if a person fulfills the application requirements, there are waiting periods to be able to apply for the press card varying from 12 months for people with communication faculty degrees to 28 months for graduates of secondary education. Above-mentioned RTSC regulation puts forward that newsroom staff must be employed under the press labour law and it also determines the minimum number of

¹⁴⁸ “Madde 38 – Radyo ve Televizyon kuruluşlarının haberle ilgili birimlerinde çalışanlar 5953 sayılı Basın Mesleğinde Çalışanlarla Çalıştıranlar Arasındaki Münasebetlerin Tanzimi Hakkında Kanuna tabidir. Bu birimlerde çalıştırılacak basın kartlı personelin asgari sayısını Üst Kurul belirler.”

For the full text of the law, visit

http://www.rtuk.org.tr/sayfalar/IcerikGoster.aspx?icerik_id=8e56c98d-e0fd-4c25-a9c4-1c615a431b71 (accessed on February 19, 2013).

¹⁴⁹ “Madde 20 —Radyo ve televizyon kuruluşlarının haberle ilgili birimlerinde çalışanlar 5953 sayılı Basın Mesleğinde Çalışanlarla Çalıştıranlar Arasındaki Münasebetlerin Tanzimi Hakkında Kanuna tabidir. Bu birimlerde çalıştırılacak basın kartlı personel sayısı, ulusal ölçekte yayın yapan radyo ve televizyon kuruluşlarında 30 kişiden, bölgesel ölçekte yayın kuruluşlarında 6 kişiden, yerel ölçekte yayın kuruluşlarında il merkezleri için 2 kişiden, ilçe veya daha küçük yerleşim birimleri için 1 kişiden az olamaz. Kuruluşların sadece radyo yayıncılığı yapmaları halinde haber birimlerinde çalıştırılacak basın kartlı personel sayısı yukarıdaki sayıların (1 kişiden az olmamak üzere) en az üçte biri kadar olacaktır.” (Official Gazette, 16.03.1995, no. 22229, page: 7)

For the full text of the regulation, visit

<http://www.resmigazete.gov.tr/arsiv/22229.pdf> (accessed on February 19, 2013).

¹⁵⁰ This controversy was revealed throughout the field research as well. Both the journalists, and the representatives of the journalists’ associations and union are uncomfortable with the distribution of yellow press card via a state institution even though the associations and the union are represented in the evaluation committee.

¹⁵¹ For the full text of the regulation;

<http://basinkartlari.byegm.gov.tr/basinkartlari/sayfalar.asp?link=sayfalar/bk-yonetmelik.htm> (accessed on February 22, 2013).

journalists with yellow press card in the radio and televisions. Accordingly, the minimum number of journalists with yellow press card is 30 for nation-wide radio and televisions, 6 for regionals, 2 for city centers and 1 for smaller localities. If a media corporation has only radio broadcasting, then the minimum number of journalists with press card is considered 1/3 of the above criterias. However, a new RTSC law no.6112 has been enacted in 2011 by the parliament. The above-mentioned article's wording is slightly amended, but it has changed its meaning a lot. According to the article 23 of this new RTSC law, the council determines the minimum number of journalists with yellow press card working at the newsrooms of the media service providers, and these personnel has to be employed according to press labour law no.5953.¹⁵² This slight change in the wording of article has dramatically changed its meaning. According to former law, all the newsroom workers of radio and televisions were subject to the press labour law, but the council determined the minimum number of journalists with yellow press card. With the new law, newsroom workers of radio and televisions have lost this right. Now, the council determines the minimum number of journalists with yellow press card, and these personnel must be employed according to the press labour law. Here, the second part of the sentence is redundant because possession of yellow press card already requires to be employed according to press labour law. However, this does not necessarily mean that all the employees of the newsrooms of radio and televisions are subject to press labour law. As Osman Köse from Haber-Sen elaborates on the details of this amendment¹⁵³, this article is redesigned in favour of the interests of media proprietors. Consequently, it has resulted a significant loss of a right for radio and television journalists. In addition to this detrimental effect of the new article, related regulation enacted in June 2011 reduces the minimum number of journalists with

¹⁵² “Madde 23 – (1) Medya hizmet sağlayıcılarının haber birimlerinde çalıştırılacak basın kartlı personelin asgari sayısını Üst Kurul belirler. Bu personel 13/6/1952 tarihli ve 5953 sayılı Basın Mesleğinde Çalışanlarla Çalıştıranlar Arasındaki Münasebetlerin Tanzimi Hakkında Kanuna tabidir.”

For the full text of the law, visit

http://www.rtuk.org.tr/sayfalar/IcerikGoster.aspx?icerik_id=5a3cac1e-b6d9-4b23-bc7a-8dcd671fceb4 (accessed on February 22, 2013).

¹⁵³ “Gazetecilerin bundan haberi var mı? 212'nin Ruhuna El Fatiha”, 07.01.2011, <http://www.odatv.com/n.php?n=212nin-ruhuna-el-fatiha-070111200> (accessed on February 14, 2013).

yellow press card for the newsrooms of radio and televisions in a remarkable way.¹⁵⁴ According to this new regulation, minimum number of journalists with yellow press card is 12 for license-holders of nation-wide terrestrial television broadcasting, 3 for license-holders of nation-wide terrestrial radio broadcasting, 3 for license-holders of satellite or cable television broadcasting and regional televisions, and 1 for regional radios. Table 5.2 shows the current minimum number of journalists with yellow press card working in newsrooms of radio and televisions.

	Nation-wide terrestrial TVs	Nation-wide terrestrial radios	Satellite, cable, and regional TVs	Satellite, cable, and regional radios	Local TVs
Minimum number of journalists with yellow press card	12	3	3	1	1

Table 5.2: Minimum number of journalists with yellow press card working in newsrooms of radio and televisions

Without doubt, these minimum numbers remain very low especially for the daily newspapers and nation-wide televisions considering the number of their newsroom workers. There is a proposal of Turkish Union of Journalists (TUJ) regarding the minimum necessary staff for newsroom workers of newspapers, radio and televisions based on the circulation numbers of the newspapers and broadcasting domain of

¹⁵⁴ “MADDE 12 – (1) Medya hizmet sağlayıcıların, haber biriminde çalıştırılacak basın kartlı personel sayısı, ulusal yayın lisansına sahip televizyon kuruluşlarında 12 ve radyo kuruluşlarında 3; uydu veya kablo yayın lisansına sahip ya da bölgesel nitelikte yayın yapan televizyon kuruluşlarında 3 ve radyo kuruluşlarında 1; yerel nitelikte yayın yapan televizyon kuruluşlarında 1 kişiden az olamaz.

(2) Haber biriminde çalışan basın kartlı personel 13/6/1952 tarihli ve 5953 sayılı Basın Mesleğinde Çalışanlarla Çalıştıranlar Arasındaki Münasebetlerin Tanzimi Hakkında Kanuna tâbidir.” (Official Gazette, 15.06.2011, no. 27965)

For the full text of the regulation, visit

http://www.rtuk.org.tr/sayfalar/IcerikGoster.aspx?icerik_id=6e737f60-4b0d-4225-b360-195ccdb0ae6b (accessed on February 16, 2013).

radio and televisions.¹⁵⁵ Union's suggestion varies from 10 minimum staff for the newspapers with less than 10.000 daily circulations to 200 for the newspapers with more than 500.000 daily circulations. It proposes 10 minimum staff for commercial radios, 15 for local televisions, 25 for regional televisions, and 75 for national televisions.

5.3. Working Conditions of Reporters

Above employment policies show that it is really hard to become a news reporter in the media industry. The maximum limit of 3 months for internship by law is not in effect. Traineeship period may be as long as years. Moreover, the number of trainees may be higher than 10 % of the total editorial staff especially at smaller corporations. Press labour law is not in force for all the journalists. Rather they are employed as piece/stamped reporters and sub-contracted reporters. However, all the reporters take part in the production of news whether they are employed as a trainee reporter, i. e. unpaid labour, piece/stamped reporter, sub-contracted reporter or staff reporter. It means that they are subject to very same working conditions with varying economic and social rights, if they are able to use them in practice. In this part, working conditions of reporters will be examined with respect to their working hours, weekly and annual leaves, wages, job security, health and safety.

The field research showed that reporters have very flexible working hours because of the necessities of their profession. They may wake up with a phone call in the middle of the night and find themselves on the road to a remote region of the country. But in a regular working day, newspaper and television reporters start to work at about 9 am in the morning. Newspaper reporters generally work until about 7 pm when the country prints are ready. After that hour, it depends on the reporters' working field, whether there is something to follow or there is breaking news that should be included in the city prints. Television reporters also start to work at about 9 am in the morning. But their regular clock out may be a little late in general because they generally wait the end of prime news to clock out, which corresponds

¹⁵⁵ TUJ's proposal for minimum staff;
http://www.tgs.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=37&Itemid=16 (accessed on July 3, 2013).

approximately to 8 pm. However, these regular working hours remain exceptional both for newspaper and television reporters because of the extended works. Broadly speaking, working hours of reporters are about 10-12 hours in an average day, but it may be extremely long as well. On the other hand, journalists with night shift work from 8 pm to 8 am.

Throughout the field research, interviewees argued that there are no formal working hours for reporters, even for the regular days they come to work about 9 am in the morning and leave about 6-8 pm in the evening because they work from home as well. It is generally attributed to “nature of the work” because the boundaries of the work are not so clear that could be determined by official working hours. For instance, all the journalists interviewed leave their mobile-phones open for 24 hours just in case, either because of a written rule or tradition of their corporation or their own journalistic standards. Beyond that, they always use their phones to talk to news sources throughout the day and night. Therefore, it is true that journalism is not a profession like a civil service. As I-11 put it that way, “it is a way of life”;

This profession is a different one apparently. It is not like I have done thing and now I can go back home. There can be anything to be followed and you may have to work at home. So there is nothing like fixed working hours or overtime. You may sit with nothing and then you may have to write news for days without any break. It is profession like that, it is like a lifestyle. You can't do it without loving or by being unhappy, because it is your life.¹⁵⁶

Reporters internalise the never-ending working hours of journalism and never question it. For instance, I-13, a judicial reporter working at the same newspaper for 24 years argues that;

Journalist does not have working hours. I consider it in a different way. I won't complain either. Journalism is something done for 7/24, I work for 7/24, too. I don't have any working hours. We are court journalists. At 2 am, they give a decree and I write till morning. There is an election; I work for days without any sleep. It is the same for other friends. Our working conditions are heavy. Our working hours are 9 am- 6:30 pm but I never follow that. Because

¹⁵⁶ Meslek farklı bir meslek malum olduğu üzere. Çok işimi yaptım evime gidiyorum, hani iş işte kaldı gibi bir şey değil. Her an takip edilen bir şey olabilir, evde de çalışmak zorunda kalabilirsin. Yani mesai mefhumu çok yok. Günlerce boş da oturabilirsin, ama günlerce başını kaldırmadan haber de yazmak zorunda kalabilirsin. Böyle bir meslek, yani yaşam şeklinde bir meslek. Mutsuz ve sevmeden yapılacak bir iş değil, çünkü hayat bu senin açından. (Interview with I-11, 19.05.2012, Ankara).

journalism is not something done by sitting in an office. Before we used to attach to our phones but now we have laptops and mobile phones. We can do it from everywhere.¹⁵⁷

It is meaningful to note that this reporter has always been the one and only judicial reporter of the newspaper since these long years. However, she came to agree with the terms of ever-lasting journalism that she even does not think that it would be much easier and qualified if there was one more judicial reporter with her.

One of the interviewees, Atilla Aşut, an experienced journalist with more than 50 years of working in journalism argued that journalism is not a civil service, i.e. it does not have working hours and shifts. If this is slavery, then it is a voluntary one. However, he added that this nature of journalism should not be abused by media proprietors, which is the actual situation. On the contrary, he insisted that they should be entitled to every means of economic and social rights, such as overtime payments, premiums, depreciation right etc. in return for their intense working conditions.¹⁵⁸

Whether journalists get their economic and social rights in return for their long working hours, they have very limited time for their private lives. For instance, I-13, the judicial reporter quoted above complained about it although she was happy with these ever-lasting working hours;

I am married; of course it affects my family life. My husband wants to go holiday alone this year. Because each and every year we have a crisis when I am in holiday with my computer and phone in my hand. And he gets annoyed. Our married life is very exciting. I write news non-stop.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Gazetecinin çalışma saati yoktur. Ben biraz farklı bakıyorum. Şikayet de etmicem, bu mesleği seçiyorsanız, gazetecilik 7/24 yapılan bir şeydir, ben de 7/24 çalışıyorum, benim mesai saatim yok. Biz yargı muhabiriyiz, gece 2'de kararname koyarlar sabaha kadar yazarım, seçim olur iki gün uyumadan çalışırım. Bir de biz yargı muhabiri olduğumuz için öbür muhabir arkadaşlar da öyle biz 7/24 çalışıyoruz maalesef, çalışma koşullarımız ağır. Bizim burda 9-18.30 mesai saatleri, ama ben hiç uymuyorum buna. Çünkü artık gazetecilik sadece burda ofiste oturarak yapılan bir şey değil, önceden biz bu telefona bağlıydık ama artık cep telefonlarımız, laptoplarımız var, her yerden yapabiliyoruz. (Interview with I-13, 23.05.2012, Ankara).

¹⁵⁸ Interview with I-18, 24.05.2012, Ankara.

¹⁵⁹ Evliyim ben, aile hayatımı da etkiliyor tabi. Eşim mesela bu sene yalnız tatile çıkmak istiyor. Çünkü ben her sene tatilde bir kriz patlıyor, elimde telefon, yanımda laptop haber yazıyorum, sinir oluyor yani fark etmiyor, bizim evlilik hayatımız çok hareketli gerçekten, ben sürekli haber yazıyorum yani. (Interview with I-13, 23.05.2012, Ankara)

Weekly and annual leaves are one of the very problematic issues for journalists. Even the press labour law entitles journalists with only one-day weekly off. Considering 8 hours normal working day, it makes 48 hours of working in a week for a journalist. In this respect, press labour law is out of date, because weekly working hours is 45 hours even under labour law. In addition to problematic legislations, there are practical difficulties as well.

Almost all of the newspaper reporters and most of the television reporters have one-day weekly off. However, this weekly off day is not pre-determined in most cases. It changes each week. Some well-known television stations let their reporters to enjoy two-days weekly off. It is remarkable that these TV stations are known with their two-days off among the journalists according to field research. In addition, some offices may develop kind of tactics against the strategies of employers, as I-3 exemplifies;

Now according to 212, you have 28 days off as annual leave, then it is 45 days. Right now, I work for 11 hours a day. If you consider the hours I leave and enter house it is 12 hours. I have one day off in a week. Our employer does not know that we have do two days off, it is not told to boss at İstanbul. We have an extra day off every two weeks, we arrange it at office.¹⁶⁰

Moreover, journalists may not enjoy their weekly offs because of that busy agenda. A junior television reporter with 3 years of experience indicated she was not able to use her off day for 24 days once.¹⁶¹ It was very hard to arrange a meeting for the interview with this reporter although she was very enthusiastic about such a research. At the end of two weeks, she decided to make an appointment with me in an evening after work rather than her off day. Another problem is the uncertainty of weekly offs. The same TV reporter mentioned that she would be glad if she will be off duty tomorrow although it was stated that tomorrow is her off day. She was concerned about it because she may be called any moment depending of the workload.

¹⁶⁰ Şu anda 212'ye göre 28 gündür yıllık izin, sonra 45 gün olur. Şu anda günde 11 saat çalışıyorum. Evden çıktığım ve girdiğim zamanlara bakarsan 12 saat. Haftalık 1 gün iznimiz var. Bizim iş verenimiz haftada iki gün izin yaptığımızı bilmez, İstanbul'daki işverene bu söylenmiyor. İki haftada bir gün ekstra izin yapıyoruz, büroda ayarlıyoruz. (Interview with I-3, 17.04.2012, Ankara)

¹⁶¹ Interview with I-9, 26.04.2012, Ankara.

There are problems regarding the use of annual leaves as well. Piece/stamped and sub-contracted reporters enjoy two weeks annual leaves in most of the media corporations. Press labour law entitles journalists with 4 week of annual leave and it increases to 6 weeks for journalists with 10 years of experience. However, staff reporters cannot enjoy this right for annual leaves. In general, they can leave for 2-3 weeks in a year depending on the agenda. Moreover they cannot claim the unpaid holiday pays. I-17 states these problems below;

Our weekly day off is one day. It is also one day according to law. However annual leave should be four weeks for a journalist of 10 years experience. But it is not used. Until now I never used it. I used like 3 weeks at most for the last one-two years. After 10 years, journalists have 42 days-7 weeks- of leave, but it is also never used. And you are not paid for your unused off-days. Lately the only positive thing is that we are paid for official holidays. But this is arbitrary. They pay it today but we don't have anything to say, if they don't pay tomorrow. Overtime payments are very important for us but they never pay it. And we didn't get any rise for the last two years. There is not a proper union and journalism depends on personal competition so workers don't act together. So there is an absolute hegemony of bosses. These working conditions keep getting worse, staff numbers are getting lower. Agencies, televisions and websites are common now and in each office they try to do everything with 5-6 people. It is the same structure in Ankara. Journalists cover more than one section so they work more but paid less.¹⁶²

It is crucial to note that the ignorance related with the press labour law was apparent regarding the weekly and annual leaves. While some of the journalists assume that they should have two-days off according to press labour law, others are not aware that they entitle to 6 weeks of annual leaves after 10 years of experience.

Most of the journalists start their career as an unpaid trainee reporter. If they are able to survive during this long process of internship, they start to get a monthly wage as a piece/stamped reporter. However, the wages of piece/stamped reporters

¹⁶² Onun dışında haftalık tatilimiz 1 gün, kanuna göre de zaten 1 gün. Ama yıllık izin 10 yıla kadar olan bir gazeteci için 4 hafta olması gerekir, bu kullanılmıyor. Şimdiye kadar ben hiç kullanmadım, en fazla 3 hafta kullandım o da son 1-2 yıldır. 10 yıldan sonra ise gazetecinin yıllık izni 42 gün, yani 6 hafta oluyor, onu hiç kullanılmıyorlar zaten. Kullanılmayan izin ücretleri de ödenmiyor. Son yıllardaki tek olumluluk resmi bayramlara ve dini bayramlara ilişkin çalışma mesaimiz yatırılıyor, ama bu da keyfi yani şimdi yatırıyorlar yarın yatırmazlarsa diyecek bir şeyimiz yok. Normal Fazla mesailer bizim için çok önemli, ama onlar zaten ödenmiyor. Zam alamıyoruz, son iki yıldır zamsız çalışıyoruz. Dolayısıyla ücretler eriyor. Tabi sendika olmayınca ve gazetecilik bireysel rekabete çok dayalı bir iş olduğu için emekçiler çok fazla birlikte de hareket edemiyorlar. Dolayısıyla patronun mutlak hakimiyeti var. Giderek de basındaki bu çalışma koşulları kötüleşiyor, personel sayısı azaltılıyor sürekli olarak. Ajansların, televizyonların ve internet sitelerinin yaygınlaşmasıyla birlikte her büroda 5-6 kişi ile iş çıkarılmaya çalışılıyor, Ankara'daki yapılanma şimdi öyle. Birden fazla alana bakıyor gazeteciler, dolayısıyla daha çok çalışıp daha az ücret alıyorlar. (Interview with I-17, 24.05.2012, Ankara).

remain very low. It may change from 500 TL to 1000 TL. Moreover, they are not subject to any kind of social security.

After this piecework, reporters are employed either under labour law as a sub-contracted reporter or press labour law as a staff reporter. It is possible to argue that wages of staff reporters may significantly higher than the wages of sub-contracted reporters, but this may not be the case. In other words, sub-contracted reporters and staff reporters may be entitled to same wages. In any case, entrance wages for reporters change from the minimum wage, i.e. about 750 TL, to 1500 TL. It can be argued that there is no systematic wage and promotion system for reporters in practice. Even though they work under the press labour law, they do not get any promotions after two years of working, contrary to article 4 of the law. Because the union is not organised in none of the mainstream media corporations, wages are determined for reporters individually. As a result, the field research shows that there may exist big differences between reporters' wages, even for the reporters of the same media outlet. Differences in wages depend on various reasons. First of all, reporters working in Istanbul are entitled to higher wages comparing to their counterparts in Ankara because the socio-economic conditions of Istanbul. Secondly, television reporters' wages are higher than newspaper reporters. Among the television reporters, prime-time television reporters' wages are higher than the reporters of news channels. These are the identifiable measures of wages. Apart from these, reporters' wages varies according to individual success, experience, specialisation area of reporter if any, relations with managerial staff and employer, proposals from other media corporations etc. Interviewees' wages vary from the minimum wage up to 6000 TL in exceptional cases. This gives an idea of the general picture of reporters' wages.

Apart from monthly wages, there are problems with overtime payments. Most of the journalists cannot claim their overtime payments. The field research has showed that overtime payments remain exceptional to some media corporations. I-35 even makes a joke about overtime payments;

There are not any working hours with us. Our shift begins at 9 regularly and finishes between 6 and 8. It may be 6 pm or 8 pm. But sometimes you work for 72 hours or you wake up in the

middle of the night and just go to work. So there is no fixed time. Or overtime. If we would get any overtime, we would be very rich. They do not pay it to anyone.¹⁶³

Journalists have to work even in the national holidays including the religious festivals. Overtime payments for these obligatory additional works are paid in most of the media corporations. As I-36, a television reporter mentions, even in the May Day, labour day, journalists work very hard;

We got overtime payment and holiday payments here. They do the right thing about this issue. It was the same at ATV, they paid holiday and overtimes. Because journalists do not have feasts. No 1 May, no 23 April. May the 1st is the proletariats' day but we are the ones who work most. Because you have to follow up all the demonstrations that day, when there are incidents, you are right in the middle of them. I hope I can tell the injustice. Actually it is very dramatic, on May the 1st, workers day, we work most.¹⁶⁴

Apart from these payments for national holidays, most of the media corporations do not pay for overtime works although there is 5 % default interest rate for the unpaid wages, which is considered to protect journalists' economic rights. However, it does not prevent the employers' refusal of payment especially for overtime works. Therefore, a lot of journalists file a lawsuit against their media corporations after they are fired or retired in order to get their payments for overtime work. However, expert witnesses calculate very high amount of debts because of this astronomical interest rate increasing incrementally throughout years. As a result, most of the cases result with at least 95 % reduction in this debt of the employer with the decisions of the court of cassation in order to prevent its use as an instrument of enrichment, it is argued so.¹⁶⁵ I-57, namely Ahmet Şık, has witnessed such a case in his file against Doğan group;

¹⁶³ Çalışma saati diye bir şey yok bizde. Rutin olarak 9'da başlıyor mesai, 9'dan 6 ile 8 arası, ya 6'da çıkıyorsun ya 8'de çıkıyorsun. Ama öyle bir oluyor ki 72 saat çalıştığın da oluyor yani hiç uyumadan gece yarısı uyandırılıp işe gittiğin de oluyor. Yani mesai diye bir şey yok. Fazla mesai de yok. Fazla mesai olsa trilyoneriz biz. Kimseye vermiyorlar. (Interview with I-35, 02.06.2012, Ankara).

¹⁶⁴ Bize burda fazla mesai ödeniyor, bayram mesaisi ödeniyor. O konuda doğru yapıyorlar. ATV'deyken de ödeniyordu, hem fazla mesaimiz ödeniyordu, hem de bayram günlerinde yaptığımız mesailer ödeniyordu. Çünkü gazetecinin bayramı yok biliyorsunuz. 23 Nisan'ı yok, 1 Mayıs'ı yok. Yani 1 Mayıs, emekçi bayramı, ama biz 1 Mayıs'ta en yoğun çalışan kişileriz. Çünkü 1 Mayıs'taki o eylemi takip etmek zorundasın, orda olaylar çıktığı zaman yine olayların içindesin. Yani mağduriyeti anlatabiliyorum dimi, yaşadığımız bu bir dram aslında, 1 Mayıs emekçi bayramında en çok koşturan biziz. (Interview with I-36, 02.06.2012, Ankara).

¹⁶⁵ For some examples of these decisions;

<http://www.kararara.com/yargitay/yhdk12/yrgtyk21339.htm> (accessed on May 14, 2013).

Of course over 500.000 liras are concluded for my case, but the court has cut its 97 %, although there have been dismissal because of union activity and so forth. The courts are very bad, they take very long and conclude judgments that officialise serious loss of rights. 97 % cut can not be done. And there is something else, you file a claim for compensation by stating an amount, and there are taxes of that compensation as well. Because you have to pay its taxes, you can not state high amounts. Making a rough estimate, you state an amount, but when the judgement is below that amount, it means that you have “lost” the case in quotes. For instance, I will pay the charges of the lawyers of Doğan group as well, I am almost ended up in debted, such a process it is. This file is still in court of cassation, so we are waiting for it. I am not so hopeful that they will issue a good decision.¹⁶⁶

On the other hand, some media corporations prevent such courtcases by dividing the wages in the pay slips of their workers, as if they pay for the overtime works.

My salary is indicated in the contract. But it may change every month. “*My corporation*” does not have any overtime description, but if you specify my institution I will be exposed. Everyone who left sued them for not getting any overtime payments. To avoid that they included overtime payment into salary. If your salary is 1000 in contract, they show 900 as your payment and 100 as overtime payment. I got my overtime payment too, my salary changes between 1800-2500. And it also changes with national/international visits and travel allowances.¹⁶⁷

Furthermore, journalists’ right to get 50 % of their wages in case of military service and pregnancy is up to employer’s discretion in practice. It is generally not implemented especially for the military service. To complete the military service is

http://www.kararevi.com/karars/578820_yargitay-hukuk-genel-kurulu-e-2007-9-337-k-2007-346#.UgesXqVV8_s (accessed on May 14, 2013).

In the first case, court of cassation reversed the judgement of the court of justice that makes 85 % reduction in the debt. In the second case, it even reversed the judgement of the court that makes 90 % reduction in the debt by arguing that at least 95 % of the debt should be reduced.

¹⁶⁶ Tabi bana 500 bin liranın üzerinde bir şeye hükmedildi, tam %97’sini kırdı mahkeme biliyor musun, ki bak işte sendikal faaliyetten işten atılma var şu var bu var, mahkemeler de çok kötü, bir kere çok uzun sürüyor ve ciddi hak kaybını resmileştiren kararlara imza atıyorlar. %97 indirim yapılmaz. Ee bir de şey yapıyorsun, bir rakam belirtip tazminat davası açıyorsun ve o tazminatın harçları falan filan var. O da belirlediğin rakamdan da düşük olduğu için, çünkü çok da gösteremiyorsun, onun harcını ödemek lazım, çok gösteremiyorsun, belli bir rakam gösteriyorsun, kaba bir hesap yapıyorsun, ee onun altında bir tazminata hükmedince tırnak içinde “kaybetmiş” gibi bişey oluyorsun, mesela Doğan grubunun avukatlarının şeylerini de ben ödücüm, nerdeyse borçlu çıktım yani orda, böyle bir süreç. Hala Yargıtay’da o şey yani bekliyoruz. Çok da umutlu değilim yani iyi bir karar çıkacağına. (Interview with I-57, 21.06.2012, İstanbul)

¹⁶⁷ Sözleşmede maaşım belli. Ama her ay değişebiliyor. Skytürk’ün mesai kavramı yok, ama kurum olarak yazarsan ben belli olurum. Her işten ayrılan fazla mesai alamadığı için dava açıyordu, bunun önüne geçmek için aldığın ücretin içine mesai de koydular. 1000 liraysa sözleşmede maaşım, 900’ü maaş 100’ü mesai olarak gösteriliyor. O şekilde mesai alıyorum ben de, benim maaşım da 1800-2500 arasında değişiyor, mesai yurtiçi/dışı görevler nedeniyle harcırahlar ile değişebiliyor. (Interview with I-9, 26.04.2012, Ankara).

considered to be an unwritten prerequisite in order to be employed as a staff reporter under the press labour law as I-3 claims;

My 212 insurance started in 2007. I could not do the military service then, it was a very complicated time in Turkey. I delayed military service three times and paid 1500 Turkish liras as penalty. Then I joined the army in May because I could not delay anymore. I was supposed to be paid half of my salary. But my “son of a bitch” boss wanted me to quit. I could not benefit from that advantage. When I got back, we had an agreement, I was going to get a raise and I would have a specific area. I got 50 liras of rise and I got presidency. But I should mention that it is nearly closed. So I resigned.¹⁶⁸

The article related with the wages in case of imprisonment of the journalist is considered to empower the journalist at the news production against this risk. According to Doğan Tılıç, the wages of the imprisoned journalists working under the press labour law are paid but this is also related with the outside support they get.¹⁶⁹

The article that enables journalists to work in another job unless the contrary is stated in their contract is not in effect in practice, because the contrary always stated in the contract. Moreover, journalists are compelled to make additional works for their corporation. There are two reasons behind these additional works. Firstly, journalists are required to make more work because of the multi-platform journalism with the development of information and communication technologies. Secondly, journalists are obliged to work for other media outlets of the same media group because of the so-called pool system. However, they are not paid for these additional works.

All of the journalists in the field research admitted that they do not have any kind of job security without doubt. Tragic experience of I-3, a staff reporter under press labour law shows the situation of job security in the industry;

I don't know what will happen tomorrow. I don't have a job security. While I was working in Star, I knew that I was unemployed in my last live broadcast with U.Dündar (*a famous anchorman in Turkey*). I was in Van for 21 days. A part of that was for Star and another part

¹⁶⁸ 2007'de başladı 212 sigortam. O dönemde askere gidemedim, çok karışık bir dönemdi Türkiye'de. 3 dönem bakaya kaldım, 1,5 milyar ceza ödedim. Mayıs'ta daha fazla uzatamadığım için gittim askere. Maaşın yarısını almam gerekirdi. Ama “puşt” patron benim istifamı istedi. Bu imkandan yararlanamadım. Döndüğümde bir anlaşmamız vardı, zam alacaktım ve bir alanım olacaktı. 50 lira zam aldım, ve cumhurbaşkanlığı bana verildi. Ki artık orası basına kapatıldı nerdeyse. Ben de istifamı verdim. (Interview with I-3, 17.04.2012, Ankara)

¹⁶⁹ Interview with I-8, 25.04.2012, Ankara.

was for CNN Turk. I came to Ankara, I learned that I was fired at 5 am in the morning. It was echoed in some media websites and I also wrote an article but then we withdrew it. Because of that Doğan Group, Doğu Group, big groups, main media should not talk about job security. Especially in media, nothing is for sure, anything may happen anytime.¹⁷⁰

According to article 6 of the press labour law, journalists are entitled to severance pay after 5 years of experience in the profession. However, it is not an advantageous point for journalists because it is only one year under labour law. It means that media employers are able to fire their staff with less than 5 years of experience without any compensation and severance payments. This clause of the law does not protect the journalists. Moreover, whether a journalist gains a right to severance compensation in case of resignation is not clear by law. According to article 6 of the press labour law, a journalist gets compensation right if he/she is fired, according to his severance payments. And the article 7 indicates that a journalist can annul his contract whenever he wants noticing the employer one month before, but this article does not provide information about the compensation in this case. In practice, it was customary that resigned journalists get their compensations since the enactment of the law no.212. However, court of cassation gives a counter decision in 1997.¹⁷¹ This decision depends on the article 11 related with “conscience clause” of journalists. Therefore, it defends that there must be such a reason for a journalist to gain right to his compensation. On the other hand, notice periods from 1 month to 3 months are not practiced. Reporters and all other journalists are fired immediately with just one word of media proprietors. It is remarkable that even a staff reporter with 24 years of experience at the same media corporation (I-13) does not think that she has job security;

¹⁷⁰ Yarın ne olacağını bilmiyorum. İş güvencem yok. Ben Star’da çalışırken U. Dünder’a yaptığım son canlı bağlantıda işsiz kaldığımı biliyordum. 21 gün Van’daydım. Bunun bir bölümü Star, bir bölümü CNN Türk içindi. Gece Ankara’ya geldim, sabaha karşı saat 5’te işsiz kaldığımı öğrendim. Bazı medya sitelerine de yansıdı, hatta benim bir yazım da yayınlandı ama sonra geri çektik. O yüzden Doğan grubu, Doğu grubu, büyük gruplar, ana akım medya falan kimse iş güvencesinden bahsetmesin. Özellikle medyada, çok kaygan bir zemin, her an her şey olabilir, çok sıkıntılı. (Interview with I-3, 17.04.2012, Ankara)

¹⁷¹ For the related decision of the court of cassation and the opinion of the journalists’ union; http://www.tgs.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=36&Itemid=16 (accessed on July 8, 2013).

I absolutely believe that I don't have any job security, in media sector there is no job security.¹⁷²

On the other hand, conscious clause is a very significant right of the journalists regarding the nature of their work. This article empowers journalists this right since the 1951. The only problematic aspect of this article in practice is the difficulty to prove such a situation. However, court of cassation gives a positive decision with broadly interpreting this article in a well-known case of a journalist working at Ankara office of Sabah newspaper, namely Ersin Bal. In 2001, he resigned because of inadvertent disclosure of a secret meeting with his news sources, and filed a court case for his compensation and other rights. In the end of the judgment process, court of cassation gives his compensation and other rights on the basis of professional dignity and ethics (Şakar, 2008: 15-17).¹⁷³

Reporters face every kind of situation for the production of news. They work in very dangerous places, wars, social conflicts, earthquakes etc. Apart from that, they may come across very risky situations even in their daily routine work. Development of information and communication technologies also increases the burden of reporters and cameramen. However, health and safety issues are generally ignored by law and in practice. Throughout the field research, reporters were complained about the lack of necessary measures for health and safety. For instance, I-52, a television reporter states that;

This year (2012) with addition to salaries something else happened. After Van earthquake, they offered a two-day vacation in Sapanca with regarding reporters' efforts and bad working conditions there. But when we compare it with international press, last year we went to Libia and faced death several times. You don't get any compensation or get an extra insurance for going to war zone. But it is not like that in world. Salaries of cameramen and reporters get double or triple. Something more important is health and safety trainings. For example in NTV there is not physical or psychological trainings for people going to war zones and they don't have a red line for that. For instance we don't take any steel vests or helmets with us to

¹⁷² Kesinlikle iş güvencem olduğunu düşünmüyorum, medya sektöründe kesinlikle yoktur iş güvencesi. (Interview with I-13, 23.05.2012, Ankara)

¹⁷³ For the full text of the decision of the court of cassation, http://www.kararevi.com/karars/680206#.Uge1EaVV8_s (accessed on May 16, 2013).

avoid heavy weight. But BBC never lets reporters even take a step without them. I think these are important points, too.¹⁷⁴

News reporters encounter not only physical problems, but also psychological problems because of their work environment. However, necessary precautions and treatments do not provided. I-3 tells the psychological burden of reporting work as follows;

“We know that we became unemployed, but still we go live broadcasting, this is a very different thing. You are talking to director saying goodbye but you go live, you may even swear there, but you can not. There is an emotional burden, responsibility. Without letting anyone to see it, you go and cry, but you can go live broadcasting after half an hour. Yet you get used to it in time, you are cooked. You blow up from time to time. Then we have to take psychological treatment. It does not become clear when and which job are you assigned to. You can see a divided dead body, you may have to sleep with the smell of dead bodies, if they are bad things... You may be out in the cold throughout the whole night, one of your friends may even die. We may come across with everything. We are not soldier, not police, but we encounter with these. It is so troublesome.”¹⁷⁵

This statement of a television reporter clearly shows the psychological pressure of reporting activity in addition to its material problems. Although news reporters work so hard under physical and psychological burdens, trivialisation of the reporting work and devaluation of their experience and knowledge is not consistent (Liu, 2006). Reporters should be equipped with every possible means that would make the reporting tasks easier and sustainable.

¹⁷⁴ Maaş dışında bu sene bir şey oldu, Van depreminden sonra muhabirlerin ordaki çabalarını ve sefalet içindeki yoğun çalışmalarını gözetip 2 günlüğüne Sapanca’da bir tatil paketi sundular. Ama mesela yani uluslar arası medyayla kıyaslayınca biz geçtiğimiz sene Libya’da defalarca ölümden döndük yani, başımızın üstünden kurşunlar uçtu, 10-15 mt ötemizde obüs mermileri patladı filan. Tehlikeye yere gittiniz, savaş bölgesine gittiniz diye herhangi bir tazminat verilmiyor, herhangi bir ek sigorta yapılmıyor, ancak bu dünyada kesinlikle böyle değil. Muhabirlerin ve kameramanların maaşları birdenbire ikiye üçe katlanır. Çok daha önemli bir şey health and safety eğitimleri, hani artık çoğu küreselleşmiş şirkette vardır ya sağlık ve güvenlik eğitimleri, örneğin NTV’de savaş bölgelerine giden veya gerilimli bölgelere giden kimseye ne psikolojik, ne fiziksel nasıl ayakta kalabileceklerine dair bir eğitim verilmiyor ve bu konuda kırmızı çizgileri yok. Örneğin biz çoğu yere yanımızda ağırlık teşkil etmesin, yük olmasın diye çelik yelek ve miğfer götürmüyoruz, ancak örneğin BBC onlar olmadan adım attırmıyor. Bunlar da önemli noktalar bence. (Interview with I-52, 14.06.2012, İstanbul).

¹⁷⁵ İşsiz kaldığımızı biliyoruz ama yine de canlı yayına bağlanıyoruz, bu çok değişik bir şey. Yönetmenle konuşup vedalaşıyorsun ama yayına çıkıyorsun, orada küfür de edebilirsin ama yapamazsın. Duygusal bir yükü, sorumluluğu da var. Kimse görmeden gidip ağlayıp, yarım saat sonra da yayına çıkabiliyorsun. Ama zamanla alışıyorsun, kaşarlanıyorsun. Zaman zaman patlıyorsun. Sonra psikolojik tedavi almak zorunda kalıyoruz. Ne zaman hangi işe gideceğin belli olmuyor. Parçalanmış ceset de görebilirsin, ceset kokuları arasında uyumak zorunda da kalabilirsin, bunlar kötü şeylerse eğer... Gece boyu soğukta da kalmış olabilirsin, bir arkadaşın da ölebilir. Her şeyle karşılaşabiliyoruz. Asker değiliz, polis değiliz, ama bunlarla karşılaşılıyor. Bunlar can sıkıcı şeyler. (Interview with I-3, 17.04.2012, Ankara)

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Journalism has been changing with the ever-increasing commercialisation of the media and the development of new technologies. Although technology seems to be the most fundamental reason behind the change, economic and political structures determining the media is crucial to understand the changing journalism (Kaya, 1994: 384). As Im (1997: 38) points out, technological changes in journalism should be evaluated together with the changing principles of journalism. With such a perspective, it is understood that technological innovations foster the changes that have already started. Only with this way we can avoid a technological determinist approach to journalism, which is very common among journalists themselves as Örnebring (2010: 57-8) exemplifies and our field research has revealed. Therefore technology should be taken into account as a determined factor of production for the realisation process of capital, rather than a self-sufficient transformative force in itself (Çakmur, 1998: 128).

In this framework, this study has investigated the labour process of reporters working in corporate media outlets in Turkey based on a field research conducted among journalists, most of whom reporters. For this examination, this study has employed the labour process theory developed by Marx and further improved by Braverman together with his critics in order to understand the organisation and functioning of the labour process of reporters with the introduction of new technologies and ever-increasing commercialisation of media. As a continuation of the industrialisation of the news production, commercial pressures become prominent rather than public service principle of journalism with the transformation of press to media in Turkey. Concentration of ownership and conglomeration of

capital have resulted in a news production organised around economic imperatives, rather than informing people for the greater public good. Routinization and mechanization of the news production, standardization of the language and content of the news, prominence of the form and presentation of the news rather than their contents, tabloidization of the news (info-tainment), instrumentalization of the news in favour of media bosses are some of the observable trends in the news production. All of these depend on the industrialisation of the news production with respect to market and power, rather than public service understanding.

Throughout the transformation of press to media, clientalistic relations between media, capital and state have become more corrupt than ever, especially in JDP period. This has damaged the autonomy of media, which results in problems of autonomy for journalists because of the separation of conception and execution of labour in the news production. With the changing division of labour in the media outlets, reporters have lost their control over the production processes by delegating it to the managerial and executive staff. As a result, this study has revealed that there are two particular trends for journalistic labour in Turkey. On the one hand, “proletarianisation” of the rank and file journalists is observed in a widening periphery including reporters, photo-reporters, cameramen, and video editors, while “professionalisation” of the so-called star journalists is a rising trend in a small center including the executive editors, columnists and anchor-men on the other. Field research exemplifies the declining autonomy and control of reporters over the news production with reference to issues of censorship and self-censorship.

Conglomerate media has preferred to invest in new technologies in order to provide a cost effective news production as well as cheapen and control the labour. With the development of ICTs, newsrooms have been transformed to centralised and multi-platform news production units, which produce content for different mediums. Digitalisation and computer-based technologies have transformed the journalistic practices. And a need for a so-called multi-skilled journalist has emerged. It has caused an increased in workload and a never-ending deadline pressure for reporters. Reporters as the main subjects of the news production become the object of the news production. All these changes, this study argues, have resulted in a degradation of reporting work in the corporate media together with a tendency of de-skilling of

journalists because of the devaluation of their skills gained through occupational training and working experience. That is why the employment of young and inexperienced people is preferred by corporate media instead of experienced/senior journalists. Investigative journalism remains exceptional that could be used against the government if necessary for commercial and corporate interests of the media conglomerates. Consequently, senior correspondent/news reporter titles are not improved in Turkey. Relatively old and experienced reporters were working in the past, but nowadays they are all excluded from the media one way or another. Newsrooms are full of young and inexperienced reporters. These developments affect the reporters' perception of work as well. Reporters see news reporting as a starting step in their media career to become columnist, editor, and other executive staff. At this point, information and communication technologies have enabled media corporations to employ young and inexperienced reporters on the one hand, and to increase the level and type of control over the production process on the other. Moreover, they open up reporters' labour process to further exploitation by favouring multi-skilled journalists. These changes in the labour process of reporters have been accompanied by flexible and precarious employment policies of the media outlets. Different employment strategies have been used to hire reporters after long and painful "internship" periods. These are mainly piece/stamped reporter, sub-contracted reporter and staff reporter positions. Therefore, the opportunity of specialisation in one area has decreased. At this point, this study has underlined the problems caused by the problematic practices of the press labour law. Preventing the use of economic and social rights of reporters that press labour law relatively provides in favour of them means that reporters have no power to stand the changes in the news production processes. Although current picture does not promise a bright future for journalism, it will be understood that this is not a sustainable way of news reporting when it is considered that the need for information has always been tried to meet one way or another.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TABLE OF INTERVIEWEES

NO.	Name	Age	Sex	Institution	Position	Work experience	Education	Date and place
I-1	-*	27	F	Unemployed	Reporter	2 years	International Relations, BS	06.04.2012 Ankara
I-2	-	34	M	Yeni Çağ	Defence reporter	12 years	High school	11.04.2012 Ankara
I-3	-	32	M	CNN Türk	Defence reporter	6 years	Communication Faculty, BS; UMAG IJEP†	17.04.2012 Ankara
I-4	-	30	M	Akşam	Diplomacy reporter	12 years	Communication Faculty, BS	18.04.2012 Ankara
I-5	Ahmet Abakay	62	M	PJA (ÇGD)	Chairman of the executive board	37 years	Communication College	20.04.2012 Ankara
I-6	İhsan Doğan	66	M	PJA (ÇGD)	Member of the executive board	41 years	Communication College	20.04.2012 Ankara
I-7	Ekrem Meral	65	M	PJA (ÇGD)	Bookkeeper	41 years	Faculty of Languages, History and Geography, BS	20.04.2012 Ankara
I-8	Doğan Tılıç	52	M	Birgün	Columnist at Birgün, Turkey representative of Spain EFE news agency	27 years	Sociology, BS; MS; PhD	25.04.2012 Ankara
I-9	-	26	F	A TV station of Çukurova group	Reporter	3 years	Labour economics and Industrial relations, BS	26.04.2012 Ankara
I-10	-	25	F	Not affiliated	Freelance copywriter	2 years	Communication Faculty, BS	18.05.2012 Ankara
I-11	-	34	M	Radikal	Judicial reporter	12 years	Communication Faculty, BS	19.05.2012 Ankara

* Interviewees who want to keep their names (and other details in some cases) anonymous are marked with (-).

† UMAG (Uğur Mumcu Investigative Journalism Foundation) Investigative Journalism Education Programme.

I-12	Turgut Dedeoğlu	49	M	TUJ (TGS)	Secretary of TUJ Ankara branch	26 years	Communication Faculty, BS	22.05.2012 Ankara
I-13	-	45	F	Hürriyet	Judicial reporter	25 years	Communication College	23.05.2012 Ankara
I-14	-	32	F	Hürriyet	Health reporter	13 years	Communication Faculty, BS	23.05.2012 Ankara
I-15	-	26	M	Hürriyet	Police-court reporter	4 years	Communication Faculty, BS	23.05.2012 Ankara
I-16	-		F	Hürriyet	Newsroom director	27 years	Communication College	23.05.2012 Ankara
I-17	-	36	M	Vatan	Judicial reporter	12 years	Faculty of Law, UMAG IJEP	24.05.2012 Ankara
I-18	Attila Aşut	73	M	Retired, but working as freelancer	Worked as a journalist in various positions	55 years	High School	24.05.2012 Ankara
I-19	-	35	M	Milliyet	Judicial reporter	16 years	Communication Faculty, BS	25.05.2012 Ankara
I-20	-	30	M	Sabah Ankara	Police reporter	7 years	Communication Faculty, BS	25.05.2012 Ankara
I-21	-	25	M	Sabah Ankara	Show-biz reporter	4 years	Communication Faculty, BS	25.05.2012 Ankara
I-22	-	31	M	ATV	Police-court and defence reporter	13 years	Communication Faculty, BS	25.05.2012 Ankara
I-23	-	31	M	ATV	Diplomacy reporter	7 years	Communication Faculty, BS	25.05.2012 Ankara
I-24	-	40	M	Kanal D	Judicial and defense reporter	18 years	High School	26.05.2012 Ankara
I-25	-	35	F	Star TV	Editor	15 years	Communication Faculty, BS	28.05.2012 Ankara
I-26	-	28	M	Hürriyet Daily News	Home news reporter	4 years	International Relations, BS; UMAG IJEP	28.05.2012 Ankara
I-27	Faruk Bildirici	55	M	Hürriyet	Ombudsman	32 years	Communication Faculty, BS	29.05.2012 Ankara
I-28	-	23	M	Habertürk Ankara	Show-biz reporter	1,5 years	Communication Faculty, BS	29.05.2012 Ankara
I-29	-	23	F	Kanal D	Reporter	6,5 years	Communication High School	29.05.2012 Ankara
I-30	-	33	M	DHA	Reporter	16 years	Communication Faculty, BS	29.05.2012 Ankara

I-31	İrfan Aktan	31	M	Express	Reporter (specialised in Kurdish issue)	11 years	Communication Faculty, BS	31.05.2012 Ankara
I-32	Abdurrahman Antakyalı	44	M	AA	Photo-reporter	23 years	Communication Faculty, BS	01.06.2012 Ankara
I-33	-	35	M	NTV	Defence and General Staff reporter	14 years	Communication Faculty, BS	01.06.2012 Ankara
I-34	-	31	M	A Haber	Economy reporter	7 years	Communication Faculty, BS	01.06.2012 Ankara
I-35	-	39	M	NTV	Police and judicial reporter	15 years	Communication Faculty, BS	02.06.2012 Ankara
I-36	-	37	M	Show TV	Parliament reporter	15 years	Communication Faculty, BS	02.06.2012 Ankara
I-37	-	35	M	Habertürk TV	Reporter	8 years	Communication Faculty, BS	03.06.2012 Ankara
I-38	Fahrettin Fidan	62	M	Milliyet	Columnist	38 years	Communication College	04.06.2012 Ankara
I-39	Varlık Özmeneç	69	M	Retired	Worked as a journalist in various positions	49 years	Communication College	06.06.2012 Ankara
I-40	Adnan Keskin	51	M	Taraf	Judicial reporter	26 years	Communication College	07.06.2012 Ankara
I-41	Ertuğrul Mavioglu	51	M	Not affiliated	News director	27 years	Communication College	09.06.2012 İstanbul
I-42	Ercan İpekçi	50	M	TUJ (TGS)	President	25 years	International Relations, BS	11.06.2012 İstanbul
I-43	Esra Arsan	46	F	Bilgi University	Journalism scholar	11 years (as a reporter)	Communication Faculty, BS, MS, PhD	11.06.2012 İstanbul
I-44	İsmail Saymaz	32	M	Radikal	Judicial reporter	12 years	Communication Faculty, BS	11.06.2012 İstanbul
I-45	-	28	F	Habertürk TV	Editor, reporter and presenter of Culture and Art	7 years	Communication Faculty, BS	12.06.2012 İstanbul
I-46	Umur Talu	55	M	Habertürk	Columnist	32 years	Economics, BS	12.06.2012 İstanbul
I-47	-	25	F	NTV	Reporter	3,5 years	Communication Faculty, BS	12.06.2012 İstanbul
I-48	Mustafa Hoş	52	M	Not affiliated	Ex news director of NTV	25 years		13.06.2012 İstanbul
I-49	Nedim Şener	46	M	Posta	Investigative journalist and columnist	26 years	Economics, BS, MS	13.06.2012 İstanbul

I-50	Mustafa Kuleli	27	M	İMC TV	News editor and presenter	9 years	Communication Faculty, BS	14.06.2012 İstanbul
I-51	Mete Çubukçu	48	M	NTV	Ex news director, currently producer	24 years	Communication College, Communication Faculty, MS	14.06.2012 İstanbul
I-52	-	-	-	A TV station of Doğu group	Diplomacy and war reporter	7 years	Sociology, BS; Urban Planning, MS	14.06.2012 İstanbul
I-53	Atilla Özsever	64	M	Yurt	Columnist	38 years	Istanbul Academy of Economics and Commercial Sciences, Political Sciences, MS; Economics, PhD	14.06.2012 İstanbul
I-54	Doğan Akın	48	M	T 24	Chief editor	25 years	Faculty of Political Sciences, BS	15.06.2012 İstanbul
I-55	Orhan Erinç	76	M	TGC	Chairman of the executive board	55 years	Private Journalism School	16.06.2012 İstanbul
I-56	Melih Aşık	70	M	Milliyet	Columnist	46 years	Faculty of Political Sciences, BS	16.06.2012 İstanbul
I-57	Ahmet Şık	42	M	Not affiliated	Unemployed	20 years	Communication Faculty, BS	21.06.2012 İstanbul
I-58	Ruşen Çakır	50	M	Vatan	Columnist	27 years	High School	21.06.2012 İstanbul
I-59	-	35	F	Sabah	Reporter	14 years	Communication Faculty, BS	22.06.2012 İstanbul
I-60	-	28	M	Sabah / Günaydın	Show-biz reporter	6 years	Communication Faculty, BS	22.06.2012 İstanbul
I-61	Önder Şuşoğlu	53	M	Akşam	Police-court reporter	21 years	Mathematics, BS	22.06.2012 İstanbul
I-62	Altan Öymen	80	M	Doğan group	Columnist at Radikal, TV commentator at CNN Türk	62 years	Faculty of Political Sciences, BS	25.06.2012 İstanbul
I-63	-	29	F	Cnn Türk	Writer /desk reporter	9 years	Communication Faculty, BS	25.06.2012 İstanbul
I-64	Banu Güven	43	F	Not affiliated	Ex presenter of NTV	23 years	International Relations, BS, MS	26.06.2012 İstanbul

APPENDIX B: SET OF QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEWS

Below set of questions are organised around two parts. The first part is the preparatory part consisting classification questions. In the second main part, interview questions are organised in a way to include the necessary components of the labour process (labour-power, object of work and the means of production). The number and order of the questions may change depending on the conversation. Although it is an expansive set of questions, 10-15 questions were necessary to get the necessary answers. Essential keywords for the core questions are class position, occupational experience, working conditions, economic and social rights, conceptualisation of news, news values, news gathering and news writing, editorial control and autonomy, division of labour, specialisation, ICTs and news production, multiskilling.

Classification Questions:

1. Age - Sex
2. Education
3. Working experience
4. Current position and institution

Interview Questions:

1. Can you tell your life story very briefly? Where were born, grow up?
2. What does your family (mother, father, siblings) do?
3. Can you give information about your education? Where did you go to high school? After that did you take higher education?
4. Can you tell the story of how you started working?
5. Where and in which position have you worked until now? What is your position now? How? (as the permanent staff, temporarily employed, freelance, stamped, intern)
6. What are the differences of the working conditions in the sector from other sectors in the market?
7. How many days and hours do you work weekly?
8. When do you take leaves? When do you go to vacations?

9. Do you have a press card? Do you think it is prestigious?
10. As much as I observed from my friends in Middle East Technical University Media and Cultural Studies Department, different employment types are getting widespread. How do you think this affects journalism? What are the positive and negative sides?
11. How do you reflect your personal knowledge and experiences to your work?
12. What do you think about the changes / transformations that journalism went through in Turkey? What do you think are the main turn points?
13. What kinds of procedures are taking place as you start working? What kind of an agreement is signed between you and the institution?
14. Do you know press labour law? What do you think the negative and positive sides are? How do you think it is implemented?
15. What kind of procedures are taking place in case of disease, military service, leave/dismissal?
16. Are the economic and social rights like weekly vacations, over work payment, bonus, social support are implemented same to everyone?
17. Do you have job security? How does job security function in the market?
18. Can you change your job between different groups? (Gentleman's agreement)
19. What is your price range? Do you find it satisfying?
20. Do you get extra money when your news is aired in other media outlets of your corporation?
21. Do you think journalism have benefits other than money? If so, what are they?
22. What are the unions and organisations that you have membership? Why did you choose these organizations?
23. What do you think about trade unions with regard to journalism? What kind of an organization should be formed?
24. Can you give information about social relationships of journalists? (Practices of socialization)
25. How do you prepare news? Do you go out to search for news yourself or editors / chiefs send you to news? How does this process proceed?
26. What is news?

27. Who decides as if something has a news value and how? What are the selection criteria?
28. Does news writing have a format / procedure?
29. How many of your news are aired / published? What should it have to be aired / published or not?
30. How the news that you prepared is controlled?
31. Is the news you prepared aired / published as they are? If there are changes over them, who and why does that?
32. Do you feel like you have a saying over news production process?
33. How are the relations regulated in the institution and how does it affect the news making process? (Seniority / hierarchy/ relations to editor etc.)
34. Who are the news sources? How do you find the relationship between journalist and sources?
35. Can we talk about a situation like journalists identifying themselves with sources? (For example; police reporters acting and thinking like a police officer)
36. What are the positive and negative sides of specialization?
37. What do you think the public benefit is? Do you give importance to it while making news?
38. Do institutions affect journalists' practices of news making? In this respect, is it possible to talk about news making traditions, cultures? (Self-censorship)
39. What is a journalist's level of independence with regard to choosing news and the details to be highlighted? (Editorial autonomy)
40. Ertuğrul Özkök was Hurriyet's editor-in-chief and Dogan Group's board of directors. He was a journalist and a businessman at the same time. In this regard how do you interpret relationships between editor-in-chiefs and media institutions' owners? How does this relationship affect journalists as that institution's workers?
41. Generally, it is told that questions to be asked in press meetings in the ministries are given to journalists before hand by consultants. Is that true? If it is, do you find it uncomfortable? Do you feel like you should criticize politicians in the name of public? In this regard what is the relationship

between state and the journalists? In this context, is it possible to talk about a state control / pressure?

42. Are there any occupational rules or ethical rules for journalism? If there are, do you think they are implemented?
43. Does journalists' function in news production change in newspapers-television-agencies? How?
44. Have news making practices and news contents changed since past to today? How?
45. What kind of changes have you experienced in news making practices with improvement in information and communication technologies? It is observed that videos are coming forward. How do you feel it in your own news making practices?
46. What is the difference between journalism and delivering news with communication technologies? What should it be?
47. How does advanced technology affect your daily news making routine?
48. How did improved technology affect time pressure in news making? How do you think time pressure affects news? (Time vs. Quality)
49. Do the equipment you use for news making belong to you or the institution? If it belongs to the institution, do you have your own computer, camera, video camera etc.?
50. Can you make news if you were not working in this institution by your own?

APPENDIX C: TURKISH SUMMARY

Aslında ortaya çıkışı itibariyle ticari bir faaliyet olan gazetecilik, 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısına kadar daha çok siyasi-ideolojik saikler etrafında örgütlenmekteydi. 19. yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren basın sermayenin başka bir ticari faaliyet alanı haline gelmesiyle gazetecilik prensipleri de yeniden şekillendi (Curran, 2002). 20. yüzyıl boyunca basının ticarileşme süreci hızlanarak devam etti. 1980'lerin ilk yıllarında uygulanmaya başlanan serbestleştirme, piyasalaştırma ve özelleştirme gibi neoliberal politikalar ile sahiplik yapısındaki yoğunlaşma-merkezileşme ve holdingleşme süreçleri basını gittikçe artan bir ticarileşme sürecine soktu. Tüm kapitalist toplumlarda benzer sonuçlar doğuran bu süreçlerle basından medyaya dönüşüm yaşandı (Kaya, 2009). Sermayenin medyaya egemen hale gelmesiyle birlikte artan teknoloji yatırımlarıyla gelişen görsel-işitsel medyalar da bu dönüşümde etkili oldu. Bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerinin gelişmesiyle 1990'larla birlikte internetin de Türkiye'de yaygınlaşmasıyla gazetecilik pratikleri ciddi değişikliklere uğradı. Bu süreçte gazete tirajları azalırken, online ve görsel-işitsel medyaların piyasadaki önemi arttı. Reklam pastasındaki payını önce televizyonla, şimdilerde ise kısmen dijital reklamcılıkla paylaşan basının düşen tirajlarla birlikte gelirleri azaldı. Gelişen teknolojiye başat olarak pratikteki gazetecilik prensipleri de değişti. Basından medyaya dönüşümde habercilik de bir endüstri halini aldı. Bu anlamda haber üretim süreçleri endüstriyel üretim koşullarına benzemeye başladı. Ticari kaygılar etrafında örgütlenen haber üretimi, haber merkezlerini de dönüştürdü. Teknolojinin açtığı olanaklarla medya gruplarının haber merkezlerini birleştirmesi ve azalan istihdam sebebiyle ajanslara bağımlı hale gelmeleri habercilik açısından sorunlu bir ortam oluşturdu. Bu kapsamda bu çalışma Türkiye'de ana akım diye nitelendirilebilecek sermaye medya kuruluşlarında çalışan muhabirlerin emek süreçleri üzerine bir inceleme yapmakta, haber üretim süreçlerinin asıl öznelere olarak muhabirlerin emek süreçlerindeki dönüşümü ortaya koymaya çalışmaktadır.

Muhabirlerin emek süreçlerini inceleyen bu çalışmada ilgili literatürün de çok kısıtlı olması sebebiyle kapsamlı bir saha araştırmasına ihtiyaç duyulmuştur. Nitel araştırma yöntemlerine dayanan bu çalışmada yarı yapılandırılmış sorular üzerinden mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Bu bağlamda gerekli hazırlıklar yapıldıktan sonra Nisan

2012-Haziran 2012 arasında üç ay süreyle Ankara ve İstanbul'da görüşmeler yapılmıştır. Görüşmeler mümkün olduğu ölçüde önceden birebir yapılacak şekilde ayarlanmıştır. Açık uçlu sorular emek sürecinin bileşenlerine göre tasarlanmış, gerektiğinde çapraz sorularla görüşülen kişiden konuyla ilgili cevaplar alınmaya çalışılmıştır. Görüşmeler 15 dakikadan 3 saate kadar farklılık göstermiş, tüm görüşmeler kayıt altına alınmış, görüşülen kişiler isterlerse isimlerinin anonim kalabileceği hususunda önceden bilgilendirilmişlerdir.

Saha araştırmasında iki örneklem grubu seçilmiş ve toplamda 64 görüşme yapılmıştır. İlk grupta Türkiye'de medyayı kontrol eden beş büyük holdingin (Ciner, Çukurova, Doğan, Doğuş ve Turkuaz grupları) medya kuruluşlarında çalışan gazetecilerle görüşülmüş, özel olarak muhabirlere ağırlık verilmiştir. Bu örneklem grubunda yapılan 40 görüşmenin 30'u muhabirlerle yapılmıştır. Bu 30 muhabirin ise yarısı yani 15'i yazılı basında çalışan, kalan yarısı ise televizyon yayıncılığı için çalışan muhabirlerdir. İkinci gruptaki 24 kişi ise deneyimli, tanınmış gazeteciler, akademisyenler ve gazetecilik örgütlerinin temsilcilerinden oluşmaktadır.

Öldürülen ve tutuklanan gazeteci sayılarıyla ün kazanmış bir ülkede gazeteciliğin haber üretim süreçlerindeki sorunlarını göstermek için "üretim gizli ini" (Marx, 1990 [1867]) üzerine yapılmış bir araştırmaya dayanan bu çalışma, muhabirlerin emek süreçlerini eleştirel ekonomi politik bir yaklaşımdan incelemektedir. Çalışma ekonomi politığın dört temel karakteristiği olan tarihsel bakış açısını, toplumsal gerçekliği toplumsal bütünlük içinde anlamayı, ahlaki felsefesini ve praksisçi yaklaşımını benimsemektedir. Böyle bir çıkış noktasından muhabirlerin emek sürecini anlamak için emek süreci kuramına başvurmaktadır. İlk olarak Marx tarafından *Kapital I* de (1990 [1867]) geliştirilen, Braverman'in "*Emek ve Tekelci Sermaye: 20. Yüzyılda Çalışmanın Değersizleştirilmesi*" (1998 [1974]) adlı çalışmasıyla yeniden canlanan emek süreci kuramı kuramsal ve yöntemsel olarak bu çalışmaya yön vermiştir. Kurama özellikle Burawoy (1979, 1985) ve Thompson (1989, 2010) tarafından getirilen eleştiri ve katkıları de hesaba katarak muhabirlerin emek süreçleri bu kuram ışığında açıklanmaya çalışılmıştır. Saha çalışmasının sonuçlarına geçmeden önce kısaca emek süreci kuramı ve bu kuramın medya endüstrisinde emek süreçlerini anlamak için nasıl imkanlar tanıdığı tartışılmıştır.

Marx'ın kapitalizm ve sınıf analizlerinde emek süreci merkezi bir yer tutmaktadır. A. Smith (2006 [1776]) ve D. Ricardo (2008 [1817]) tarafından geliştirilen emek-değer kuramı değerın üretim sürecinde yaratılması ve iş bölümü açısından bir noktaya kadar açıklayıcı olsa da, Marx'ın emek ve emek-gücü ayrımı emek-değer kuramına epistemolojik olarak yaptığı özgün katkıdır. Ona göre emek süreci insanla doğa arasında kurulan bilinçli ve amaçlı aktivitelerden oluşan bir ilişkidir. Bunu meşhur arı metaforuyla açıklamaktadır; “en kötü mimarı en iyi arıdan daha en başından ayırt eden şey, mimarın, peteği balmumundan yapmadan önce kafasında kurmuş olmasıdır” (1990: 284). Emek sürecinin bu basit ifadesinde tasarım ve uygulamanın birlikteliğini görmek mümkündür. Marx emek sürecinin gerekli üç temel ögesini bilinçli aktivite olarak emeğin kendisi, üzerinde emek sarf edilen emeğin nesnesi ve üretim araçları olarak ortaya koyar. Bu noktaya kadar emek süreci toplumsal formasyonlardan bağımsız olarak düşünülür. Bir diğer ifadeyle emek süreci kullanım değerleri yaratmaya yönelik bilinçli aktiviteler toplamıdır. Fakat emek süreci her zaman verili toplumsal formasyonlar altında işlemektedir. Kapitalist, emek sürecinin gerekli tüm öğelerini artı değer yaratmaya dönük meta üretimi için satın aldığı emek süreci de kapitalistleşmiş olur. Emek süreci kapitalistleştiğinde üretim de sadece kullanım değerleri üretmeye yönelik değil, artı değeri arttırmak üzere değişim değerlerine yönelmiştir. Kapitalist emek sürecinde değeri yaratan emeğin kendisi değil, bir meta gibi kapitaliste kullanım kapasitesini sattığı emek-gücüdür. Üretilen her meta kullanım değeri ve değişim değerinden oluşan bir bütün olduğu için, kapitalist emek süreci de değerlendirilme sürecinden bağımsız olarak düşünülemez (Marx, 1990[1867]). Böyle bir emek süreci kavramsallaştırmasından yola çıkan Marx, kapitalist emek sürecinin emekçi açısından yıkıcı sonuçlarını tartışmaktadır. Üretim araçlarından yoksun bırakılan emek, yaşamak için emek-gücünü kapitaliste satarak ücretli emekçiye dönüşmekte, kapitalist için artı-değer üretmektedir. Bu proleterleşme süreci yabancılaşmayla beraber sürmektedir.

Marx'tan sonra görece ihmal edilen emek süreci analizi, Braverman'ın yukarıda sözü edilen çalışmasıyla yeniden önem kazanmıştır. Braverman'ın çalışmasıyla birlikte Marksist emek süreci tartışmaları üzerine yeni bir alan açılmış ve bu da daha sonraları “emek süreci tartışması” olarak anılmaya başlanmıştır. Braverman çalışmasında 20. yüzyılda tekeli kapitalizm aşamasında fabrika ve büro işçileri üzerinden emek sürecinin ve işçi sınıfının dönüşümünü incelemiştir. Onu

büro işçileri üzerine bir inceleme yapmaya iten temel sebep 20. yüzyılda gittikçe büyüyen hizmet sektörü ve teknolojinin gelişimiyle artan mekanikleşmedir. Marx'ın emek ve emek-gücü ayırımından yola çıkan Braverman de emek-gücünün alınıp satılmasının kapitalist üretimin ayırt edici özelliklerinden biri olduğunu söyler. Emek-gücünün kapitaliste satılmasıyla emek süreci teknik bir süreç olmaktan çıkar, kapitalist birikim sürecinin bir parçası haline gelir. Emek sürecinde kapitalist birikim mantığının egemen hale gelmesiyle işçi üretim üzerindeki denetimini kapitaliste devreder. Çalışmasını temelde Taylorizm üzerinden yürüten Braverman, Taylorizm'i emek sürecinin işçinin vasıflarından koparılması, tasarım ve uygulamanın ayrılması ve bilgi üzerindeki tekelin emek sürecinin her aşamasında ve uygulama tarzında kullanılması olarak açıklar. Sonuç olarak, Braverman büro işçilerinin fabrika işçilerine benzer süreçlerden geçtiğini iddia eder. Büro işçileri üzerine yaptığı araştırmasında artan iş bölümüyle birlikte kafa ve kol emeğinin birbirinden ayrılması, denetimin kapitaliste devredilmesi ve geleneksel zanaatkar bağımsızlığının kaybolması gibi sonuçlara ulaşır. Bu sonuçlar çerçevesinde temel argümanı tekelci kapitalizm aşamasında işin değersizleştirildiği ve buna bağlı olarak bir vasıfsızlaşma süreci yaşandığıdır. Marx'ın proleterleşme tezini savunarak beyaz yakalı işlerin artmasının bir orta sınıf oluşumuna değil, yeni bir formda geniş bir işçi sınıfı oluşumuna işaret ettiğini iddia eder (Braverman, 1998 [1974]).

Ben de bu çalışmada sermaye medyasında çalışan muhabirlerin emek sürecini Braverman'ın fabrika ve büro işçilerinin emek sürecini incelediği gibi incelemeye çalıştım. Farklılıkları ayrı kalmak şartıyla, Braverman'ın çalışmasından kuramsal ve yönetsel olarak yararlandım. Bu noktada Braverman'e getirilen eleştirileri ve emek süreci kuramına yapılan katkıları da dikkate almaya çalıştım. Bu çerçevede vasıf tanımının net olmaması, zanaatkarlığı romantikleştirmesi, işin değersizleştirilmesinin basit ve tek boyutlu bir süreç olmaması, Taylorizm'i kapitalizmin temel mantığı gibi görmesi, kendi-için-sınıftan ziyade kendi-içinde-sınıfa odaklanarak özneliği emek sürecinden ayrı düşünüp politik ve ideolojik süreçlere yer bırakmaması benim çalışmam için hesaba kattığım temel eleştirilerdir. Bunlarla birlikte Burawoy'un (1979, 1985) kapitalist denetim ve rızanın üretim sürecinde yaratılmasıyla ilgili katkıları ve Thompson'ın (1989, 2010) emek sürecinin çekirdek kuramını oluşturma çabasından da yararlandığımı eklemeliyim. Marjoribanks'ın (2000a) gelişen

teknolojiyle News Corporation kuruluşlarındaki dönüşümü incelerken yararlandığı emek süreci kuramı modelinden de faydalandığımı belirtmeliyim.

Çalışmaya yön veren emek süreci kuramının medya endüstrisindeki üretim sürecini anlamak için nasıl olanaklar sunduğunu anlamak için medyada gerçekleşen üretimin özellikleri dikkate alınmalıdır. Kültür endüstrilerinin bir parçası olan medya endüstrisinde gerçekleşen üretim de kültürel bir üretimdir. Kapitalizmde değişim değerinin kullanım değeri karşısındaki üstünlüğü bitmek bilmeyen bir metalaşma sürecine yol açmaktadır. Kapitalist birikim mantığı gereği sermaye her alanda artı değer üretimi için metalaşmaya yol açmaktadır. Bu anlamıyla kültürel üretim de bir meta üretimine dönüşmüştür. Dolayısıyla kültürel üretimin iki temel özelliği vardır. Kültürel üretim hem bir sembolik üretimdir, hem de maddi bir üretimdir. İdeolojik süreçler maddi üretim ilişkisiyle şekillendiği için, kültürel üretimin maddi üretim ve sembolik üretim olarak ikiye ayrılması da mümkün değildir. Bu durum kültürel üretimin gerçekleştiği medya endüstrisinin melez yapısıyla doğrudan ilgilidir. Marxist altyapı-üstyapı ayrımı çerçevesinde medyayı hem altyapıda hem de üstyapıda düşünmek mümkündür. İdeolojik üretim ve yeniden üretimin medya yoluyla gerçekleştiği düşünülürse medyayı devletin bir ideolojik aygıtı olarak üstyapıda kavramsallaştırmak gerekir. Fakat medya aynı zamanda bir sermaye birikim alanıdır. Bu anlamıyla meta üretimi yapan endüstrilerden örgütsel olarak farklı değildir. Sermaye yoğun, teknolojik kitle üretim ve dağıtım yöntemleri kullanan, gelişmiş bir işbölümü yapısına sahip, verimlilik ve karın maksimizasyonu temelinde örgütlenen hiyerarşik bir örgüt yapısına sahiptir (Garnham, 1990: 156-7). Medyanın bu ikili yapısı üretim süreçlerinde de kendini göstermektedir. Medyada emek süreçlerini incelerken bu noktayı dikkate almak gerekmektedir.

Emek süreci kuramından hareketle medyanın karakteristik özelliklerini de dikkate alarak medya emek süreçlerindeki genel değişimi teorik olarak incelediğimizde neoliberal politikalarla basından medyaya dönüşümün bir mihenk noktası oluşturduğu görülmektedir. Medya endüstrisinde yaşanan neoliberal dönüşümlerin sonuçları kapitalist toplumlar açısından oldukça benzerdir. Kamu hizmeti yayıncılığı ve gazete tirajları hızla düşerken, ticari medya kuruluşları gittikçe önem kazanmıştır. Medya sermaye birikimi için önemli bir alan haline gelmiş; yatay, dikey ve çapraz bütünleşmelerle sahiplik yapısının yoğunlaşması ve sermayenin holdingleşmesi süreci başlamıştır. Bu süreçte teknolojik gelişmeler değişimin asıl

sebebi gibi görünse de, medya yapılarını belirleyen ekonomik ve politik güçlerin bu süreci de yönlendirdiklerinin altı çizilmelidir. Bu bağlamda teknolojik belirlenimcilik tuzağına düşmemek için teknolojik gelişmenin kendi başına dönüştürücü bir güç olarak bir belirleyen değil, sermayenin gerçekleşme sürecine göre belirlenen ve üretimin toplumsal ilişkilerine göre değerlendirilmesi gereken bir husus olduğu belirtilmelidir. Bu sebeple gazetecilerin emek süreçleri incelenirken de teknolojik gelişme gazetecilik prensiplerindeki değişikliklerle beraber ele alınmalıdır.

Türkiye’de basından medyaya dönüşüm sürecinde kamu hizmeti anlayışı gerilemiş, ticari çıkarlar gittikçe daha fazla belirleyici olmaya başlamıştır. Osmanlı döneminde devletle organik ilişki içinde doğan basın ekonomik çıkarlar çerçevesinde değil, siyasi-ideolojik süreçlerin bir parçası olarak faaliyet göstermekteydi. Gazetecilik de ticari bir iş olarak değil, bir tür zanaat olarak görülmekteydi. Erken cumhuriyet döneminde de siyasi ve ideolojik etkiler daha belirgindi. Fakat 1960’larda modern basım tekniklerinin imkan verdiği kitlesel üretimin başlamasıyla basının ticarileşme süreci de başlamıştır. 1948’de Milliyet ve Hürriyet gazetelerinin kurulması bu ticarileşmenin ilk nüveleri olarak görülebilir. 1980’lere kadar gazete sahiplerinin de gazeteci olduğu bir dönem yaşanmıştır. Bu dönemde sahiplik yapısında geleneksel gazeteci aileler göze çarpmaktadır. Bu aşamada üretimin kapitalist doğası çok fazla açığa çıkmamış, ideolojik ve siyasi yönelimler belirleyici olmuştur. Basının ticarileşmesi başlamış, fakat gazetecilik artı-değer üretimine yönelik bir meta üretimi gibi değil, kamu hizmeti anlayışı çerçevesinde kamu yararı için yapılmaya devam etmektedir. Gazeteciler sendikası üretimden gelen önemli bir güce sahipken, gazeteciler de ekonomik ve sosyal olarak görece haklarını arayabildikleri bir ortamda çalışmaktadırlar. 1980’lerle birlikte medyanın neoliberal dönüşümü başlamıştır. Aydın Doğan 1979’da Milliyet gazetesini Karacan ailesinden satın almış, 1982’de de Güneş gazetesi kurulmuştur. 1990’ların başında ilk özel televizyon yayıncılığı yapılmış, 1994’te RTÜK yasası kabul edilmiştir. Aynı yıl Aydın Doğan Hürriyet gazetesini de satın almış, sendikanın tasfiye sürecini başlatmıştır. Yatay, dikey ve çapraz bütünleşmelerle birlikte medyada sahiplik yapısı gittikçe yoğunlaşmış, gazeteci patronların kaybolmasıyla birlikte holdingler medyaya egemen hale gelmiştir. Bu holdingler arasında yaşayabilmek için gerekli yatırımları yapabilecek sermaye eşiği çok yükselmiş, bir bariyer haline gelmiştir. Doğan grubunun bir tekelleşme gibi büyümesi devam etmiş, bu durum Doğan ve Anti-Doğan

gruplaşmalarına sebep olmuştur (Sönmez, 2003). 2000'lerde bu yoğunlaşma ve holdingleşme devam etmiş, medya, sermaye ve devlet arasındaki yozlaşmış ilişkiler ve kayırmacılık giderek artmıştır. Sonuçta günümüzde beş medya kuruluşu Ciner, Çukurova, Doğan, Doğuş ve Turkuaz grupları medyaya hakim hale gelmişlerdir. Bu dönüşümle medyaya egemen hale gelen ticari mantık emek süreçlerinin örgütlenmesinde de başat bir rol edinmiştir. Emek süreçleri piyasa baskısına göre düzenlenmeye başlamış, kamu hizmeti anlayışı temelinde örgütlenen gazetecilik artı-değer üretimi için yapılan bir meta üretimine benzemeye başlamıştır. Habercilik de medya gruplarının ticari faaliyetleri için yürüttükleri bir iş halini almıştır. Bu sürecin Türkiye'de çok daha acımasız olmasının sebebi medya holdinglerinin tamamen gazetecilik dışı işlerden gelmesi ve inşaat, enerji, finans gibi sektörlerde ciddi faaliyetler yürütmeleridir.

Sermaye birikim rejimindeki dönüşümle basından medyaya dönüşüm medyada emek süreçlerini incelerken gerekli çerçeveyi oluşturmaktadır. Çalışma bu çerçeve içerisinde saha araştırmasının sonuçlarını üç bölümde tartışmaktadır. İlk bölümde basından medya holdinglerine gittikçe artan ticarileşmeyle bağımsızlık sorunu hem medya hem de muhabirler açısından tartışılmaktadır. İkinci bölümde gelişen bilgi ve iletişim teknolojileriyle haber merkezlerinin ve haber üretiminin dönüşümü incelenmektedir. Üçüncü bölümde ise esnek ve güvencesiz istihdam politikalarının yaygın olarak uygulandığı medya emek piyasasında muhabirlerin istihdam ve çalışma koşulları tartışmaya açılmaktadır. Emek sürecinin emeğin kendisi, nesnesi ve üretim araçlarından oluşan bir bütün olduğunun bilincinde olarak bölümlerin bu şekilde analitik olarak ayrılması çalışmanın daha sistematik bir şekilde kolay anlaşılabilir olması için tercih edilmiş, gerektiğinde aralarındaki diyalektik ilişkilere referans verilmiştir.

Medyanın melez yapısından kaynaklanan ikili bir rolü vardır, demokratik bir toplumda bir kamusal hizmet olarak vatandaşları bilgilendirmek ve işin kar etmeye yönelik ticari boyutu. Medyayı incelerken kamusal yayıncılık ve piyasa modeli olarak tanımlanabilecek bu iki rolü aynı anda hesaba katmamız gerekir. Saha çalışması Türkiye'de sermaye medyasında kamusal yayıncılık anlayışının pek bir öneminin kalmadığını, ticari kaygıların ağır basması sonucu reytingler, tirajlar ve reklamlar etrafında örgütlenen bir üretim sürecinden bahsetmemiz gerektiğini gösteriyor. Çalışma medyanın gittikçe artan ticarileşmesini 1994 yılında çıkarılan

RTÜK yasası, 2001 yılında yasada yapılan değişiklikler ve 2011 yılında kabul edilen yeni RTÜK yasası üzerinden inceliyor. Bu inceleme medyada sahiplik ve sermaye yapılarını düzenleyen ilgili yasa maddelerinin gittikçe daha fazla serbestleştirildiğini, böylece medyanın oligopolleşmesinin önüne geçilmesinden ziyade yoğunlaşma ve holdingleşme sürecinin hız kazandığını göstermiştir. Burada önemli olan husus medyanın holdingleşmesi sürecinin medya, sermaye ve devlet arasındaki yozlaşmış iktidar ilişkilerine sahne olmasıdır (Kaya, 2009). Medya grupları başka alanlardaki yatırımları nedeniyle devletle bir göbek bağı içerisindeyler. Sermayedarlar ihaleler, satın almalar, imar ve inşaat işleri vs. sebeplerle iktidara yakın durmaya çalışırken, iktidar da avantajlı konumunu kullanıp havuç ve sopa politikalarıyla medyayı dize getirmeyi amaç edinmiştir. AKP döneminde medya, sermaye ve devlet arasındaki bu kokuşmuş ilişkilerin fazlasıyla ayyuka çıktığı söylenebilir. Saha çalışmasında da sıkça vurgulandığı üzere, Doğan grubuna 2009 yılında kesilen üç milyar dolarlık astronomik vergi cezası sonucu grubun yeniden yapılanmaya gitmesi ve 2011 seçimleriyle birlikte Doğu grubunun medya kuruluşlarının da yayıncılık politikalarını değiştirerek bir yeniden yapılanma sürecine girmeleri yakın dönemdeki hatırı sayılır örneklerdendir. Sonuçta bu durum Türkiye’de medyanın ciddi bir bağımsızlık sorunu olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. Kendi çıkarını düşünmek zorunda olan sermaye medyasının kuruluşları bağımsız gazetecilik yapmaktan yoksundur. Medya kuruluşlarının genel yayın yönetmenleri holding patronlarının istekleri doğrultusunda yayıncılık politikalarına karar vermektedir. İşin bu tarafında editöryal bağımsızlık sorunu varken, muhabirler açısından bu durumun sonuçları ise oldukça vahimdir. Bu sürecin uzantısı olarak değişen iş bölümüyle muhabirler haber üretim süreçlerindeki denetim ve bağımsızlıklarını kaybetmekte, editöryal ve yönetici kadrolar ile reklam servisi gibi kritik öneme sahip bölümlerin haber üretimindeki etkisi artmaktadır. Habere dair tasarım ve uygulamanın ayrılmasıyla muhabirler haber üretiminin öznesi konumundan üretimin basit bir elemanı konumuna düşmektedirler. Kendilerine verilen işi sorgulamadan yapmak durumunda kalan muhabirler basitçe üretimin bir dışlisi konumuna gelmişlerdir. Sonuç olarak haber üretiminde merkez ve çevre iş gücü arasındaki makasın açıldığı söylenebilir. Bir tarafta astronomik transfer ücretleriyle alınıp satılan genel yayın yönetmenleri, köşe yazarları ve ana haber spikerlerinin “profesyonelleşmesi” gözlemlenirken, diğer tarafta en alt kesimlerdeki muhabir, foto-muhabiri, kameraman ve montajcılarının

“proleterleşmesi” tespit edilmelidir. Haber üretim sürecindeki denetimlerini ve profesyonel bağımsızlıklarını kaybeden muhabirler sansür ve oto-sansür mekanizmalarına daha yatkın hale gelmektedirler. AKP döneminde gittikçe artan siyasi baskıyla beraber sansür ve oto-sansür medyanın gizlenmeyen bir gerçeği olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Bu noktada muhabirlerin gündelik haber üretim pratiklerinde neyin haber yapıp neyin haber yapılmayacağına dair çalıştıkları medya grubunun ekonomik ilişkileri ve siyasi iktidar ile olan konumları üzerinden geliştirdikleri argümanlar sansür ve oto-sansür mekanizmalarının pratikte nasıl işlediğini göstermektedir.

Bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerinin gelişimi gazetecilik prensiplerindeki değişimlerle birlikte ele alınmalıdır. Kamusal hizmet yayıncılığından ticari yayıncılığa geçişle birlikte gelişen teknoloji haber üretim pratiklerinde ciddi değişikliklere yol açmıştır. 20. yüzyıl boyunca gazetecilik vasıflarıyla işin teknik boyutu ayrı düşünülse de bu gelenek yeni teknolojilerle değişmiştir. Bilgisayar temelli dijital üretim tekniklerinin yaygınlaşmasıyla gazetecilerden teknolojiye hakim olmaları beklenmektedir. Gelişen teknoloji haber tanımını da etkilemiştir. Haberin nasıl kavramsallaştırılacağı hususunda ortak bir kanı olmasa da, haber bir olay hakkında güncel bilgilerin çeşitli medya kanalları aracılığıyla yayınlanması olarak tanımlanabilir. Bu noktada habere dair egemen ve eleştirel yaklaşımlardan söz edilebilir. Liberal egemen yaklaşımlar haberin toplumdaki gerçekliği olduğu gibi yansıtan bir ayna işlevi gördüğünü iddia ederken, eleştirel yaklaşımlar haberin kapitalist sınıf çıkarlarını korumak ve kollamak için gerçeği çarpıtıldığını (gerçek olan ile gerçeğe dair algımızın da farklı olduğunun altını çizerek) vurgulamaktadır. Bu bağlamda haber değerlerinin oluşumundaki ideolojik etkiler önem kazanmaktadır. Haber değerlerini oluşturan yakınlık, zamanlılık, sonuç, önem vb. ilkelerden zamanlılık ilkesinin teknolojiyle daha fazla ön plana çıktığı, gazeteciler üzerinde son dakika baskısının gittikçe arttığı gözlemlenmektedir. 3G yayın cihazlarının her an her yerden canlı yayın yapabilme imkanını tanınması muhabirler üzerinde böyle bir baskı oluşturmuş, aktüel yayıncılığın ön plana çıkması muhabirlerin araştırmacı gazetecilik vasıflarını törpülemiştir. Teknolojinin sağladığı imkanlarla maliyetleri azaltmak isteyen medya grupları haber merkezlerini birleştirme yoluna gitmişler, havuz sistemleri oluşturmuşlar ve kendi ajanslarını kurmuşlardır. Hem daha az muhabirin istihdam edilmesi hem de muhabirlerin aynı haberi medya gruplarının farklı

mecralardaki kuruluşları için yapmaları nedeniyle muhabirler üzerindeki iş yükü ve baskı artmıştır. Bu süreçte kimi pozisyonlar da artık istihdam olanağı bulamamış, iş yükleri muhabirler ve diğer çalışanlar tarafından paylaşılmıştır. Özellikle foto-muhabirliği ve redaksiyon servisleri büyük ölçüde kaldırılmıştır. Muhabirlerin haber toplama ve haber yazım süreçlerinde nasıl değişiklikler olduğu da önemli bir husustur. Medyanın özel haber üretimine ayırdığı kaynaklar azalmış, muhabirler de özel habere yeteri kadar zaman bulamayıp rutinin içinde kaybolmaya başlamışlardır. Birçok işi aynı anda yapabilen mobil ve “çok vasıflı” (multi-skilled) muhabirlerden birçok alana bakması beklenmekte, bir alanda uzmanlaşma şansları azalmaktadır. Ticari kaygıların öne çıkmasıyla haber içerikleri değişmiş, haberin magazinelleşmesiyle hayat tarzı haberciliği yaygınlaşmış, haber içerikleri yumuşamıştır. Gelişen teknoloji editöryal denetim açısından da yeni olanaklar açmıştır. Sonuç olarak, medya gruplarının teknolojiyi emeği ucuzlaştırıp daha kolay kontrol edilmesini sağlayarak daha ucuz bir haber üretimi için kullandıklarını söylemek mümkündür.

Muhabirlerin emek piyasasında karşılaştığı sorunlara baktığımızda esnek ve güvencesiz istihdamın medyada bir norm haline geldiğini tespit edebiliriz. Bir yanda üretimi ucuzlaştırmak için çeşitli stratejiler geliştiren medya grupları istihdamı azaltırken, diğer tarafta artan iletişim fakülteleriyle medyaya girmek için fırsat kollayan geniş bir emek rezervinden bahsedilebilir. Sektörde iş bulabilmek için ücretsiz çalışma olarak tanımlanabilecek ve yıllara yayılabilen uzun stajyerlik sürelerini atlatabilmek ve/veya medyada hatırı sayılır bir çevre sahibi olmanız gerekmektedir. Sektöre adım attıktan sonra da üç temel istihdam politikasından bahsedilebilir. İlk olarak, telifli muhabirlik adı altında fakat genel olarak aylık düşük bir sabit ücret karşılığında tam zamanlı bir çalışma şekli vardır. Hükümetin vergi cezaları nedeniyle medya grupları bu istihdam şeklini artık çok tercih etmemeye çalışmaktadırlar. İkinci istihdam şekli, taşeron muhabirlik olarak tanımlanabilecek, 4857 no.lu iş yasasına göre muhabirlerin büro çalışanı olarak istihdam edilme şeklindedir. Bu yolla muhabirlerin basın iş yasasından yararlanmaları engellenmekte, ekonomik ve sosyal hakları gasp edilmektedir. Aynı zamanda örgütlenmenin önüne geçmek için de bu yola başvurulmaktadır. Bu istihdam şeklinin çok yaygın olduğu saha çalışmasında da görülmektedir. Son olarak, şanslı sayılabilecek bir azınlık 212 no.lu basın iş yasasına göre kadrolu muhabir olarak istihdam edilebilmektedir. Basın

iş yasası gazetecilere görece bir iş güvencesi sağlamakta, işten atıldıkları takdirde yüksek tazminatlar almalarına vesile olmaktadır. Bu sebeple medya grupları sadece asgari kadroları basın iş yasasına göre istihdam etmeye çalışmakta, böylece muhabirlerin ekonomik ve sosyal haklarını elde etmelerinin önüne geçilmektedir. Ekonomik özgürlüğü ve iş güvencesi olmayan muhabirler de yukarıda çerçevesi çizilen haber üretim sürecindeki genel eğilimlere karşı çıkabilme gücünü kendilerinde bulamamaktadırlar. Ağır çalışma koşulları altında çalışan muhabirler hakları olan basın iş yasasından dahi faydalanamamakta, düşük ücretler karşılığında çoğu zaman mesai ücreti de almadan uzun saatler çalışmaya zorlanmaktadırlar.

Sonuç olarak, haber üretimine dair yukarıda çerçevesi çizilen bu değişiklikler haber üretiminin değersizleşmesine işaret etmektedir. Braverman'ın teknolojiyle artan mekanikleşmenin büro çalışanları açısından işin değersizleşmesi sonucuna ulaşmasına benzer bir şekilde bu çalışma da basından medyaya dönüşümde gittikçe artan ticarileşmenin ve gelişen bilgi ve iletişim teknolojilerinin haber üretiminin değersizleşmesine sebep olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Medya holdinglerinin himayesinde endüstriyelleşen haber üretiminde tasarım ve uygulama birbirinden ayrılmış, muhabirler haber üretimindeki denetimlerini ve bağımsızlıklarını kaybetmişlerdir. Editöryal ve yönetici kadrolar ile reklam servislerinin üretimdeki söz hakları artarken, muhabirlerin üretimden gelen güçleri önemini yitirmiştir. Teknolojinin gelişimiyle muhabirlik işi basitçe bir iletim fonksiyonuna indirgenmiş, habercilik sıradanlaşmıştır. Artan siyasi baskıyla birçok gazeteci medyadan dışlanmış, haber üretim koşulları değişen muhabirlik de içdiş edilmiştir. Muhabirlerin gerekli donanım ve güçleri kalmayınca, köşe yazarları muhabirlerin işlerini yapar hale gelmiş, medyada bir köşe yazarı bolluğu yaşanmıştır. Ticari kaygılarla maliyetleri düşürmeye çalışan medya grupları haber merkezlerini birleştirmiş, istihdamı azaltmış, ajanslara bağımlı hale gelmiştir. Haber üretimini her nasılsa kotaracağını düşünerek mümkün olduğu kadar genç ve deneyimsiz muhabirlerin istihdam edilmesiyle deneyimli muhabirler de ekseriyetiyle medyadan tasfiye edilmiş, bir kısmı ise köşe yazarı veya yönetici kadrolara terfi edilmişlerdir. Bu sebeple Türkiye'de muhabirlik işi gazetecilerin kariyer basamaklarında bir an önce geçilmesi gerekli görülen bir basamak haline gelmiş, medyada deneyimli muhabir yetiştiren kurum pek kalmamıştır. Sonuç olarak değersizleşen haber üretimi muhabirler açısından da bir vasıfsızlaşma eğilimi doğurmuş, araştırmacı gazeteciliğin

önemini kaybetmesiyle deneyimli muhabirlerin mesleki eğitim, birikim ve deneyimlerinden gelen vasıfları atıl kalmıştır. Bu durum Türkiye’de haberciliğe dair pek de olumlu bir tablo çizmese de halkın haber alma ihtiyacının sürekli başka şekillerde karşılanmaya çalışıldığı düşünüldüğünde böyle bir habercilik anlayışının sürdürülemez olduğu da anlaşılacaktır.

APPENDIX D: TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

YAZARIN

Soyadı : YEŞİLYURT

Adı : ADEM

Bölümü : SİYASET BİLİMİ VE KAMU YÖNETİMİ

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : THE ROLE OF REPORTERS IN CORPORATE MEDIA: AN INQUIRY INTO THE LABOUR PROCESS OF REPORTERS IN TURKEY

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans Doktora

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir.
3. Tezimden bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz.

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: