

Media Groups and Their Market Shares in Turkey during Globalization

Assist. Prof. Sebnem Çağlar, Ph.D.
Assoc. Prof. Seda Çakar-Mengü, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

The theorists of democracy have observed a fundamental contradiction between the idea that public media should function as a public sphere and the fact of private ownership. Thus, the media proprietors can restrain the information flow by using their ownership rights. Nevertheless, as Wiener indicated, the organization level of a society depends on the amount of information in a system; entropy; on the other hand, is the measure of its deterioration. Therefore, information flow should be maintained. An increase in entropy denotes a regression in development. Regression or prevention of information in this sense produces negative affects on informing the public from ethical point of view. Hence, the state constructs its own agenda by using the media. It is observed that the definitions and functions of journalism, newscasting, radio and television broadcasting are changing. In fact, although the media is supposed to monitor and control legislation, administration and jurisdiction in the name of the citizens in a society as the fourth power, today it has been the “power” of the media proprietors.

Being either national or international, while considering the media monopolies, now it has been quite normal to mention media moguls too. One of the primary factors increasing the monopoly in the world media industry is the necessity for an enormous capital to invest in this relatively ludicrous sector. Such a necessity to access to the market, high costs in production and delivery, competition among the media companies, limitation in advertisement revenues, vertical and horizontal corporate amalgamations, wrong policies of governments and inflation are the factors that increase monopolization. Since the media products have a temporary nature, the time pressure exercised in production and distribution stages is the primary reason obliging media companies for vertical amalgamations. Paper production and the ownership of press companies or advertisement agencies are the examples for vertical amalgamations. Partnership in media-related related activities, that is, the merger of the companies in the activity field is an example for horizontal amalgamation.

With the liberal economy policy exercised after the 1980s in Turkey, the free enterprise was granted a great opportunity and the media companies got involved a vicious competition like the other companies. One of the negative effects that the conditions of free market have produced on the media is monopolization. In the 1980s, media ownership passed out of the hands of families in the press sector and the Turkish economy began to be controlled by the powerful states. The fundamental reason for that is to be able to use the press as a weapon for their interests and to exercise lateral diversifications by using the power of the press. Therefore, the press companies that are not ludicrous by themselves, has become the press releases of the holdings by being amalgamated with them. In the 1990s; on the other hand, it was observed that the media owners turned their companies into industrial complexes. Along with different media enterprises, including newspapers, magazines as well as book, radio and TV companies and banks, such media companies somehow transformed into the holdings comprising several enterprises functioning in miscellaneous industries and services. Parallel to the introduction of incredibly new technology to the media sector, the scales have considerably got bigger. Through vertical and horizontal amalgamations, product variety has been introduced. In addition, marketing and delivery organizations have been reshaped. The struggle to get the biggest share in the advertisement profit has become violent.

In this study, the market shares of the biggest media groups in Turkey, namely Dogan, Merkez and Cukurova have been analysed. In the same way, evaluating the other activity areas of these groups with respect to the limitations of the Turkish Press Law, the role of the media monopolies in the formation of the public sphere in Turkey through the globalization process will be determined.

Key words: Turkish Media Groups, Media Owners, Journalism, Media companies

Introduction

Structures of ownership occurring in Turkish media also with the impact of neo-liberalism lead to differentiation on media too. Journalism, news making, radio or TV broadcasting are observed to be changing with respect to definition, function. Though media should in fact supervise, control legislation, government and judiciary on behalf of citizens in a society and become a fourth power, it has currently become the power of property owners and power-ruling centre for itself. This is a problematic of our study too. With the liberal economy policies pursued after 1980's in Turkey, private entrepreneurship gets on the rise, media institutions like other institutions competing in free market enter into a bitter rivalry between themselves. One of the negative impacts of free market conditions on media is grouping.

In 1980's media ownership starting coming out of hands of 'journalist families' and being held by great giants of Turkish economy. The fundamental reason behind it is to use media as a power for their private business and to provide significant expansions for their operations in other business branches by benefiting from the influence of media. Therefore, media institutions which are not profitable enterprises on their own were attached to conglomerates and they started performing the function of publishing press bulletins/corporate releases of the companies concerned. Whereas in 1990's, media owners are now seen to have transformed their enterprises to an industrial complex. They were transformed into conglomerates operating various industrial and service businesses with sectors of finance (banking, leasing, etc.), energy (petroleum company, electricity generation, etc.). While media industry followed rapidly developing communication technology; scales were largened, products gained variety with horizontal, vertical mergers. "Economic characteristics portrayed by media sector are playing an important role that increases intensification in media. The major ones are high capital requirement, high costs of production and distribution, competition among media branches and limitations of media revenues.

Media is integrated with other industries on one hand and bears the same purposes and worries like other businesses. In this sense, it has many similar and common features with them. On the other hand, it has the characteristic of being a culture industry with the power it wields to influence masses and the products produced. Media product differs from products of other industries basically at one point. Accordingly, media content is also classified as cultural product. TV programmes, films, books, magazines are products that raise intellectual levels of society and individuals more than being solely commercial products. In this sense, the value of media products results from their contents, in other words the knowledge or message they carry. For this reason, consumption of a media product is not a physical consumption like consumption of other products. Media acts with financial concerns as a commercial enterprise. However, as it presents opportunities like fame, influence, power which can not be obtained by ownership of another company in comparable scale, financial concerns are losing their priority.

The purpose of this study, is determination of how ownership relations in Turkish media effect the fourth power function of media in public arena. When ‘business’ problems like ownership/interest relations, cartel formation, market shares, advertising revenues join managers whose real profession is not news making, they set forth the core lines of this determination. Agenda making theorists define the agenda determination function of media as “the ability to influence perception structure to shape up opinions of individuals”. When the power to shape up opinions of masses is seized by institutions bearing business concerns, it is a very influential commercial power.

The scope of this study is more than examination of products of Turkish media, but historical conditions and structural factors that shape it up. In this context, the role played by media groups in the formation of public arena in Turkey is set forth, market shares of largest media groups, i.e. Doğan Group, Çalık and Çukurova Groups are examined.

Structuring of market shares within the framework of dominance relations, media texts bearing value as an economic product in this direction required us to evaluate the subject we are taking up with an economic political perspective.

“From the perspective of cultural works, studies on communications are fundamentally interested with the construction of meaning – how meaning is generated within certain forms of expression and by means of them and how it is continually negotiated and made subject to structure deformation by means of practices of daily life.” (Golding-Murdock, 1997:49 transmitting from Murdock, 1989:436) Cultural works are related with

texts covered by media and viewers and class/social relations of both. However, they largely do not examine structural factors having an impact on generation of meaning it holds. “Cultural works do not examine forms of constitution of consumption choices of people by their position in a wider economic formation. The primary target of critical political economy of communication is to research these dynamics. In doing this the warning of “we need to look at not to components of a product but conditions of a practice” of Raymond Williams will have been followed. The main theme of research regarding political economy of communication, is permanent interrogation of professional journalism ideology and how much or which sections of journalism can take part in a position independent from capital holders or advertisers.” (McChesney, 2003, 13)

Since the political economy approach has seen economic interests of media institutions as the most important factor in determination of media content, the real sphere of interest have been tendencies of intensification and monopolisation in the media sector. However, studies drawing attention to monopolisation in media and therefore to the role of media institutions in determination media content, are not only economic-political studies within critical tradition. Within liberal pluralist tradition too, studies emphasizing that intensification in media constitutes serious threats before getting proper information required for proper functioning of democracy are being carried out. (Irvan, 2001:79)

In this direction, effects of media ownership from a perspective of political economy is attempted to be determined by starting off in this study with the pre-acceptance of evaluation of cultural works.

Media, as Creator of Public Dictum and its Influence in Turkey

Democracy theorists have seen a fundamental contradiction between the ideal that public media should operate as a public arena and the monopolised truth of private ownership. Limitation of information flow by media owners by using their ownership rights is one of the important factors leading to this contradiction. Media owners are building their agendas by employing their ownership rights on media, limiting information flow. Obstruction, limitation, diminishing or manipulation of information is raising ethically negative results for information of public. The measure of the level of deterioration in information flow is anthropy. Organisation level in each society depends on the amount of organisation within the system as mentioned by Wiener. (Mattelart, Mattelart, 2003:53-54)

The factors constituting social reality are transferred into public dictum, thereby spread by means of media. Verstraeten states the categories or level of ideologies employed in perception of social reality and assisting in definition and legalisation of a certain world view. These categories promote internalisation of constructions of social location and acceptance of social world as given. In the expression of Bourdieu, struggles of power initiated in the name of transforming or maintaining social world are a struggle to maintain or transform categories providing perception of this world. Public arena is the struggle launched on this categorisation. Therefore, this process of attributing meaning is also important. Effective attribution of meaning at cognitive and ideological level positions viewers or target masses as participant citizens of public arena. (Verstraeten 2002, 364-365).

Power groups have not only the means of symbolic production, but also the cultural and symbolic strategies that are necessary for opinion formation. While the public try to have their solutions exercised on governments and institutions, these groups try to pursue the policies that suit them. While practicing it; however, they would rather have their views and policies adopted by using the capabilities of the mass media instead of opposing or obliging the public, (Atabek & Dagtas, 1998). The direction of the interaction and persuasion process between the public and government displays difference according to the characteristics of the problems encountered, social conditions, the existing powers and efficiency of the public and government.

“According to allegations of agenda determination approach, viewers do not suffice to learn solely some realities from news covered in mass communication means. In fact, they make some conclusions on the position of place or the amount of time allocated to a problem or subject by mass communication means and how important that problem or subject is. The way newspaper editors or television broadcasters select the news to be published when performing their daily works and determination of positions of news in newspapers or television leave important impacts on the mode viewers perceive the world” (Atabek-Dağtaş, 1998:357)

Agenda determination approach considering the success of media in telling public not what they will think but more what they will think on what issue, as preliminary truth, expresses that it patches the information on public mentality listing of media and it arranges the issues on social agenda. Media determines which information are important for the society, and dictates on the society what or which issue holds value; for example by either taking a certain news on its first page in the newspaper or enlarging its photographs or

presenting with headlines of big letter sizes. Sometimes it does not cover at all some of them by making a selection among occurred events, or covers some of them by more than necessary.

“Shaw and McCombs points to agenda determination effect of mass communication means as follows. Significant amount of data was obtained so far regarding the significant role played by newspaper editors and radio television broadcasters in shaping up our social reality while selecting and publishing news in their daiy works... Agenda determination function of mass communication has become the name to characterise – a capability to influence of perceptive imagination of individuals to shape up their thoughts – for this effect of mass communication means. Maybe the most important effect of mass communication is that they arrange and organise our world of means from a perspective of thought. In brief, mass communication means may not be successul in telling what we should think, but they are very successful in telling on what we should think. (Atabek-Dağtaş, 1998:358 tranmitting from Shaw-McCombs, 1977:5)

Agenda determination approach claims the parallellity between the importance attached to a subject by mass communication means and the importance attached to the same issue by viewers, as its fundamental thesis.

- Media takes social power under its own control by making its own agenda.
- Manifestation and protection of social power requires an ideological framework. Such a framework made in accordance with interests of individual constituting the group, is earned, approved and changed through dictum and communication. Similarly, opposing forms of power, which is an analysis of social and historical challenge, should also be analysed. Dominant powers and groups generally want ideology to be adopted as a system of values, norms and targets. In such a case, ideological reproduction assumes a role for formation of compromise and the power arising from it and takes up a hegeomonic form. The idological framework itself is comprised of socially meaningful norms, values, aims and principles selected for perception, interpretation and facilitation of action and serves expansive interests of groups in social practices. Therefore, the integrity between ideology and social attitudes is realised. (Van Dijk, 1994: 279).

In this context, media realises its own ideological theory in creation of social reality. Consequently, social reality and information factors are a reflection of ideologies that has

gained validity and power within that society. There exists an important bond between social reality, information and ideology.

In reality, public opinion limits and directs actions of individuals. Therefore, “institutions and techniques affecting public opinion bear importance...” (Bottomore, 1970: 261). Likewise, the main current media in Turkey holds an apparent dominance in determining the agenda of society. Public broadcasting is gradually losing its affect in the face of private broadcasting. In such a case, it becomes difficult for individuals to express themselves. Pursuance of a publication policy based largely on trivial news has led to emergence of individuals who are not aware of rights and obligations in legal and political spheres that could be manipulated easily with social changes. “Mass communication means continually increase the information acquired by individuals about what is going on in the society. However, their activation of this information is strongly prevented” (Sennet, 1996: 352). Media has brought forth the function of manipulation more than giving information. “Four historical processes are in core position for critical political economy of culture: development of media, expansion of company range, materialisation, changing role of state and government intervention” (Golding & Murdoch, 1997: 57).

The system dominating the age in which we are living from a political, social and economic perspective is globalisation. The notion of globalisation has a fundamental importance in the description of capitalism being structured generally in ultra-national area. In the centre of globalisation lies media. As a result of standardised technology, biological and cultural diversity is rapidly being destroyed, economic cultural identities of nations are melting away in the quite cry of a one-dimensional photograph. (Pazarbaşı, 2007: 167)

The most important means of globalisation is information... What makes persons like Rupert Murdoch, Silvio Berlusconi rich within the global system, results from their power to distribute information set on news format. This power does not result only from the fact that the actors in question own the information they are distributing, but from holding specific information increasing their profit, playing an important role in bringing them to a well planned monopoly position. This is the fundamental reality underneath the dictum of information society, information age taken up along with globalisation. (Pazarbaşı, 2007: 168)

Today, the process of making works public generally serves the policies of private interests. In view of Habermas, this situation takes place by giving public prestige to events, problems by means of promotion and therefore by enabling them to be praised within the non-public climate. The difference between public and social emerges in that the basis of one of

them is democratic policy and points out to sphere of jargon and action in this way, while the other refers to family and economy as specific area. The public arena described by Habermas as the principle of equal participation and free dictum in public communication is the sphere of jargon relations separate from state in which citizens discuss their common problems, come to an agreement and carry out an action. A true public opinion is the area to set disclose views and criticise about problems by means of free and equal participation without making any separation. The public arena in which beliefs of citizens are disclosed is an area of fair and free struggle. “The expression of public opinion refers to tasks of criticism and control carried out informally (and certainly formally in election times) by public body constituted by citizens against dominant structure organised in the form of a state... The principle of public arena as a sphere acting as an intermediary between society and state and organising the public itself as the creator of public opinion is in conformity with the principle of public information... Public opinion can gain existence solely under leadership of a judging public with respect to its definition.” (Habermas, 2004: 96) The norms set by Habermas with the principle of public arena are accessibility by all, elimination of privileges, attainment of general norms and rational legalities. “With the notion of public arena, Habermas describes a sphere where citizens do not interact with companies or government, fundamental principles of public are generated by democratic media. From this perspective, it bears the concern to create a media sector formed with capital not aiming at profit, pursuing no commercial concerns, re-managed and controlled under democratic tradition.” (McChesney, 2003, 16) Therefore media refers to a mediatic side of public arena because they built by means of discussion of some public problems and some fundamental values and jargon, therefore they became an intermediary of social, cultural and political representation (Köse, 2007: 307).

In view of Habermas, conscious industry materialised culture, instrumental mind penetrated into both specific area and public arena and drained both spheres. Consequently, public arena is made by means of research techniques, public relations, etc. and therefore public arena is losing its public character, thereby reduced to a position being directed. Furthermore, the function to create public opinion continues, however public arena has lost its significance. (Habermas, 2004: 98)

Public arena, are locations where thoughts and actions are produced and shared within social life as a notion of location. In this context, public arena; includes all issues reproducing meaning like daily practices and culture. Each democratic society in which people or nation manifests public character up to all sub-national or ultra-national political unions.

When referred to public arenas, the areas created by collective subjects constituting this area are perceived. However, capitalist social developments are leading to destruction of public arena. Therefore, individuals fail to reach a joint conclusion with equal critical discussions, various organisations could perform bargaining with public power based on interest. Ownership relations of media having an important place in the formation of democratic public arena, is regarded as an important factor of destruction in Turkey. Public arena has adopted modern principle of self-administration based on critical mind and rational consent. If public character refers to the field of equal participation and free jargon aiming at self-administration and reciprocity, all obstacles before it should be removed. Public arena should be against not only dominant state power but also prevalence of capital.

Media as a field of communication, in which citizens dispute freely with each other and conclude on problems regarding their public interests, is the new agora of liberal democracy whose historical roots date back to 18th century. In view of Arendt who re-evaluated the area in question in a less rational yet more aesthetic manner as opposed to Habermas, some factors, persons, policies, events, etc. in public arena come to stage before society. Citizens are called to formulate their values on specifically unrational foundations. The public arena model proposed by Arendt, still looks very close to reality with the perils it includes, common feature of the mortal in such a model particularly regarding circulation of information of public interest is that they have neither time nor information means on a scientific basis. It is more about having the power to influence each other by means of sentimental tools as well as being rational. (Köse, 2007: 307)

The concept of news making bears the targets of educating the reader regarding problems, informing them about processes of taking decisions on themselves and making them conscious in a manner to provide their participation as citizens. It makes them aware of their responsibilities in democracies as a requirement of being a citizen. (Cangöz, 2003: 103) “Being a citizen is holding himself responsible for proper functioning of institutions respecting human rights and enabling representation of ideas and interests” (Touraine, 2000: 364). Creation of conscious citizens is a requirement of public society. However the media of present day has assumed a function towards creation of mass society.

When we consider the social, cultural and political effects of the media in Turkey, we can give such an example that AKP (Justice and Prosperity Party), which has a rightist tendency, came into power by polling 46% of the votes in the general elections in 2007 with the support of the media. In TV channels programmes with political contents, the way the

news is given in newspapers, and the data presented by Gallup poll companies before the election implicitly provided support for AKP. What and for whom the Gallup poll companies conduct their researches and through which media they convey their findings to the audience posit an indicator of the effects of media. Furthermore, the issues, such as women's headgear (*turban*), citizenship, privatization etc., which play a significant role in the Turkish society and find a continuous ground for discussion, are given prominent place in the media according to different perspectives. However, this is a different research topic.

From a cultural point of view, the increase in the number of mainstream newspapers that are similar to each other as well as the magazines on TV that incite popular culture can be given as examples. It has been observed that individuals tend to watch the programmes focused on entertainment, games and drawing a prize in lottery. Similarly, football is introduced to the multitudes a product of mass culture. Moreover, it has been noticed that some historical, political and social values have changed. Similarly, some concepts are either opened to question or substituted by some others. In the same way, it can also be seen that media attempts to internalize these concepts and ideologies.

Ownership Structure in Media and Its Effect on Functions of Media

Media being the fourth power to constitute democracy or being the fourth power controlling and supervising the three powers constituting democracy is inapplicable under the structural reality of present day capitalist societies. This inapplicability has manifested itself much more evidently with the removal of poor media. (Erdoğan, 1999. 38-39)

While media should in fact supervise, control legislation, government and judiciary in a society, yet perform these functions in the name of public, citizens or become a fourth power, today it has become the fifth branch of the sovereign, rulers, property owners. (Duran, 2003: 87) However, media which is no longer a core fourth power in favour of public controlling the powers of legislation, government and judiciary for the benefit of public as claimed by representatives of liberal thought, under the process of commercialisation starting from the second half of 19th century, has become a hub of power/rule for itself. (Cangöz, 2003: 101)

Journalist editor Squires qualifies this as the death of fourth power. Press was conventionally a politically active initiative, centered around people, having the spirit of public against private ownership, concerned first of all with the protection of democracy. Press has lost this superior character. It is no longer an institution that has devoted itself to

public interest, but a commercial activity chasing profit procurement. Journalism which is the mirror in which the society sees itself is largely diverted, its practices are commercialised and it has been used for different purposes. (Erdoğan, 1999: 39 transmitted from Squires, 1994: 9-10)

“According to theory of specific benefits of control developed particularly by economists like Demsets, Grossman and Hart from the second half of 1980’s, non-financial benefits like fame, influence, power obtained by controlling a newspaper or television are much higher than benefits obtained from controlling another company of comparable scale. For that reason, the conclusion derived is that intensification in media companies would be high. (Djankov-McLiesh-Nenova-Shleifer, 2001: 47)

Therefore public gets informed of daily events in the direction of interests of media conglomerates and they are alienated because they have no right to say in their formation. Since they are distanced from society and focused on strengthening their powers, media is also distancing and alienated from society. One of the most important results of all these, is that they do not feel any responsibility towards society from an ethical perspective. “Reporting by media of disappropriateness committed by persons in state organisation and big corruptions committed by private property and discussions emerging with this reporting, gives the impression that capitalist order is in democratic and pluralist character. With this appearance mass communication media gets into sheath of being the fourth power or the eye and ear of public. The system not allowing exceptions and the appearance of flexibility that comes with exceptions, can never sell itself as a system of democracy and freedom”. (Erdoğan, 1999: 40-41)

When looked at total turnover and profitability rates of great media holdings along with other sectors, it is seen that the profit they make from mass communication means (radio, television, press) is very low. There are even some bodies which do not make any profit at all. Despite very low earnings, why do bosses insistently hold mass communication means in their hands? The answer to this question can be given in one single sentence: Bosses keep media in their hands to secure other enterprises they own, in fact the system in which they operate. How would media provide this security? The answer to this can be given in four sentences: First of all, bosses are using media as the means of advertisement of other sectors they own; secondly, they can use the media they own as a means of pressure on political power in taking decisions that concerns them; thirdly, they can employ media as means of fight with other sectors in competition with them; fourthly, while doing all these, they are distancing public from mistakes of political power and system by entertaining, distracting,

manipulating and contributing to emergence of society of no reactions, either deliberately or without any such intention. (Tekinalp, 2008: 124)

As holding owner businessmen who have entered into investment in different types, gained ownership of many newspapers, magazines, TV and radio channels, journalism changed structure. These developments lead to revision of the concept of democratic, free, public supervisor press turned into a motto by liberal politics and economy and criticism of the role of journalism within the new world order. (Tekinalp, 2003)

Investment of big capital in media has led to the result of this sphere forgetting its duty to make opposition on one hand, regarding viewers and readers as a client on the other hand. Within such a structure, to what extent could big capital owners operating in various industrial branches and at the same time included in media sector, leaning on environmental problems for example in the name of social interests be a realistic approach? (Özgen, 2001: 22)

Commercialisation of media is significant for journalism. It is because journalism is dependent on economic, technological and structural contexts of media. Although journalism is not fully dependent on the structure of media, commercialisation leaves clear traces on journalism. Commercialisation is gradually being described as a social process making organisations of journalism subject to the rules of capitalist society and shaping up its social activities under economic calculations. (Alver, 2007: 193 transmitted from Altmeyden, 1996: 257) Despite commercialisation of media, socially desirable achievements, media presents non-functional presentations with massive attractions. (Alver, 2007: 193) Besides there is also need for money in journalism; because journalism making organisational production is to struggle permanently for economic success that secures future. On which basis, organisations of journalism secure their economic achievements is described within reference framework of media. Therefore, the economy and organisations of media are brought forward. (Rühl, 1993: 134)

“Media production managed by big companies and shaped up in parallel with interests and strategies of these companies rules cultural sphere in two ways. Firstly, large groups of companies having interest in a series of sectors like newspapers and magazines, television, film, music in a continually increasing rate of cultural production are directly responsible. Secondly, companies with no direct relation with cultural industries as producer can implement a noticeable control on the direction of cultural activity by means of their roles as advertiser and sponsor.” (Golding-Murdock, 1997: 57)

Changing Ownership Structure in Turkish Media

Initiation of management of media organisation on the basis of profitability with a business logic has altered contents and journalism perceptions in time. Following rapid experience of the process of formation of media holdings, 1980's and 90's when holdings entered into media sector, are reached. Private television broadcasting created suitable conditions for big capital, while it created unsuitable conditions for small and medium size capital for entry into the industry. Ambitions of conglomerate capitals to enter into media sector despite of its operation with very low profit margin, gains significance only in consideration of capabilities to become influential on governments and public by means of media. All these data are in the feature to remind that the media sector in Turkey is neither in a multi-vocal nor multi-coloured structure and will not be so in near future. Media consumers named as viewers, readers and listeners experience the dream of pluralist, freedom-minded democracy with selections it makes from within options formed, theoretised for themselves in their name (Dursun, Alemdar, 1999: 137-138)

The period before 1980 which could be named as conglomeratisation of media was followed in a short time with stages of the entry of holdings in media and integration of printed media with electronic press. The period between 1980 and 1990 was experienced in the media sector as a war of wolves. While institutions making their first accumulation of wealth and burgeoning in the media sector entered into a market war among themselves on one hand, sector struggles were accelerated on the other hand with the entry of conglomerates with an eye on the profit of media along with the power to use it as an arm. (Atabek, Dağtaş, 1998: 136-137)

Journalist Cüneyt Arcayürek evaluates the change experienced after 1980 as follows: Until 1980's a newspaper was for journalism. Newspapers of which the principal function is to give news entered into commercial implementations. Newspapers were seized by rapidly expanding capital and newspapers were transformed into enterprises operating for purposes of profit. (Oktay, 1987: 81)

This situation of media institutions which have become commercial businesses and are now principally aiming at making profit with the entry of conglomerates into media is evaluated by a newspaper editor as follows: "I have a character distinct from those of chief editors of Babiali I have seen so far. I see myself not as a chief editor assigned with the task of making a newspaper but as a company manager who is designated with earning money for his boss." (Köse: 2000: 227-228)

As mentioned above, media ownership came out of hands of journalist families in 1980's in Turkey and started to be owned by companies prevalent in the Turkish economy. Aydın Doğan bought Milliyet newspaper in 1979 and gained the title of being the first non-journalist boss entering into media. In the media adventure of Doğan starting with his purchase of Milliyet newspaper, Doğan Group coming forth as the largest of Turkish media, maintained this growth in horizontal, cross and vertical dimensions. The first action of Aydın Doğan, the first non-journalist boss entering into media was to make employees of Milliyet newspaper with no syndicate membership while they were all members of a syndicate. Doğan, who later bought Hürriyet newspaper afterwards in 1994, therefore became owner of Milliyet, Hürriyet and Posta newspapers and a large number of weekly and monthly magazines, Hürriyet News Agency, Kanal D.

Uzan family who owned İmarbank and Adabank in 1990, set up the first private television channel of Turkey, Magic Box together with Ahmet Özal, son of the then prime minister Turgut Özal. Uzan Group grew with cement, electricity companies after its entry into television sector, and it made its prowess felt very clearly with its ownership of a television channel. In 1999, it earned the tender for presentation of Turkish Football League to which it entered with Teleon company. Uzan Group, having started to publish a newspaper named Star in 1999, entered into financial problems with seizure by the government of energy corporations Çukurova Electricity and Kepez Electricity under their ownership and seizure of their banks in the same way after that, so they has to draw back from media.

Entry of Erol Aksoy, owner of İktisat Bankası into media was realised with his partnership in Show TV and Hürriyet. Erol Aksoy drew back from the sphere of printed media in a short time, and found it appropriate to limit his field of activity with Cine 5 an encrypted channel, Show TV and some magazines. Aydın Doğan, owner of Milliyet newspaper, purchased Hürriyet Newspaper from Erol Simavi and reinforced his prowess in the area of printed media, then he entered into television sector as he bought shares of Kanal D, a national television channel. Whereas Sabah Group entered into the field of television with ATV. In the meantime, Uzan family entered into realm of printed media with Star Newspaper in 1999. İhlas Holding owned by Enver Ören, holding Türkiye Newspaper, TGRT and İhlas News Agency was another group making its name heard besides Doğan, Bilgin, Aksoy, Uzan groups.

In 1997, some changes occurred in the ownership of media groups in Turkey. Çukurova Group in partnership with Dinç Bilgin purchased Akşam and Güneş newspapers

from Mehmet Ali Ilıcak, thereby continued its expansion in the sphere of media. Mehmet Emin Karamehmet heading Çukurova Group became partner of Show TV and Cine 5 with share of 50%.

Regarding distribution, Doğan and Bilgin Groups set up Bir-Yay in 1996 and took the path of acquiring full dominance on the market. Establishment of Bir-Yay occurred with the merger of Birleşik Basın Dağıtım distributing Sabah and Hürriyet Newspapers and Yay-Sat distributing Cumhuriyet, Türkiye and Milliyet newspapers. The first implementation of Bir-Yay formed with the purchase of Hürriyet Newspaper by Aydın Doğan was its decision not to distribute Akşam Newspaper owned by Mehmet Ali Ilıcak, claiming that it damaged the confidence of its readers by not delivering the promotional products it undertook. Doğan and Bilgin groups controlled 70% of the sector in press sector from 1997 to 2000; 33% in the television sector. (Tokgöz, 2003: 39-63)

Sabah Group is the only member of Turkish press with a boss of journalist origin until the beginning of 2000's. Dinç Bilgin was imprisoned in 2000 for evacuation of Etibank it owned and he had to leave Sabah Group (Sabah, ATV, Yeni Asır, Kanal 6) to Mehmet Emin Karamehmet and Turgay Ciner.

When we look at the changing ownership structure in the Turkish Media sector, “Dominant groups in the Turkish media sector in 2003 were as follows: Doğan, Çukurova, Uzan, Sabah, İhlas. Within the elapsed time, structural changes occurred in all of these groups, some even changed their names. As of 2006, it is seen that three groups fundamentally dominate the Turkish media sector and maintain a claim to grow: Doğan, Ciner, Çukurova. The leading one among these changes was the transfer to TMSF of companies belonging to media groups whose banking operations were disallowed and these properties were put out for sale from 2005 by the fund...” (Adaklı, 2006: 358)

While the new era of politics experienced with AKP government between 2003-2005 created an evident slide in publication and broadcasting policies, the capital structure within the media industry also encountered alterations. With the liquidation of Uzan Group, privatisation of Türk Telekom, general ownership structure too encountered alterations. Persons, managers and columnists in key positions in many mass communication means were replaced. The most evident reason of these replacements was inner clashes in political bases and conglomerate structures. Marketing strategies based on fundamental spheres of profitability like digital broadcasting, internet and e-commerce were rapidly brought into life and foreign media groups attempted to acquire a share in Turkish Media market. In the years

2004 and 2005, new strategic partnerships continued in the media sector and company mergers continued. (Adaklı, 2006: 346-348)

When we reached the year 2008, influential and powerful groups of media are Doğan, Çukurova and Çalık Groups with the seizure of Merkez (Ciner) Group by TMSF and its sale to Çalık Holding in 21 April 2008.

Çukurova Group is comprised of companies operating in many fields from automotive, paper, chemical products, textile products, construction, telecommunication, banking, insurance, maritime transportation, media and information technology. The properties of the group in media and markets connected with media can be summarised as follows;

- 3 newspapers (Aksam, Günes, Tercüman),
- 6 magazines (Alem, Stuff, Platin& Worl Bussiness, Fourfourtwo, Autocar, TotalFilm)
- A digital platform company (Digitürk)
- 6 television channels in total (Lig TV, Show Plus, Show Türk, Show Max) of which 2 are nation-wide (Show TV, SkyTürk)
- An advertising channel marketing company (Mepaş),
- Various companies presenting services in technical and infrastructure areas to companies operating in media, telecommunication and internet sectors,
- Two radio channels (Alem FM, Lig Radyo)
- An internet service provider company (Superonline)
- A GSM company (Turkcell)
- (www.cukurova.com.tr, 12.07.2008)

Properties and fields of operation of Doğan Group in media sector can be summarised as follows;

- 8 newspapers, namely Hürriyet, Radikal, Milliyet, Posta, Fanatik, Fanatik Basket, Referans, Turkish Daily News
- 27 monthly/weekly/periodical magazines, 19 children's magazines,
- One newspaper and a distribution company (Yay-Sat),
- Printing complexes operating in Ankara, İzmir, İstanbul, Trabzon, Adana and Antalya
- Radyo D, CNN Türk Radyo and Slow Türk,

- 3 nation-wide television channels with logos of Kanal D, Star TV and CNN Türk and 5 television channels of which broadcasts are transmitted via satellite, cable and Digiturk (Fenerbahçe TV, Beşiktaş TV, Dream TV, Dream Türk TV, Euro D)
- Televisions, radios and websites under Doğan Group and a news agency (Doğan Haber Ajansı) providing news, photographs and motion picture news services to press broadcasting corporations outside the group,
- A digital platform company (D-Smart),
- Ruling of Competition Committee dated 18 15.12.2006 and no. 06-91.
- Production companies (D Productions, Galaxyteknik) providing content for book publishing and television, radio and music production (Doğan Müzik Company), Dijital Medya (Doğan Online, Ultra Kablo) and advertisement location marketing companies. (www.doganholding.com.tr, 12.07.2008)

Properties and fields of operation of Çalık Group in media sector;

- 1 television channel (ATV)
- 4 newspapers (Sabah, Takvim, Pas Fotomaç, Günaydın)
- 11 magazines (Aktüel, Para, Forbes, Bebeğim ve Biz, Sinema, Sofra, Home Art, Şamdan Plus, Global Enerji, Transport, Hukuki Perspektifler)
- A Distribution Company (Merkez Dağıtım)
- A radio channel (Radyo Citi) (Kara, 2008:34)

The level of domination of the three media groups mentioned above on Turkish media can be observed by examining newspaper sales, market shares of television channels.

In this context, four weekly net sales reports of newspapers are as below.

	09.06/15.06	16.06/22.06	23.06/29.06	30.06/06.07	Total
Total for All Newspapers	4.984.589	5.251.794	4.933.045	4.987.827	20.157.255

Table1: Four weekly Newspaper Net sales between the dates 09.06.2008/06.07.2008 Source: <http://www.medyatava.com>

As seen in Table 1, four weekly net sales figures are given for the time between 09.06.2008 – 30.06.2008. Within a period of four weeks, total sales of all newspapers are seen to be 20 million 157 thousand.

Doğan Group Newspapers Net Sale

Newspapers	09.06/15.06	16.06/22.06	23.06/29.06	30.06/06.07	Total
Posta	634.882	660.796	628.722	630.507	2.554.907
Hürriyet	508.812	538.723	521.548	530.621	2.099.704
Fanatik	228.835	269.523	228.987	236.050	963.395
Milliyet	210.812	216.649	203.203	202.262	832.926
Radikal	43.556	47.925	43.809	43.399	178.689
Referans	14.715	14.704	14.542	14.299	58.260
Turkish Daily News	2.939	2762	2.732	2.758	11.191
Total	1.644.551	1.751.082	1.643.543	1.659.896	6.699.072

Table2: Net sales of newspapers owned by Doğan Group between the dates 9.06.2008/06.07.2008. (Fanatik Basket is not included in this list.)

According to the monthly net sales of the newspapers issued by Doğan Holding, *Posta*, a tabloid newspaper, has the highest circulation rate. All the other others are mass newspapers. During the elections, these newspapers used to support the government.

As mentioned in Table 2; four weekly total net sales of *Posta*, *Hürriyet*, *Fanatik*, *Milliyet*, *Radikal*, *Referans*, *Turkish Daily News* newspapers owned by Doğan Group is approximately 7 million copies.

Çalık Group Newspapers Net Sales

Newspapers	09.06/15.06	16.06/22.06	23.06/29.06	30.06/06.07	Total
Sabah	405.705	432.736	397.614	384.040	1.620.095
Takvim	212.011	223.800	203.426	207.390	846.627
Pas Fotomaç	264.767	308.697	255.168	264.140	1.092.772
Total	882.483	965.233	856.208	855.570	3.559.494

Table 3: Net sales of newspapers owned by Çalık Group between dates 09.06.2008/06.07.2008.

According to the monthly net sales of the newspapers issued by Çalık Holding, *Sabah*, which is an ardent supporter of the government, has the highest circulation rate. All the newspapers owned by this holding are mass newspapers.

As mentioned in Table 3, four weekly total net sales of *Sabah*, *Takvim*, *Pas Fotomaç* newspapers owned by Çalık Group is approximately 3 million 600 copies.

Çukurova Group net sales

Newspapers	09.06/15.06	16.06/22.06	23.06/29.06	30.06/06.07	Total
Akşam	181.312	202.433	185.762	171.622	741.129
Güneş	157.692	163.929	153.214	152.847	627.682
Tercüman	26.094	26.448	26.109	26.661	105.312
Total	365.098	392.810	365.085	351.130	1.474.123

Table 4: Net sales of newspapers owned by Çukurova Group between the dates of 9.06.2008/06.07.2008.

According to the monthly net sales of the newspapers issued by Çukurova Holding, *Akşam* is the most circulated one. The other newspapers owned by this holding are mass newspapers.

As mentioned in Table 4; four weekly total net sales of *Akşam*, *Güneş*, *Tercüman* newspapers owned by Çukurova Group between the dates of 09.06.2008 – 06.07.2008 is approximately 1,5 million copies.

Media Companies	Total Sale	Percentage of the total sale
Doğan Group	6.699.072	33,23
Çalık Group	3.559.494	17,66
Çukurova Group	1.474.123	7,31
Total	11.732.689	58,20

Table 5: Total net sales and percentages of newspapers owned by Doğan, Çalık and Çukurova Groups between the dates 09.06.2008/06.07.2008

As mentioned in Table 5; four weekly total net sales of newspapers owned by Doğan, Çalık and Çukurova Groups between the dates 09.06.2008 – 06.07.2008 is 11 million 732 thousand. In percentage, it is 58,2 percent in total. As seen, besides dominant prevalence of Doğan Group with 33 percent, three groups are largely dominant.

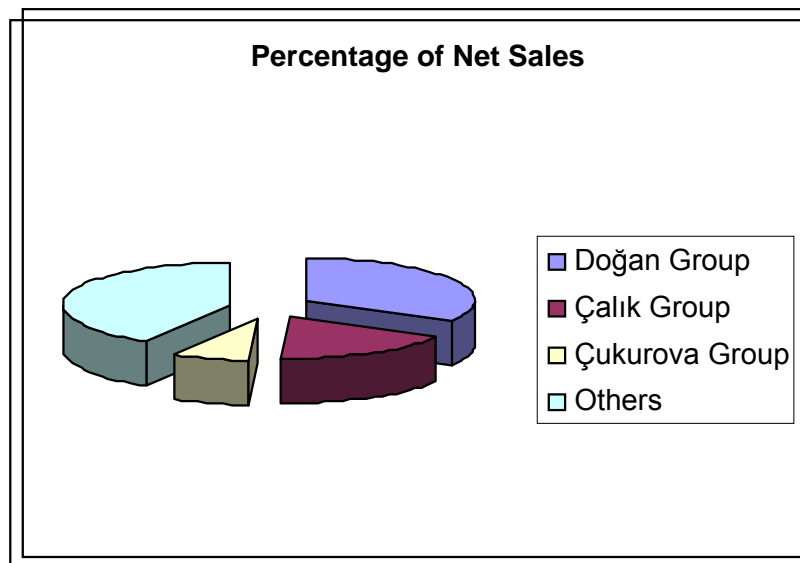


Table 6: Total net sales percentages of newspapers owned by Doğan, Çalık and Çukurova Groups between the dates of 09.06.2008/06.07.2008.

Market shares with respect to advertising revenues and on the basis of market shares in national television channels owned by the three big groups are indicated in tables below.

Media Companies	2005 Market Share (%)	2006 Market Share (%)	2007 Market Share (%)
Doğan Group	38,6	40	45
Çalık Group	22,4	25	21
Çukurova Group	15,2	14	15
Other	23,7	20	19

Total	100	100	100
-------	-----	-----	-----

Table 7: Total market shares on the basis of Groups with respect to advertising revenues of national channels
Source: RTÜK

According to the total market shares on the basis of advertising revenues, Doğan Group has noticeably increased its revenue between 2005 and 2007. For Çalık Group; on the other hand, there seems to be minor decrease. Advertising revenue of Çukurova Group remains almost the same.

Media Companies	Market Share	Market Share	Market Share
	2005	2006	2007
Doğan Group	38,7	40	45
Çalık Group	22,4	25	21
Çukurova Group	15,3	14	15
Other	23,6	21	19
Total	100	100	100

Table 8: Market Share on the Basis of Company for National Channels Source: RTÜK, TRT

As seen, the market share of Doğan Group has displayed a gradual increase while the market share of Çalık Group has relatively decreased. The market share of Çukurova Group remains rather unchanged.

Television broadcasting portrays an appearance with 3 big groups having 80 percent of total market and considerably small enterprises for the sector sharing the remaining portion of 20 percent. In fact, market shares in this list maintain a similar course over the last three years. Doğan Group with a market share of approximately 40%-45% over the last three years maintains its dominant position in the market.

CONCLUSION

Keeping public interest in the forefront within a society is important for a society being a public society or mass society. In a mass society, individuals can not express their own thoughts and opinions easily. Mass communication tools shape up masses as they wish and normalise it.

“Form of organisation of mass communication does not enable individuals to respond instantly. Actions which need to be taken by the public for self-realisation after formation of public opinion, are being controlled by the rulers” (Mills, 1974: 425).

“Cultural policy is the creation of suitable conditions for the public to join in cultural life. Measures taken, organisations set up, economic and social facilities provided for each person to display and develop his creativity are referred to as cultural policy... Maheu says ‘people will one day realise that true democratic policies are based in culture and culture reigns over development’” (Topuz, 1998: 8-10). Cultural democracy is required in a society for everyone to access culture and for freedom of communication. For that reason, a society needs to democratise. In view of Topuz, cultural democracy is providing contribution of public in creation of cultural products and benefiting from all products. In this context, the determination function of media could be discussed ethically at this point.

In view of Mills (1974: 416), liberal theorists interpret the ruling system in the society from their own perspective. Decisions of state and administration by taking the political role of community called “*public*”, decisions leading to important results in the society, taken by private sector institutions are depicted as if they are in the public interest and claimed to be right, official announcements are made on behalf of public. The characteristic of public opinion within the framework of democratic thought is that it has the possibility to think and discuss freely. Individuals in organisations of a democratic society take part in decisions one to one. This situation indicates that decisions are taken in the name of public. What matters is that these groups can make their voice heard sufficiently and become effective.

Transition from opinion journalism to mass journalism, death of thought workers, demolition of syndicalisation within historical process lead to formation of a society that does not think but entertain, not concerned with social problems but involved in trivial news, who do not tire itself with articles, but get interested (!) in visually intense news.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adaklı, G.(2006). Media Industry in Turkey: Ownership and Control Relations in an Age of Neo-Liberalism, Ütopya Publications, Ankara.
- Alver, F. (2007). Theoretical Foundations of Journalism. Beta Publications. İstanbul.
- Atabek, N. –Dağtaş, E. (1998). Public Opinion and Communication, Anatolian University Publication, No:139, Eskişehir.
- Bottomore, T.B. (1970). *Sociology* (U. Oskay, trans.). Der Publications, İstanbul.
- Cangöz İ. (2003), “Citizen Journalism and Local Press”, Handbook of News Maker, Edited by: Sevda Alankuş, Ips İletişim Vakfı Publications, İstanbul.
- Dursun, Ç.-Alemdar, K. (1999). “Media World”, Media Power and Democratic Institutions, Afa Publications, İstanbul.
- Duran R. (2003), “Citizen Journalism”, Handbook of Journalist, Edited by: Sevda Alankuş, Ips Communication Foundation Publications, İstanbul.
- Erdoğan, İ. (1999). “What Fourth Power Transmits: the Example of America”, Media Power and Democratic Institutions, Afa Publications, İstanbul.
- Golding, P. and Murdoch, G. (1997). “Culture, Communication and Political Economy, (translated by B. Kejanlıoğlu), (edited by S. İrvan), Ark Publishing, Ankara.
- Habermas, J. (2004). “Public Arena” *Public Arena*, (edited by M. Özbek), Hil Publishing, İstanbul.
- İrvan, S. (2001). “A General Evaluation of Agenda Determination Approach” Gazi Communication Spring, Number: 9, Ankara.
- Kara, M. (2008). “All Eyes on Media”, CNBC-e Business, June 2008, Number: 20.
- Köse, H.(2000). “A General Approach on Journalist Ethic from 1980’s to Present Day, Notion of Press Consumption and Changing Nature of Turkish Printed Media” İ.Ü. Communication Faculty Magazine Number: 10, İstanbul.
- Köse H. (2007), Alternative Media, Yirmidört Publishing, İstanbul.
- Mattelart, A.-Mattelart, M.(2003). History of Communication Theories, Translated by: Merih Zıllıoğlu, İstanbul, İletişim Publications.

- McChesney, R.W. (2003). "Political Economy of Global Communication", *Capitalism and Information Age*, Editors: Robert W. McChesney, Ellen Meiksins Wood, John Bellamy Foster, Epos Publications, Ankara.
- Mills, W. (1974). *Ruling Elites* (U. Oskay, trans.), Bilgi, Ankara.
- Oktay, A. (1987). *Social Change and Press*, Bilim/Felsefe/Sanat Publications, İstanbul.
- Özgen, M. (2001). "A Historical Approach on Development of Turkish Press and Evaluation", İstanbul University Communication Faculty Magazine, Number: 11, İstanbul.
- Pazarbaşı B. (2007). "Reflection of Globalisation Process on Media Industries" *Communication Reflections*, Ed.: Vedat Demir, Pınar Eraslan Yayınoglu, Anahtar Kitaplar Publishing, İstanbul.
- Rühl, M. (1993). "Marktpublizistik-Oder. Wie alle Presse und Rundfunk bezahlen". *Publizistk.* 38 (2)
- Sennett, R. (1996). *Collapse of Public Man* (S. Durak ve A. Yılmaz, trans.). Ayrintı, İstanbul.
- Tekinalp, Ş. (2008). "Postmodernist Fourth Power: Commentaries". İstanbul University Communication Faculty Magazine, İstanbul.
- Tekinalp, Ş. (2003). *Radio and Television to Camera Obscuradan Synopticon*. İstanbul: Der.
- Tokgöz O. (2003). *Fundamental Journalism*. İmge Bookstore, 5. Edition, Ankara.
- Topuz, H. (1998). *Cultural Policies in the World and in Turkey*, Adam Publications, İstanbul.
- Touraine, A. (2000). *Critic of Modernity*, (translated by H. Tufan), Yapı Kredi Publications, İstanbul.
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1994). *Structures of Dictum and Government: Media, Government, Ideology* (edited and translated by M. Küçük), Ark, Ankara.
- Verstraeten, H. (2002). *Media Culture Politics, Media and StructuralTransformation Public Arena* (edited by S. İrvan), Alp Publishing, Ankara, ss.364-365.
- www.doganholding.com.tr, 12.07.2008.
- www.cukurova.com.tr, 12.07.2008.
- www.Rtuk.gov.tr, 15.06.2008
- www.medyatava.com, 12.06.2008