

**T.C.**

**HASAN KALYONCU ÜNİVERSİTESİ**

**LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ**

**SİYASET BİLİMİ VE ULUSLARARASI İLİŞKİLER ANABİLİM DALI**

**İNGİLİZCE TEZLİ YÜKSEK LİSANS PROGRAMI**

**MEDIA'S INFLUENCE IN FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS: THE EASTERN  
MEDITERRANEAN CASE**

**YÜKSEK LİSANS TEZİ**

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**DR. ÖĞR. ÜYESİ MURAT ASLAN**

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## LİSANSÜSTÜ EĞİTİM ENSTİTÜSÜ MÜDÜRLÜĞÜNE YÜKSEK LİSANS KABUL VE ONAY FORMU

Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Anabilim Dalı Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler Tezli Yüksek Lisans Programı öğrencisi **Nebiye GÜNER** tarafından hazırlanan “Media’s Influence in Foreign Policy Options: The Eastern Mediterranean Case” başlıklı tez, **09 / 11 / 2021** tarihinde yapılan savunma sınavı sonucu **başarılı** bulunarak jürimiz tarafından **Yüksek Lisans Tezi** olarak kabul edilmiştir.

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**Bu tez Enstitü Yönetim Kurulunca belirlenen yukarıdaki jüri üyeleri tarafından uygun görülmüş ve Enstitü Yönetim Kurulu kararı ile onaylanmıştır.**

**Prof. Dr. İbrahim Halil GÜZELBEY**  
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## TEZ ETİK VE BİLDİRİM SAYFASI

Yüksek Lisans Tezi olarak sunduđum “MEDIA’S INFLUENCE IN FOREIGN POLICY OPTIONS: THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN CASE” başlıklı çalışmanın tarafımda, bilimsel ahlak ve geleneklere aykırı düşecek bir yardıma başvurmaksızın yazıldığını ve yararlandığım eserlerin kaynakçada gösterilenlerden oluştuđunu ve bunlara atıf yapılarak yararlanmıř olduđumu belirtir ve onurumla dođrularım. ....../...../.....

**[İmza]**

**Nebiye Güner**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

Since the early 2000s with the emergence of scientific prediction based on the rich natural gas resources in the Eastern Mediterranean, mainly between of Turkey, Israel, Egypt and Greece, experienced many crises and still continue. Under the foreign policy of media, the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis was investigated and the geopolitical effect of the media on decision-makers was also shown.

I would like to thank my thesis Supervisor Dr. Aslan who dedicated his precious time and academically guided me in this graduate study.

Also, I owe a debt of gratitude to my family, who have always been with me and supported me in this process. Special thanks to my husband Ali for his belief in me.

Nebiye Güner

## ÖZET

Doğu Akdeniz Krizi 2000'li yılların başlarında Güney Kıbrıs Cumhuriyeti'nin kendi Münhasır Ekonomik Bölgesini (MEB) oluşturup kıyıdaş ülkelerle anlaşma yapması ile başlamıştır. Buna karşılık Türkiye'de kendi bölge haritalarını oluşturmuş ve Birleşmiş Milletlere bildirimde bulunulmuştur. Tüm bu doğalgaz kaynaklarını elde etme arzusu Türkiye, İsrail, Mısır ve Yunanistan'ı harekete geçirmiş ve bu ülkeler arasında bir nevi gözle görünmeyen bir savaş başlatmıştır. Devletler kendi stratejilerini üretirken yaygın organlarının gelişmeleri sunma biçimi göze çarpmaktadır. Bu çalışmada Türkiye'nin en çok okunan üç gazetesi Sabah, Sözcü ve Hürriyet'in Doğu Akdeniz Krizi ile ilgili haberlerdeki yansımalar gözlemlenmiştir. İlk olarak, bu yansımaların Türkiye'nin dış güvenliğine ilişkin politikalarında etkisinin söz konusu olup olmadığı, sonrasında Türkiye'nin jeo-politik kararları üzerinde ne kadar ve nasıl rol oynadıkları, ve devlet aktörlerinin aldıkları kararları ve uyguladıkları politikayı yorumlamaları incelenmiştir. Bu çalışmada ki asıl amaç medyanın Türk devlet aktörleri üzerinde jeo-politik kararlar alırken yorumuyla, eleştirisiyle, yaklaşımıyla ne kadar etkin olduğunu incelemektedir.

**Anahtar Sözcükler:** Doğu Akdeniz Krizi, Hidrokarbon, Jeopolitik, Medya ve Siyaset, Türkiye.

## **ABSTRACT**

The Eastern Mediterranean Crisis started in the early 2000s when the Republic of Southern Cyprus formed its own Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) and made an agreement with the riparian countries. On the other hand, Turkey created its own regional maps and notified the United Nations. The desire to obtain all these natural gas resources has mobilized Turkey, Israel, Egypt and Greece and started a kind of invisible war between these countries. While the states are producing their own strategies, media is standing out in terms of format of developments presenting. In this study, first of all, reflections were observed about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis in Sabah, Sözcü and Hürriyet which are the most read newspapers in Turkey. Firstly, whether these reflections have an effect on Turkey's foreign security policies, then how much and how they play a role in Turkey's geo-political decisions, and the interpretations of the decisions taken by state actors and the approach they implement are examined. The primary purpose of this study is to examine how effective the media is in making geopolitical decisions on Turkish state actors, with its interpretation, criticism, and approach.

**Keywords:** Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, Hydrocarbon, Geopolitics, Media and Politics, Turkey.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>NPOs</b>	: Non-Profit Organizations
<b>NSAs</b>	: Non-State Actors
<b>IGOs</b>	: Intergovernmental Organizations
<b>NGOs</b>	: Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>INGOs</b>	: International Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>UN</b>	: United Nations
<b>EU</b>	: European Union
<b>EastMed</b>	: Eastern Mediterranean Pipeline Project
<b>NATO</b>	: North Atlantic Treaty Organizations
<b>TRNC</b>	: Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus
<b>USSR</b>	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
<b>USA</b>	: United States of America
<b>CNN</b>	: Cable News Network
<b>BC</b>	: Before Christ
<b>USGS</b>	: United States Geological Survey
<b>HAMAS</b>	: Militant Palestinian Nationalist and Islamist Movement
<b>EEZ</b>	: Exclusive Economic Zone
<b>BCM</b>	: Billion Cubic Meters
<b>TCM</b>	: Trillion Cubic Meters
<b>UNCLOS</b>	: United Nations Conventions on the Law of the Sea
<b>LNG</b>	: Liquefied Natural Gas

**TPAO** : Turkish Petroleum Corporation

**NAVTEX** : Navigational Text Messages

**EGF** : East Mediterranean Gas Forum

**MİLGEM** : National Ship Project

**MİLDEN** : National Submarine Project



# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1. Introduction

Some lands have been sacred from the earliest times. The features that distinguish these lands from others are their geographical location, their place in sacred books, their underground or aboveground natural resources. Proximity to water, oil and gas resources are essential requirements to be obtained by states due to today's needs.

Egypt, Mesopotamia and Anatolia have the most fertile lands in the world also the presence of their coasts in the Eastern Mediterranean has always made these regions popular. The Eastern Mediterranean, which was a center of attraction in the past with the desire to dominate world trade by land and sea, has now become a focal point with the discovery of rich hydrocarbon reserves.

Today, the desire to have rich energy reserves for countries stems from the fact that it is one of the basic needs of the developing technology and industry. With the Industrial Revolution, the idea of annexing the regions where countries have energy resources to their lands or at least trying to take control of them caused wars. After all, having energy resources is one of the most important financial benefits in order to be a global power in the international system. For this reason, many great wars took place in the Eastern Mediterranean and chaos has continued still.

With the discovery of reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean, especially in seismic studies since 2010, has caused many separations and conflicts among coastal countries. In fact, the Eastern Mediterranean, full of energy resources waiting to be discovered, was an opportunity for the countries of the region to ensure peace and stability. However, the region came to a deadlock as the riparian countries failed to reach a common agreement and global powers stepped in. The struggle for energy resources in the Eastern Mediterranean has become the focus of many countries.

The revival in the Eastern Mediterranean attracted the attention of America, Russia, France and England. They started to cooperate with coastal countries to manage and direct the expeditions. Because the amount of resources discovered and estimated will meet the energy

needs of countries, eliminate their dependence on foreign sources and provide export opportunities. Especially the agreements between the Greek Cypriots, Israel, Egypt and Lebanon, which determined their exclusive economic zones, caused the discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean to turn into a crisis. However, with the inclusion of non-regional countries, the world's largest energy companies took their places here.

In this study, the focus has been taken from Turkey's orbit and evaluated with its reflections in the media. The part that is examined and scrutinized in these reflections is to measure the effectiveness of the media on the decisions of Turkish state actors and the course of this effect in the foreign policy. How and to what extent it was effective in the Eastern Mediterranean crisis was discussed in the news taken from the archives of different publications. Policy and media, which are intertwined with each other, sometimes look from the same frame, sometimes they can be found at opposite poles. It has been investigated how the developments in this crisis were reported by the newspapers and how much they had an impact on the actors. The development that is the subject of the news is the same, but its presentation, selected words, some presumptions in the news can change the perception of the event. Demonstrate the constructive / destructive inputs of media that are independent and directed to government behavior.

While every article in which different media groups discuss the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis is the focal point of this study, the contribution of this study to the discipline of International Relations is to reveal the correlation by showing how the media is determinant or subject in foreign policy of Turkey.

## CHAPTER 2

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### 2.1. Research Background

From the moment human beings existed, the desire to know has enabled them to communicate with each other and the realities of developing societies, expanding world, advancing technology have created a wave of power accumulation of which is media. The media has given more and more to humanity what they want. The media has provided information from all over the world in all areas of life. It has used the feature of bringing together in the name of socialization. It has trained by raising the level of perception skills and consciousness. The media contributed to the dissemination and survival of cultural heritage. It has held the authority to supervise and criticize public institutions and organizations on behalf of the public and defended the rights of the citizens. It has undertaken the most important promotional tool of states, companies, institutions, organizations and even individuals. The media defined itself with all these tasks and ensured his effectiveness in every part of life. It has gained its power to be influenced by globalization while continuing its existence on communication and information. The competitive power, which shows its presence in every field with globalization, has brought new roles to the media. In this study, while the evaluated and concluding point of this study is the power of the media, the main theme is the Eastern Mediterranean crisis.

The discovery of hydrocarbon reserves since the beginning of the 2000s has caused significant changes in the geopolitics of the region and has become a center of attraction for countries in the region and global powers, especially for Turkey. All these have prepared a competitive environment in the sharing of resources and sea areas discovered to be involved in global powers in the region. Although the energy geopolitics that has changed with the discoveries in the Eastern Mediterranean offers economic opportunities for the coastal countries, the conflicts in the region have increased the current tension. These problems created a security problem in the region. In a sense, the determination of exclusive economic zones among the states bordering the Mediterranean and the use of energy resources, which can be a basis for reconciliation on issues such as the Cyprus problem, on the contrary to expectations, resulted in the deepening of existing problems (Ozekin, 2020). From this point of view, the study related with the discovery reserves and new dynamics emerging in the

region for sharing of reserves and also conflict and cooperation opportunities caused by these dynamics has been researched specifically for selected newspapers of Turkey.

## **2.2. Problem Statement**

The environment of uncertainty and conflict that has existed in the Eastern Mediterranean since 2010 is one of the most important foreign relations topics in Turkey. Starting from this point, the researched issue is the potential of the media's presence in the Eastern Mediterranean crisis. The aim of the research is to evaluate the effectiveness of this potential power on state actors and to see the reflections in different media groups.

## **2.3. Research Questions**

This study aimed to answers; reflections of the regional and worldwide crisis created by the Eastern Mediterranean gas reserves in the newspaper headlines with selected three different ideologies and covered six months.

Main Question:

‘Can media diffuse to the decision-making process of state actors in geo-political options, if Eastern Mediterranean issue field is taken into consideration?’

Sub Questions:

Is media constitutive role in geo-political decision-making?

Does different ideological view change reflection and interpretation of news?

Does the scope of the Eastern Mediterranean issue field fit with the media’s constitutive incursion to geo-politics?

If narratives of media deepen the interest based geo-political behaviors of state actors?

## **2.4. Research Objectives**

In this study, in the process of the eastern Mediterranean crisis, the discourses used by the countries to create social consent through newspaper publications, which are one of the mass media tools, and the extent of the use of disinformation and manipulation in the creation and presentation of news content by the governments of the countries for political and economic interests.

This research examines the publications of three different media groups of Turkish media, in terms of the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis, to conclude a critical media analysis.

## **2.5. Research Design**

In the study, the literature review was used as the basic research method and also the columns of the three most widely read newspapers in different ideologies were scanned. This thesis included mixed research because as method was used qualitative and quantitative research at the same time as an analysis was chosen content and discourse. All these methods used and utilized are described and explained in detail as the subtitle of research design.

The reason for choosing these newspapers as Sabah, Sozcu and Hurriyet, which have the largest circulation of 2021 is to provide the opportunity to interpret the point reached as a result of the study more similarly and jointly throughout Turkey. Two of these three newspapers, Hürriyet and Sabah, are known as pro-state, supporting and appreciating the government's policies, while Sözcü is defined as an anti-government critic, skeptical and questioning newspaper. The reason why newspaper publications are preferred as January 2021-June 2021 is due to the fact that it is a period of intense conflict. The reason for limiting it to six months is a decision made with the aim of preventing the disintegration of the subject.

In the first chapter, a brief information about the thesis work is given. The basic information given here includes information about the content of the thesis.

In the second part, the theoretical frameworks are explained and information is given about the reason for choosing the thesis, its purpose, the questions to be answered, its contribution to the discipline of international relations, the methods and analyzes used during the research. In addition, the main concepts of the thesis, the media and the Eastern

Mediterranean event, are also included. After the definition of the media, its functions are explained. The birth and development of the media has been examined under the headings of historical process and the effect of globalization. At this point, it is possible to see the changing structure, developing task and perception of the media. Finally, the influence of the media on foreign policy within the borders of Turkey has been conveyed. Then, the geopolitical information of the Eastern Mediterranean was passed and the importance of its natural resources, the amount and value of the discovered gas reserves, the agreements made between the countries and how they divided these reserves among themselves were given.

In the third section, which is the methodology section, the information, limitations, aims and methods used in the study are shared.

In the fourth part, the headlines of the selected newspapers about the Eastern Mediterranean crisis were scanned. In this section, the contents of the articles are interpreted by transferring them. Due to differences in approach, the news are grouped within themselves. The reflections of ideological differences on news content are compared and discussed in another sub-title.

In the last part, the results were evaluated based on all the findings and suggestions were made.

### **2.5.1. Qualitative Method**

Qualitative research is a method of collecting and analyzing information that does not rely on numerical or statistical data such as text, video, and/or interviews to understand concepts, ideas and/or experiences. It can be used to generate new ideas/claims about a situation and/or problem (Bhandari, 2020).

Qualitative research is widely used in the humanities and social sciences. This study, which examines the effectiveness of the media in international politics through the eastern mediterranean event, is also a subject of politics-oriented social sciences. However, it is large-scale research that includes the socio-historical process. As a matter of fact, this method was used in this study while investigating the definition, functions, historical development and impact of globalization of the media. Again, this method was used to learn the importance of

the Eastern Mediterranean, its resources and the conflicts between the states and the path it followed from the beginning of the process.

### **2.5.2. Quantitative Method**

This method, which is fed from statistical, mathematical or numerical analysis, ranks the desired result about a subject. It provides the opportunity to make generalizations thanks to numerical data and carries this research to the conclusion (USC Libraries, 2021, <https://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide/quantitative> ).

In this study, numerical data enabled us to differentiate and organize the news by three different media groups and the content of these news in three groups as pro-state/objective/anti-state. Then, these results are analyzed and supply to reach:

How many news are there in these media groups about Eastern Mediterranean case?

How many news are pro-state/objective/anti state?

All these data have helped to comment on the relations of press groups with the state.

### **2.5.3. Content Analysis**

Content analysis is a research tool used to determine the presence of certain words and/or concepts within a certain qualitative information. When using content analysis, the existence, meanings and relationships of certain words and/or concepts can be measured and analyzed (Columbia Public Health, 2021, <https://www.publichealth.columbia.edu/research/population-health-methods/content-analysis>).

It is the type of analysis used in this study in order to reach the inferences that this study needs. Which newspaper how evaluated the news was interpreted one by one in the Eastern Mediterranean Case. In addition, the coding category underlying this study is the biggest helper in reaching the result. In this study, the news was coded according to their content, and then comparisons were made on the results and propositions were presented.

#### **2.5.4. Discourse Analysis**

Discourse analysis focuses its attention on words, the smallest parts that make up a sentence. Syntax, comma, emphasis, tone of voice can completely change the meaning of a sentence (Linguistic Society of America, 2021, <https://www.linguisticsociety.org/resource/discourse-analysis-what-speakers-do-conversation> ).

In this study, every news source read was examined in this dimension. It is noticeable that the study is interpreted within the scope of this analysis in the news comments.

#### **2.6. Significance of Study**

While every article in which different media groups discuss the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis is the focal point of this study, the contribution of this study to the discipline of International Relations is to reveal the correlation by showing how the media is determinant or subject in security policies. Observed power of media is how much effective over state actors' decision-making process, different newspaper as ideological how design news the same situations, and media support or not geopolitical interests of national.

#### **2.7. Media**

With the 20th Century, many scholars claimed communication age because of developing and spreading mass media. Mass Media consist of oral, written, or broadcasting brand. All age groups get knowledge, information, and entertainment from different types of mass media. These are traditional media, print media, broadcast media, outdoor media, transit media, and digital or new media (Admirt Kard, 2019, <https://www.admitkard.com/blog/2019/12/21/types-of-mass-media/>).

Traditional media is the oldest one which transfers culture and tradition from generation to generation with folk, songs and music, theatres and drama, fairs and festival. Latter was invented by Johannes Gutenberg in 1455 which started Printing Revolution and he gained big significant development to media (Leverage Edu, 2019, <https://leverageedu.com/blog/types-of-mass-media/> ).

“This print media is the first type that comes to mind when talking about media. Before the invention of printing press, it was handwritten at ancient times. These are; newspapers, journals, books, novels, and comics. Another type of media, which is still one of the most preferred by old generations because it has easily accessible from the television and the radio, called as broadcasting media. Fourth media is outdoor media. In this type, information and news get place on the something such as wall, billboard, building etc. It provides information related to new products, social information or advertisement purposes to the masses with placards, posters, banners and wall spaces. Transit media is provided by public transport vehicles such as bus, taxi, and rail advertising. The new media is developed adapting to today's technology. The most popular types around new generation and most open to interaction type in all medium of linking internet connections. These are; emails, websites, social media and networking, blogging and vlogging, E-forums and E-books, computer animations, digital videos, E-commerce, virtual world and reality, webcast and podcast (Admirt Kard, 2019, <https://www.admitkard.com/blog/2019/12/21/types-of-mass-media/> ).”

There are some important forces within the types of media that exist with words, photos and videos. These forces are called as propaganda. Propaganda is an auxiliary management tool for actors to guide people in what and how to think. Manufactured consent and CNN effect are important concepts for propaganda. They are used especially democratic countries to change the opinion of the public, or to perceive what actors want to understand to people or to keep them unresponsive. In this study, it may be possible to come across these types of propaganda in the columns taken from different media groups because the influence of the media is strengthened within the framework of these propagandas.

Manufactured consent can provide opposite thinks what public believe reality. For example, what is wrong may seem right, something that is not needed can be taken, or something that is not accepted can be consented. Because the media is dependent on certain large companies, it serves the interest of the state and other companies, not to public interest. The purpose of the media's service to the state is to control the opinion of the people and obtain their consent. The media educates people's minds to be committed to their governments and the social, economic, cultural and political regulations of their countries. With propaganda, people are tried to be kept at a certain level. According to Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman, the media actually manufactured our consent to the events around us. What the media tell us through tools such as television and the internet is what people in power want us to know. Thus, obedience is facilitated, different voices are reduced and developments occurs in favor of the system. The phenomenon of power in the propaganda

model put forward by Chomsky and Herman is based on capital, power and interest relations. There are five basic filters in the propaganda model of the media. The five filters are: (1) ownership; (2) advertising; (3) official sources; (4) flak; and (5) marginalizing dissent (Model, 2005). These filters are used to understand which news is printed and delivered to the masses, the structure of the news presentation and the marginalization of opposition. (Guler, 2018: 93) Every new has different filtre or filtres to effect reading audience.

The annexation of Crimea by Russia is perhaps one of the best examples in recent history for manufactured consent. Russia has intensified the news about the crimes. Beginning with the demonstrations of ethnic Russians and Crimean Tatars in front of the parliament, including the date of the accession of Crimea to the Russian Federation (27 February- 30 March 2014), the Crimean case, using the 'rt.com' web portal keywords "Crimea, Ukrainian turmoil" and new tags compiled. The aim was to reinforce the target audience's perception of the current situation of Crimea, in the context of Ukraine, the USA, and the Western powers. The news was emphasizing the historical processes of Crimea and the Russian identity. Arguments and opinions focused on Russia's discourse and actions regarding the process and supporting the Russian thesis are presented. To exemplify these in more detail with a few reports of RT, it can be stated that Crimea was included in the Russian Empire with the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca in 1774 and that was affiliated to the Ukrainian SSR by the Ukrainian-origin leader of the USSR in 1954, as well as attempting to create a historical basis for the expansionist policy. It is seen that the Ukrainian government and Ukrainian activists are presented from the headlines as the party that disturbs the peace and creates tension in Crimea. On the other hand, it is underlined that Russia is hoping to provide "peace and tranquility" in the region. RT's Crimean-oriented news has published providing incomplete or missing information, narrowing the news frames, biased sorting in the news string, selective source usage, directive word preference, etc. These kinds of news were published to justify Russia's lebensraum-based actions. (Kavoğlu, 2020: 108)

CNN (Cable News Network) effect is another popular type of propaganda and this concept has adopted in Gulf War by CNN news. The global news network CNN was founded by Ted Turner in the US state of Atlanta in 1980 and created an important vision with its 24-hour news broadcast (Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/CNN>). The most important feature of CNN was its uninterrupted news and its ability to watch this news in many parts of the world with a very wide network. In this way, he was able to convey his news and statements to the world public opinion. Due to the decisive role played by CNN in

the Gulf War, media and political science studies literature, instant live news, public opinion, political decisions, strategies and even a concept called "CNN Effect", which argued that it can direct military tactics. Following the development of technology, the way of power to influence people has become easier through global media communication.

The CNN effect was first mentioned frequently after the US intervention in Iraq in 1991 (the First Gulf War). The power of this concept was revealed in 1991 when a CNN correspondent broadcast live the war between the US and Iraqi military forces during the First Gulf War. The whole world was watching the war between these two states, 24 hours a day, at home. Thus, CNN has gained a great reputation around the world. Watching a battle live 24 hours a day for the first time was a big event. If the effect of CNN is evaluated over the gulf war, it is possible to see that the western media frames the war with different mechanisms. Iraq entered the Kuwait in August 1990, and the war started with the inclusion of the main coalition consisting of the United States of America, Britain, France, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt and Syria. It is the first time that a war has been given to the world simultaneously by a channel (cable news network). This war was reflected in the news as much and as desired by the CNN. With a few exceptions, such as the surrender of Iraqi soldiers in the desert and the bombing of their shelters, only burning oil wells and oiled birds were featured in the media as enemy actions during the war. It is known that in many wars, especially when the war is going on, it is difficult to obtain information about the opposing side. At the same time, it can be argued that giving as little space as possible to human deaths and injuries in war may have played a part in legitimizing war to some extent. It was as if none of these equipments caused anyone there to die or a place to be ruined. Although the war was transmitted live, the painful face of the war was never reflected on the screen. Graphically, the damage suffered by the military regions of Iraq was on the screen, but the news of violence and pain are hidden. Along with all this, the coalition forces have shown as if they had the same power as the enemy themselves. Moreover, the difference between mutual damage was reduced, that is, coalition forces reported in a certain balance. The presentation of the coalition soldiers to the screens, especially with emotional statements, caused the audience to internalize this war within them. The language of the media has always been in the style of America's protector, savior, and founder of the freedoms and democracies of the Kuwaiti people. Iraq has invaded the country in defiance of its neighbor's independence, Iraq was genocide against its own minorities and Iraq has the fourth largest army in the world and the news was full of such discourses. In the news of coalition forces,

this was not just a clash of opposing ideologies, but a war of good against evil. The media, which embraced this framing effort, was telling the war with its own story. In addition, with the emphasis on Iraq's chemical weapons and biological weapons even after the war is over, the impression was created that Saddam and the Iraqi army were stronger than they actually were. It can be said that this emphasis on the enemy's power even after the war is over contributes to the brilliance of the 'victory' achieved. (Kaya, 2019: 27)

At first, media was just a channel for transmitting information about any event, case or situation around people, city, country, or the world. But today's world media has the ability to influence how people act in regard to issues. As a matter of fact, the different perceptions could create by media with propagandas like manufactured consent in Russia's annexation of the Crimea and the CNN Effect in the Gulf war have been mentioned above. As a result, when the media is used effectively, it can even start or end a war with public support. Moreover, it is very possible that media can select the scapegoat of the war and show different to public.

### **2.7.1. Media and Functions**

Media has some basic and specific roles such as informing, guiding, entertaining, educating, and raising awareness in societies. Functions of media are showed that media does not exist for a single purpose.

“Media is sharing authentic and timely facts and opinions about various event and situations to mass audience as informative items. This is informing and it is major function. Guiding involves making influence on others mind. Media content adopt own opinions and sets agendas in the public mind. It influences vote, changes attitudes and moderates' behavior to support its side. Using editorials, articles, commentaries and among others, mass media persuades audience. Entertaining is one of the most important area for television executives. People who are tired in the routine of daily life prefer to 'spend time' with entertaining news or programs rather than serious news. Especially music, humor, drama, sports and internet (one of the most wasted time) gives the feeling of relaxation to people. Media's educating side provides information in different subjects to people of in all levels. They try to educate people using different forms of content such as dramas, documentaries, interviews, feature stories. Raising awareness is related with any trouble about humanity, animal, nature or ecosystem. Media focus on these troubles and show whatever happens to inform them. For example, global warming, endangered animals, or starving people in anywhere. All these functions are in our lives widely and their every message affects us directly or indirectly (Salt

and Paper, 2018, <https://medium.com/@saltandpaper/the-media-and-its-function-8ce5adc4f426> )”.

Mass media has conducted motivation potential of the society with selling and spreading information. The audience is equipped with related information about life standards, life styles, relations with each other, behavioral patterns, social problems and consumption areas of other societies and cultures by disseminated images from mass media without realizing them. According to Herman and Chomsky, in the Propaganda model, "the social purpose of the media" is instilled and defend economic, social and political agendas of dominant groups of society and government to public opinion (Guler, 2018: 95). Media served this model with many different methods such as selecting the topics, determining the events to be interested, determining within which boundaries to be processed, passing information through various filters, deciding on knowledge and style, and keeping discussions within the framework of acceptable principles. (Ozer, 2019: 21)

On the other hand, according to Balkin, the media have three roles in government and these are: first, the mass media helps people understand the workings of government; second, the mass media participate in political decisions; and third, the mass media hold government officials accountable (Viray and Versoza, 2017). Also, media becomes an important and fast source of information in international policy thereby it is the best communication channel between social actors, political elites and between different governments. There is a link between media and government. The media is essential fourth organ of democratic countries after legislative, executive and judgment. It canalizes daily news such as setting agenda (determine what will be discussed on which topic), issue priming (paying too much attention to some issues also by ignoring the others), framing (overemphasizing some aspects of the subject to highlight a certain interpretation, evaluation and solution about it) (Işık, 2005: 115).

The relationship between media and politics is reciprocal most general expressly. According to press theorists, there are three views that determine the power and press relations. The first of these is the conservation view. According to this view, the government and the press are enemies of each other. The press is a watchdog, spying on and controlling governments in the interests of the people. The second is the partnership view. According to this view, cooperation between governments and the press is essential. The press should trust the news it receives from the government, the government should give accurate information to the press, and the problems should be made public. According to the third view, the press is a

part of power. The press can serve the public, provided it is on the side of the government. The speeches of the government spokesmen should be in the press, the news should always be in the direction the government wants. When all these views are examined, it is seen that the situation in Turkey is a mixture of these three views (Taşdemir, 2005).

The power and influence of the media has been expanded that it can be made guiding with news. The government can determine or change the agenda through pro-media. The opposition has criticized and challenged to the government's errors through the news. The government can also respond to this through the news. This process shows that news outstrips its current position and became an effective tool in political life. Moreover, this situation is also reflected in international relations. Countries have also become communicating over the news. Especially with the spread of new media, presidents, prime ministers, or ministers of the states, send messages on social media and communicates. So that everyone can see these messages and leaders can communicate easily.

As already mentioned above the media and all kinds of media organizations has a structural relationship with politics. Today's media is surrounded by groups of capital where gather in the hands of certain classes. Therefore, media outlet produces news related with own world of meaning in terms of socially, economically and politically. In short, their news is in harmony their perspectives. Their perspectives and opinions over news are determined which group support them financially. The media groups have the power to establish governments for their own interests and try to manipulate political relations for their interests. They have used this effective power in both internal and external relations.

Especially media increases its effectiveness with the effect of globalization in foreign relations. Decision makers in international politics with the effect of internal dynamics are faced with operational pressures with the ideological discourses and polarizations of the media. For legitimating public opinion, decisions of the foreign policy, the media can be active power in accordance with the targeted discourses. When the media is evaluated in the discipline of international relations; They have the power to influence the masses, to form public opinion and to influence decision makers. For political leaders, the press is the most important tool in the international arena to prevent the loss of the country's image, international reputation, tourists, investors and any sanctions that may come from other countries. News should be edited correctly without fault in its accuracy. However, misinformation can happen unintentionally (as with the problem of an inadequate perspective

or failure of the established perspective to accurately determine what will positively impact social relations) but the consequences become a factor that plays a role in conflict, cross-border social movements, and security for, " Even a little bit of imperfection in information could have large effects." And, of course, increased imperfection of information increases inadequacy and decreases the ability to get the desired outcome (Savrum and Miller, 2015: 16). Especially today, with the increase in internet usage, information pollution has increased. In addition, the speed of news spread has increased and it has provided the opportunity for the public to communicate through the news. In other words, the media has increased its influence even more.

Media is informed societies in every sense in every field therefore it occupies important place in our social life in terms of function and sphere of influence. According to the Demirci's research statistics indicate that there are 4.38 billion internet users in the world. This corresponds to 56 percent of the world's population. The number of users of social media is 3.48 billion. This constitutes 45 percent of the total living population. 5.11 billion is expressed as the number of mobile users, which means it corresponds to 67 percent of the world population. If you are a mobile social media user; it is 3.25 billion. This percentage fits to 42 percent of the world population. This situation clearly reveals the power, impact and importance of the media. In addition, it affects and changes all the usual values of individuals or communities.

To see how much power people have in social media, it would be very appropriate to give an example of the Arab Spring, with an incident from today. Arab countries, where totalitarian and repressive regimes prevailed, experienced revolutions as a result of opportunities such as organization of social media (Viray and Versoza,2017). Social media affects the masses and prepares the ground for joint action. The effect of social media is important when the Arab Spring spread rapidly and turned into a social event and reached other countries. Organizations, meetings, reactions occur through social networks. There have been changes in political will that started in Tunisia and affected the entire Middle East. Decades-old dictators had to leave their places within a few months. Egypt is the country where the effects of social media were felt the most during the Arab Spring. In 2008, there were three hundred thousand blogs in Egypt, of which ten thousand were political and the calls were made by these bloggers. One of the important factors in bringing together the April 6 movement in Egypt and the large crowd that gathered in Tahrir Square on January 25, 2011 is again social media. It is understood that before the Arab Spring, in Egypt, people started to

discuss practices that were not approved by the leading administrators, using social media tools. It is difficult to say that there is a situation similar to Egypt in terms of social media tools in Tunisia. In Tunisia; it appears that social media stepped in after the rebellion started and brought people's reactions to the point of conveying and organizing. In Egypt, long before the Arab Spring, the banner of rebellion against the regime was raised on social media. Although the literacy rate in Tunisia is higher than in Egypt, it caused the use of social media to remain at a low level due to social media bans. It is somewhat difficult to talk about the existence and effects of social media in Libya, neighbor of Tunisia. Social media has accomplished its most effective and striking task in Libya by delivering the moment of Gaddafi's death to the world. The number of Facebook subscribers in Libya is remarkable, after the pressure is reduced. Social media tools, which Gaddafi tried to keep under control through prohibition, started to be in high demand after the end of Gaddafi's rule. In Syria, the most difficult country of the Arab Spring, it is not possible to talk about a social media presence except for the images that reach the world from time to time via mobile phones. Finally, news came that Bashar El Esad was trying to prevent the use of iPhone technology. However, it could not prevent spring from reaching Syria (Kırık, 2012: 92-96). The power of perception created by the media with television (like the manufactured consent and the CNN effect) also has the power to revolt a people against the leader with the widespread use of the internet.

In this section, brief information is given about the functions of the media, domestic and foreign policy and media relations, and the place of the social media in society. The examples given regarding the functions of the media show how effective the media is in political fields with all its features and power. When all these are evaluated, it has been observed that the fact that the media is accessible at any time with social media, where the place and importance of the media in human life is growing, can have positive and negative results. After this section, in which historical events exemplify the functions of the media, the historical development of the media is presented in order to make a deeper analysis about the media.

### **2.7.2. Historical Process of Media**

The desire to know what is inherent in human beings encouraged them to communicate with each other and this impulse led to the emergence of communication tools.

Human beings have surpassed their biological nature and became a culture-producing entity with their intelligence and labor. So, it is known that the emergence of communication tools is parallel with the birth and development process of human history. As a matter of fact, although the information about the prehistoric used to express the pre-invention of writing is not certain, various studies mention the existence of communication based on images and symbols. The new ways of communicating that began around 35,000 BC, shortly after the emergence of modern humans or Homo Sapiens in Europe during the Ice Age, is called a cognitive revolution (from Marshack [2014], transmitting Sahin, 2017: 43). Starting to use fire and smoke, drawing various pictures on the cave walls, making different sounds with animal horns to warn each other or give information can be given as an example. These examples reinforce the conclusion that communication and information are the intended use of early media formats. All this shows that humanity has a need to communicate in various ways since prehistoric times. With the evolutions and revolutions that people go through in their social walk, it can be determined by the researches that communication tools have also changed and transformed.

There are three fundamental revolutions that are effective in the change and transformation of communication tools. These are the chirographic (manuscript) revolution, the Gutenberg revolution, and the electrical and electronics revolution. Each of these revolutions encountered four basic cultural periods separately. These are the verbal and written culture (manuscript) that transmits information, the typographic culture that transmits information in printed form, and finally the electrical and electronic culture periods that started with the discovery of the electric telegraph. Electronic culture has gained a new dimension with the opportunities provided by information and information technologies, and it is often stated that it has evolved into a digital culture (from Baldini [2000], transmitting Sahin, 2017: 43). This evolving is growing day by day. The information disseminated through newspapers and television today shifts to the internet and social media environment and spreads more actively and rapidly.

Talking people is one of the most important periods for the developing of media. The size of the first media, defined as communication and information, started to expand after people started talking. The conversation brought both a biological evolution and a cultural evolution with it. In this process, the increase in the intensity of communication between individuals resulted in culturally influencing of human communities. The interaction between people and human societies is mainly through oral culture. Oral culture is not only a cultural

construct based on words but also based on behaviors and symbols. Following the ability to speak, the invention of writing allowed the media to take a step forward. The transfer of written texts and news from one place to another is an important step in terms of informing one another. As a matter of fact, it can be argued that writing has an important effect in ordering social life. The printing press, which was invented about 5000 years later, is one of the biggest developments that brought the media closer to what it is today. The printing press was invented by Gutenberg in Strasbourg; the printing press enabled the reproduction of written sources and texts and these texts to reach more people. This situation also paved the way for people to get information faster. Concepts such as informing, notification, directing, influencing have become effective with the invention of the printing press. American historian Elizabeth Eisenstein mentions two important results of the printing press. These are, the printing press has standardized the change of knowledge that can take place in the transfer process when the oral and handwritten culture is effective and second one is the printing house made it possible to express different opinions on the same issue and to increase the accessibility of these different opinions, making it possible to criticize the existing one. Accordingly, it can be stated that the invention of the printing press accelerated change and transformation in various social fields such as politics, economy, religion, family, and education (Sahin and Yurdakul, 2017: 47). In other words, the invention of the printing press facilitated the interaction and change in all these different fields.

With the invention of writing and the printing press, there is a transformation in the advisory and recording bodies and the print media draws attention. As a matter of fact, libraries where information is stored can be considered as basic advisory bodies and registration areas. Unfortunately, the flow of information here is one-way. The fact that the learner who demands information is passive in the production of information and ceases to be the only consumer of information, has been achieved thanks to the electronic media revolution, which is called the new media. The electrical-electronic revolution experienced over time from the 18th century has also transformed the speed and form of communication. The industrial revolution, which started in England in the 16th century, rapidly spread to other countries. The industrial revolution caused the importance of communication to be visible and initiatives were made in this direction. In this process, various developments have been experienced that transform the content and power of communication. Some of these developments and inventions are as follows: The invention of the telegraph, the invention of the telephone, the invention of the phonograph, cinema, radio broadcasting, television

broadcasting, establishment of computer systems in universities, finding laser beams, using satellites in telecommunication, web software and many other modern means as well.

Communication, which depending on development of space and transportation facilities, it has been carried beyond the existing space and transportation means with the electrical and electronic revolution that started in the 18th century. The use of technological inventions such as the invention of telegraph, telephone and photography in journalism made the newspaper a mass communication tool. New developments in technology have enabled newspapers to be drafted and circulated faster, their content to be adapted to the spinning developments and to add visual additions to their content (Ozcaglayan, 2018: 135). New information technologies have also deconstructed the local structure of knowledge and directed various social phenomena such as economy and politics towards global structuring. Existing developments in communication technology are shown as the main reason of these change, transformation, and effectiveness. Communication and information technologies have accelerated globalization. Actually, the phenomenon of globalization has started strongly with the introduction of the internet to every home in almost. The existence of the internet has increased rapidly as qualitative and quantitative in terms of communication media in recent years. Especially, in the period until the 1960s, information disseminated by means of communication items such as newspapers, books, telephones and radios, and today's computer and internet technologies have become a unifying force for different worlds and have brought them closer together. With the widespread use of modern communication technologies, structural differences have emerged in social communication and the concept of new media has formed. The Internet brings together many stages of the communication process and there has been a very serious evolution in storing, changing and reproducing information. That new technology has also enabled interaction of the internet users with each other. With the increase of interaction, varying but tremendous number of interpretations expanded media. In other words, the passive learner in traditional media is now an active teacher. At the same time, in new media, information is short-term and constantly revised also the agenda changes rapidly. In the new media, information spreads rapidly without knowing the truth or wrongness and it mobilizes the society. The intensity of information production and distribution can render useless information and unprocessed data that, information need to be questioned before it is circulated. In addition to all afore mentioned issues, in social media, where persistent pollution exists, ignored the root of information because of the concerns on accessing inaccurate news whereas it leads to disinformation in the exchanging views. In the

new media indefinite information circulates freely and this situation causes an information debacle among societies. So, it can be said that even if the new media combined learning tools, outnumbered news and comments on the same event creates mistrust. If the new media do not have a place of order, restriction and control, the sense of trust in the media will quickly be prone to negative connotation and media sector will take the greatest damage from this event.

The point of communication, which started with fire, has reached the level of reaching the end of the world with a single button. The use of mass media has become widespread with technological developments. However, while some developments have increased the power of the press, others have reduced its credibility. In short, although the way to disseminate and reach information has become easier, it has become difficult to understand the accuracy of the news. In the title of the effect of globalization on the media, this process is explained in a deeper and more explanatory way.

### **2.7.3. The Effect of Globalization on Media**

With the development of commerce, industry and communication in the 18th and 19th centuries, globalization accelerated and its main effects on the media became clearer. The British Industrial Revolution gave modern meanings to words such as 'society', 'class', 'industry', 'factory', 'goods', 'capital', 'transportation', 'market', 'customer'. 1837, invention of the telegraph; 1876, the advent of the telephone; when 1899 says the beginning of radio broadcasting, all these technical developments opened an era in the transmission of information, especially with the invention of the telegraph. When a Londoner wrote a letter to India in 1830, the letter would cross the Cape of Good Hope and could reach his recipient five to eight months later; because of the monsoon, the sender could only receive the reply from the other party after two years (Aymaz, 2018: 132).

Communication tools have been an essential part of the development of modern societies, from primitive printing and printing techniques to the latest types of electronic communication and information technology. By the development of communication tools, it means a series of developments from very small print shops at the end of the fifteenth century to today's giant media conglomerates. The development of communication tools has caused changes in the cultures of societies as well as modern societies. All these developments and

changes have created a growth in the communication media. Therefore, the development of communication tools is in harmony with the modern world and large societies. After 1850, following the route of Alexandria, Cairo and Suez, traveling on train, steamship and camel back the same message reaches its destination in thirty to forty-five days at the most; the sender could expect to receive a reply three months after sending his letter. Twenty years later, a telegram sent by submarine cables would take up to five hours to reach its destination, and the sender could receive a reply on the same day. Beginning in the 1840s, the telegraph had emerged as a powerful tool of continental communication in the US and Europe, and by the end of the century it had become a global system, thanks to the trans-oceanic cable technology (Aymaz, 2018: 136). Now, thanks to this global system, whatever you want to reach in any environment where there is internet is right in front of you. In the 19th century, it was very normal to have no problems since reaching the news, sometimes taking years, was limited in change and development. For today, it is predictable how being not reaching the news even for a day can be a problem due to the speed of change and development.

20th Century has been a lot of innovations in different areas and the speed of change in technology has not been seen in any past moment in human history. New materials, which even affect people's clothing, emerged with the developing technology. As the distance between rural and urban areas decreased in industrial societies with the start of mass production and cheaper automobile production, the concept of rural started to change gradually, and great developments took place in the aircraft industry right after (Open Learn, 2019, <https://www.open.edu/openlearn/ocw/mod/oucontent/view.php?id=3440&printable=1> ). Altınbasak has quoted historical process of industry as follows:

“In the early 1900s, while the first transatlantic radio message was transmitted thanks to improved electronic technology, the television that followed immediately after was accepted as a new communication tool and significantly changed people's lifestyles. The first calculators existed before World War II, but with the invention of the transistor in 1948, the way for modern computers was opened. The emergence of nuclear energy after World War II, the Soviet Union's launch of the first artificial satellite into space in 1957, and all other developments occurred as a result of scientific developments at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The main invention has become internet that it reached the peak as globalization, communication and technologically to this century and then. It emerged in the United States of America in the 1960s with a military purpose project. The foundations of today's internet were laid with the addition of new computers to the network in this project over time. Communication over the network has gradually increased and new usage areas

such as electronic letters, discussion lists, forums, file transfer services have emerged that many users benefit from. With increasing internet speed and the support of commercial institutions, the internet has been used in every field. At the beginning of the 21st century, with the inclusion of the internet in state policies, the services provided by state institutions started to be transferred to the digital environment. Internet services are now used in many areas from academic research to health, social media, shopping and banking. In today's, almost half of the world has pursued their many daily businesses digitally (Altınbaşak, 2009: 465)."

In short, the fact that computers and the internet have taken place in daily life of people and the development in transportation technology shorten the travel times between continents have made the world a "global village".

Electronic communication technologies provided a lot of opportunities like the societies of the world closer to each other, increasing the interaction between them, causing them to intertwine in economic, political and cultural aspects. On the other hand, the change in the ownership structure of the media during the same periods caused the global control of the media sector to be taken over by a few giant media companies. It is generally accepted that the media has a critical role in the globalization process. After the 1980s developments in information and communication technologies and concentrations in media ownership, it has had an accelerating effect on globalization. The role of the media is not limited to mediating economy, politics and culture, at the same time it has become a central actor with its own commercial interests. In other words, globalization has accelerated the information journey of the media to the masses by facilitating communication, increasing its possibilities and increasing its influence (Chakravarty and Sarikakis, 2006). On the other hand, the media also privatized the states one by one, the role of the state as the sole ruler has decreased, and a new communication order has emerged between big power holders and multinational organizations operating according to free market rules. Media companies have also become globalized and an essential part of global capitalism.

If it is to be handled in more detail, globalization in the field of economy means that the rapid spread of economic interaction and sharing in the world. The large increase in capital and developments in technology have enabled new breakthroughs. Sectors around the world have started to spread; thus, the global economy started to make itself felt. Multinational companies increased their power and spread their presence in the market to a wider area (Kasap, Dolunay, and Mırçık, 2018: 518). One of these areas is the media. Economically, the effect of globalization on the media has caused the media to be

monopolized. In the process of monopolization, monotonous reporting emerged, moreover, news diversity decreased. Globalization, which negatively affects national and regional capital, has also caused the media to diverge from this identity and placed it in certain patterns. Economically rich countries sell their brands and lifestyles from their own media groups to other developing and underdeveloped countries through media such as advertisements, movies and TV series.

With the beginning of globalization to be felt in the political dimension, the privileges of nation states have begun to disappear. International news agencies have played an active role in weakening nation states. According to Habermas, there are three dimensions that effects of globalization over states. The first one is that the state has lost its autonomy; the second issue is the decisions taken that affect the outer world, and the last one is the deficits in democratic governments. With the expansion of globalization, a weakness and inadequacy in the field of management have come along. The political dimension of globalization on the media develops that is based on its economic impact. As mentioned above, countries with strong economies attempt to spread their political thoughts, as well as the efforts to adopt their own culture to the whole world with their own monopoly media groups. Powerful global news agencies provide information in line with their ideological point of view and cover up news that conflict with their interests. Because the primary task of the media has now been to serve the interests of the capital groups rather than informing people of events in an impartial manner. In other words, the media is becoming a slave to the globalization created by capitalism and technology (Kasap, Dolunay, and Mırçık, 2018: 519).

The media has the strongest area in cultural imperialism thanks to the influence of globalization. Cultural imperialism is constantly imposed to especially on third world countries. Although there are approximately 3500 verbal and 500 written languages in the world, it can be said that the publication of more than two-thirds of the printed material in English, German, Spanish and French (from Mora, [2011], transmitting Kasap, 2018: 520). This situation is one of the important indicators of cultural imperialism. Language is a living culture and people's lifestyles are reflected in their language. So the spread of some certain languages is the most important sign of the effects of globalization on culture. The existence of international companies and the introduction of a very important concept such as the media in cultural spreading have prepared the ground for the formation of global common values by carrying local values to the global dimension. The world is heavily influenced by the media and its cultural industries. The media, which is in the hands of multinational powers,

continues to uniformize the culture and form a consumer society. This situation threatens the cultural difference and the order of the societies.

Globalization can be defined as the interdependence of cultures, lifestyles, political structure and economic features of all over the world within the framework of mutual interaction and communication. Imposition of cultures and lifestyles, the formation of a uniform lifestyle and the gradual disappearance of local cultures is one of the most important effects of the globalization process. The lifestyle is offered by the culture industry to the masses and the unilateral reporting approach of multinational companies has negatively affected the target audience in the direction of globalization. It has reduced the diversity and prevented becoming conscious of the target audience because of one-way unbalanced news flow from certain perspectives and the news is in the hands of certain news agencies. The United States of America and strong European countries, which has had sectors such as movies, music, and TV programs, have pumped their own life style or the codes of the cultural understanding what they want to create. Thus, the targeted audience, who accepted what was given without questioning, was diffused even more quickly. The news is reproduced according to the point of view of a certain thought or ideology. Not every event that occurs is turned into news by these agencies; only certain subjects can enter the cycle. In this context, the target audience, who can reach the communication tools, is informed about the events only with the information provided by these agencies. As mentioned before, the mass, who gradually lost their ability to question because of the perception of reality created by the media, perceives the events as "completely real." It is a great contradiction that the media has increased its influence with globalization and also lost reliability. Monopolization has damaged the media and negatively affected the freedom of impartial reporting and different approaches.

Globalization has brought many functional features to the media. Monopolization has left the media within some standard patterns. While the influence of the media in the process of globalization and monopolization has increased, its freedom has been restricted. The next section discusses the place of (de)securitization in Turkish politics and the power of the media at this point.

#### **2.7.4. Media's Influence in Foreign Policy Options in Turkey**

The biggest task of the media is to collect accurate news/information and present them to the public. While presenting this information, thanks to the characteristics of the media structure, it can influence the public in any way it wants. In other words, media is strong enough to form public opinion and set the agenda on the subject it wants. This power can show its authority not only on the public but also on the decision mechanisms of the state.

While the media is one of the most important and powerful institutions in influencing public opinion, it is impossible for state actors to ignore the media. When it comes to foreign policy for the media, its impressive feature, not its determining feature, comes into play. Governments always need public support in the decision-making and implementation process in foreign policy. In short, the government wants the support of the media in the foreign policy decision-making process. The media is the biggest auxiliary power at this point, especially for governments that come to power through elections, namely liberal democracies. However, even in autocratic regimes, it is seen that the government tries to create a public opinion with the help of the media under its own direction. Authoritarian regimes need public opinion and media to create artificial crises and cling to the external enemy argument, especially in order to distract attention from domestic political troubles (Kucet,2018: 5). The absolute control that already exists over the media in authoritarian regimes that it prevents the media to its making news against their will. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about the power of the media.

It is obvious that the power of the media has been high since its definition, so it is important how the media does the news in foreign policy news. Because foreign policy can accommodate the interests of a nation and the future of the nation. In foreign policy, the benefit / harm that a country can see is equivalent to securitization / desecuritization in the media. In short, exceptions can break the rules when it comes to national interests. Pro-state media can be anti-state. An anti-state media can support the state in its policy. Even a democratic country can exert pressure on the media. This issue is discussed in more detail below.

### 2.7.4.1. Securitization and Desecuritization Policy

The question of what actually turns an issue into a security issue in international relations is the main starting point of the securitization approach. According to Aktas, security problems, as they are problems that threaten the sovereignty or independence of a state, disrupt the normal political order and require maximum effort against these threats. Thus, characterizing a development as a security problem enables the state to claim a special right (Aktas, 2011).

“The concept of security has been evaluated in different ways by many researchers. Baldwin; “Security for whom?”. While answering his question, he stated that a security concept that does not specify a "reference object" would not make much sense. The answer to this question can be accepted as a wide range of individuals (some or all individuals), the state (some or all government), and the international system (some or all international systems). Baldwin; “Safety for what values?”. He also stated that the answer to the question is variable for individuals, states and other social actors and that these actors have many values to be protected. Richard Ullman, on the other hand, stated that it is necessary to accept that security can be defined not only as an end but also as a result. So, in a sense, security is defined and valued by the threats that challenge it. In this context, Ullman offered a more convenient definition of security as: “a threat to national security;

- 1) an action or series of events that threatens substantially and over a relatively short period of time to impair the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state, or
- 2) Important to narrow the range of policy options available to the government of a state or to private, non-governmental organizations (individuals, groups, companies) within the stateseriously threatening.”

The Copenhagen School, on the other hand, presented the securitization approach as an alternative, claiming that if everything is a security issue, it may become deprived of its field boundaries. On the other hand, a security policy, which is the issue of how to ensure security, is one of the important discussions in the field of security. According to this; in the traditional understanding, the state is the only actor that provides security, and it does this by increasing its power, especially its military power, or by establishing temporary alliances in line with its interests (Bandeoglu, 2016).”

That is all meanings belong to securitization. The main argument of this study is conveyed in the subtitle with the situation media’s influencein foreign policy in Turkey.

#### **2.7.4.2. Media's Influence in Foreign Policy: Securitization and Desecuritization in Turkey**

It is obvious that the media plays an important role in democratizing security, humanizing security and balancing security with freedom. Because today, thanks to the development in communication technologies, there is a media explosion consisting of mass media in a placeless and timeless way, while this development in the field of public communication is also reflected in security-related issues, which have a kind of political aspect. As an important source of information, the functions of both the written and visual media and the internet media called "new media", primarily the power of setting the agenda, creating public opinion and generating public consent by producing discourse, make the media an important tool for governments and the state, especially when it comes to national security. However, although the media acts as an indirect surveillance tool by providing citizens with access to necessary news and information on security issues, this is not the case even in countries governed by the most advanced democracies (Mis, 2012). For leaders, the unity of the state, homeland and nation is more important than anything else. In order not to spoil this union, the necessary surveillance and control is on the media. When the power of the media is in question, it is possible for the securitization policy to turn into desecuritization.

Whether the media supports the security discourses and policies of the government, or in other words, the security elites, or produces counter-discourse, varies depending on the relationship they develop with the power in the places they are in. Although the general tendency of the media is manifested as reflecting the discourse of the governments, especially when the commercial media conflicts with the government, they can act in line with their own interests and interests, even if the issue is security. Or, which is rare even in the most advanced democracies today, the media can act as a watchdog or auditor of the public against both the government and other power centers when the issue of security is detrimental to the public. In this respect, even if the subject is security, it can be misleading to expect a single voice from the media. Because it is the media's own broadcast policy that determines its stance on security, as it does on other issues. The relationship of the media with security is also shaped in line with the functions of the media such as reporting, propaganda, education, entertainment and advertising. Since these functions are shaped within the social structure of any country, the media-security relationship will also change according to the social structure and political culture of the countries (Dogan, 2019). In Turkey, the sanctity of the state, which was born from a traditional perception, was generally accepted. This situation increases the

possibility of meeting on the same denominator in the name of unity and solidarity in the securitization policy of even different media groups.

The media has powerful functions such as agenda setting and creating public opinion. Although securitization theory is seen as a decision maker in line with the discourses of state actors, it has taken its place in securitization policy with the effect of globalization in the media. The media, fed by the political agenda, can use its power to spread security discourses to the audience. The way the media handles, produces, and designs discourses also plays an important role at this point. However, the power to meet this condition differs in each country. The relationship between media and security varies in each country depending on the social structure and political culture. In particular, the level of development of democracy is extremely decisive for this bilateral relationship. In short, the current political regime, the structure of the rule of law, its functioning, the consciousness of the citizens, and the level of organization are the sub-titles of the determining factors. On behalf of the media security relationship in Turkey, the political culture, which has been valid for every country for centuries, is the key point. The set of beliefs and values of a society determines the domestic and foreign policy of the countries and is also effective in the security policy. According to the Aykac, the fact that the society in Turkey is superior to the individual and that the state is superior to all kinds of individuals, groups and other actors. Especially since the intolerance against the government is perceived as an internal threat by the government on the borders of Turkey, it is not possible to talk about the existence of any directing or igniting power of the Turkish media on securitization yet (Aykac, 2018). This perception may differ not entirely but in proportions in each government. The relationship between the current government and the media is important at this point. The most important issue is the extent of the damage to unity and solidarity in the policy of desecuritization.

## **2.8. Geopolitics of the Eastern Mediterranean**

Mediterranean, due to its geopolitical position; directly affects the security dynamics of Europe, Middle East, North Africa and Far East countries. Bordered by the Mediterranean in the west and Mesopotamia in the east, this region includes Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, Palestine, Libya and Egypt (Ediger, 2014: 74). Since the beginning of the 21st century, the Eastern Mediterranean has been popular with natural gas discoveries, parceling and licensing operations of coastal countries and pipeline projects. These discoveries, which

caused economic activity in the eastern Mediterranean, prepared the competitive environment especially among the riparian countries in the international context. This situation also had reflections on the military and political power of the countries. This reflection has led to new developments on geopolitical balances. At the same time, it has reshaped the relations between global power centers. Today, global actors realize their economic, political, cultural and military initiatives and orientations to a large extent through maritime transportation. Therefore, today, the seas and sea routes have become an important element of geopolitical competition. Moreover, in our century, the preferences of sea-derived foods have begun to increase. In addition, the rapid impact of the underground resources, which are the subject of research, to the surface as a result of the development of deepsea exploration and drilling technologies, its rapid impact on the economy is clearly noticeable. In this section, extraction of the resources of the countries, the agreements between them and the developments in their relations are conveyed. After all the main lines that need to be known about the Eastern Mediterranean, would be answered scope of the Eastern Mediterranean issue field fit with the media's constitutive incursion to geo-politics or not.

### **2.8.1. Importance of Natural Resources of Eastern Mediterranean**

In the Eastern Mediterranean region, trade has a history of at least four thousand years. It has a geographical location with excellent logistical facilities, located in the middle of producer and consumer countries. It is one of the rare trade centers in the world. It is the region where the most important export ports of the historical Silk Road, which carries various goods of Asia to Europe via the Mediterranean. The Eastern Mediterranean has preserved its feature of being an important "bridge" between the East and the West. Geopolitical discoveries and changing needs have added new role to Eastern Mediterranean.

The First World War was an important turning point in the transformation of the geopolitical importance of the Eastern Mediterranean from the world trade center to a hydrocarbon-based struggle. This war, which is actually a war of transformation from coal to oil, has taken the Middle East into hydrocarbon geopolitics. Thus, the Levant has become an important part of global geopolitics since the beginning of the 20th century. Levant's starting to play a role in energy trade was realized with the pipeline projects that carried Kirkuk petroleum to the Mediterranean. For the safe transport of oil in the Middle East to Western markets, the end points of the pipelines have generally been the Eastern Mediterranean ports.

The clearest indication of the prominence of geopolitics in determining these first oil export routes of the Middle East is that the lines that initially followed a single route later reached the increasing number of routes and ports. (Ediger, 2014: 78).

Economic developments after the Second World War and the bipolar superpower struggle of the Cold War increased the importance of the Eastern Mediterranean in energy geopolitics. During the post-war period of rapid development, in order to meet the increasing oil demand of Europe, oil production in Kirkuk was increased on the one hand, and new fields were activated in the south of Iraq as well. In addition to the lines opening to the Eastern Mediterranean such as Tripoli and Haifa, new pipelines extending to the Persian Gulf were installed for the export of oil produced. In the years that followed, with the effect of the Arab-Israeli conflict, which started with the Arab states' war against Israel in 1948 in order to save Palestine and destroy the state of Israel, it has continuously prevented the realization of the oil supply in the region in a stable and full capacity. (Ediger, 2014: 79). The discovery of natural resources in the region revitalized the economy of the countries, as well as the political instability of the countries negatively affected the region. Economic difficulties were experienced due to the interruption of trade. In regions rich in underground and aboveground resources, it is not possible to provide economic or political stability anyway. As developments continue, there will be changes, hesitation, and confusion.

In the last terms, the interest of international companies in the region started with the announcement that natural gas was found in Gaza Marine-1 and Gaza Marine-2 wells on the sea bottom off the Palestine Gaza Strip in 2000. In 2009, 318 billion cubic meters of natural gas was found in the Tamar field in Israel's claimed maritime jurisdiction. Then, in 2010, the American Geological Survey (USGS) estimating approximately 3.5 billion barrels of oil and 10 trillion cubic meters natural gas reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean attracted the attention of large companies to the region (Kokyay, 2020: 2514). The same report emphasizes that Nile Basin, it is stated that there are 6.3 trillion cubic meters of natural gas reserves in total, including 1.8 billion barrels of extractable oil reserves and 6 billion cubic meters of liquefied natural gas (ORSAM, 2019). The biggest challenges to the development of these discoveries are political conflicts and security issues.

With the newly discovered reserves, the region has become an energy source as well as an energy transmission route. Also, discovered hydrocarbon reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean reshaped regional dynamics. Changing dynamics have led to an increase in

energy competition and controversial issues and a deepening of crises. The main issues that deepen the crisis can be listed as follows:

- 1) The competition between the discovered hydrocarbon reserves and the countries in the region that want to be exporters in energy trade and the determination of maritime jurisdictions,
- 2) Disagreements about the route through which the reserves to be issued will be sold to European countries,
- 3) which country have the highest share in the energy demand market, seek new markets as an alternative to Russia, Algeria and Nigeria in their dependence on energy imports... (Yorulmaz, 2019: 81).

If handled in more detail for reason of competition between coastal and European countries that the total amount of gas discovered from 2009 to 2019 is far below the reserves of Azerbaijan, Nigeria and Iran, which are more or less all discovered and estimated existence of the energy reserves in the Mediterranean. Considering that some of the gas will be allocated to domestic consumption, the final volume suitable for export is unlikely to have a game-changing effect on a global scale. However, gas in the Mediterranean is important for at least two reasons.

“First, discoveries can be an important driver for regional economies. The Yam Tethys and Tamar fields transformed Israel from an import dependent country into a net gas exporter. Even limited revenues from gas imports provide a large cash inflow to Greek Cypriot and (potentially) Lebanon, whose economies are shaky. Countries such as Egypt and Turkey, on the other hand, have a goal of becoming a regional energy hub in addition to their own energy consumption, and additional gas supply is a key to achieving this goal. Therefore, Mediterranean gas will constitute economic value even in limited export volumes. Second, although the amount of gas discovered so far is limited, the hydrocarbon potential of the Mediterranean is remarkable. Despite the increased seismic research and drilling activities in the last decade, the Mediterranean is one of the least explored regions in the world with hydrocarbon resources. According to the US Geological Research Center, only the Levant Basin contains an estimated 3.5 trillion cubic meters of gas and 1.7 barrels of oil, while the Nile Delta Basin may contain 6.3 trillion cubic meters of gas and 1.8 barrels of oil. More data is needed for reliable assessments, but it is estimated that the area south of Crete is also home to significant volumes of gas and oil. Although it is impossible to predict reserves that have not yet been found, it is possible that the natural gas potential in the Mediterranean is even

greater than the North Sea reserves. The third reason for the tension between countries that host energy resources have an impact on the global economy as much as they have a say in the management of energy trade (Demiryol, 2020).”

In addition, according to Kokyy, it generates income from energy trade and has an impact on the international system with its financial power. Countries which are without energy resources but have a share in production and trade; they have the opportunity to earn income through public or private companies that hold the right to operate, as well as have an impact on energy security with their command over the strategically important energy resource. These countries controlling energy transmission lines also earn quite high income from global energy trade. In addition, as a transit country, they consider the energy resources transiting as a reserve in terms of energy security. These three types of countries have the capability to use their aforementioned means as a sanction on countries that are in consumer position. Although they are consumers, countries that have a big buyer position and a voice in global production in parallel with the energy resources they consume in the economic system have a bargaining power as the counterpart of the energy trade. In this respect, they represent a power in the international system (Kokyay, 2020: 2514). The most important reason for the crisis in the eastern Mediterranean, which is on the agenda of Europe and coastal countries with all this charm, is the maritime jurisdiction dispute. It is imperative that coastal countries come together and research the marine resources of the states determined in accordance with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea.

Second main issue is the disagreements about the route through which the reserves will be sold. Historical conflicts from the past, the tension between the countries over the agenda and public opinion looking against cooperation between countries that depend on all of these due to these are exacerbating this problem. For example, in Jordan, where broad segments still see Israel as the enemy, Israel's gas imports are criticized. There have been voices in Israel against the Leviathan gas deal, the first major deal between Israel and Egypt since the 1979 Peace Treaty, and plans to sell gas to Egypt (Demiryol, 2020). On the other hand, Ankara harshly criticized the administration and practices of Abdülfettah Sisi, who came to power in 2013 with a coup d'état; Turkey often confronted Egypt in regional tensions and crises. Given the volume of regional energy markets and the political risks of gas deals, it is not surprising that countries holding reserves are looking for ways to diversify their export portfolios.

The third problem is that the countries in the region now want to be independent from the countries that hold energy imports (Russia, Nigeria, and Algeria) in the long run, to

increase their bargaining shares and to get stronger economically. In the process, the steps are taken by Israel, Egypt, Lebanon, Greek Cypriot, Northern Cyprus, and most importantly Turkey gain importance day by day.

These situations, which cause disagreement between countries, make it difficult to meet on a common ground. So, the natural gas reserves of the Mediterranean continue to fuel regional rivalries. Contrary to expectations that natural resources would encourage inter-state cooperation, natural gas discoveries exacerbated conflicts and created new tensions in the region. As the economic partnerships promoted by gas exploration evolved into political-military alliances, competition in the Mediterranean became visibly geopolitical. Increasing uncertainty and rising conflict risk continue to hamper the exploration and development of natural resources. In other words, the geopolitics of the region has become even more complex with the addition of the competition on energy resources since the beginning of the 20th century to competition for trade in the Levant for five centuries. The next two sections contain information about the extraction of energy resources. With this section, the reasons for the increase in tension between countries have become clearer.

### **2.8.2. Researches on Natural Resources in the Eastern Mediterranean**

The recent history of Mediterranean gas goes back to discoveries off the coast of Israel in the Noa (1999) and Mari-b (2000) fields. These discoveries were important in that they prepared the ground for future exploration activities, despite their modest reserve size. In 2009, Israel made an exploration of 300 billion cubic meters in the Tamar field. The discovery in 2010 of Leviathan, the largest deep-sea reserve of the last decade with 510 billion cubic meters, was a turning point (Karbuz, 2012). In 2011, Noble Energy Company announced a discovery it made in Cyprus's 12th parcel, roughly 30km northwest of Leviathan. The biggest discovery so far was the huge reserve in Egypt's Zohr field, estimated to contain 845 billion cubic meters of gas. The last important discoveries in the region were made at the Calypso (2018) and Glaucus-1 (2019) sites (Demiryol, 2020).

According to Tziarras, gas exploration in the Eastern Mediterranean has discovered huge gas springs at Tamar field on the Israeli coast, a consortium headed by US-based Noble Energy. This discovery, which changed Israel's economy and international position changed and gained momentum in 2009. At that time, it was the largest natural gas field in the region

and contained proven and probable reserves of about 280 billion cubic meters. In 2010, the American company discovered an even larger reservoir (Leviathan) containing about 620 billion cubic meters. In January 2014, the Oil & Gas Journal estimated Israel's proven oil reserves to be 11.5 million barrels. In July 2017, Netherland, Sewell & Associates, Inc. claimed the natural gas volume at the Tamar field was 11.2 trillion cubic meters. Encouraged by the Tamar and Leviathan discoveries, the Greek Cypriot sped up its exploration efforts along the southeastern boundaries of its Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), which runs close to the location of these Israeli fields. The Cypriot gas bonanza dates back to 2007, when the country announced the first offshore licensing round in its Exclusive Economic Zone, enabling the same foreign energy company operating in Israel waters, Texas-based Noble Energy, to look for gas in Cypriot waters. Four years later, Noble Energy announced a breakthrough: the discovery of the Aphrodite gas field in Cyprus's southern Exclusive Economic Zone, containing an estimated relatively small natural gas find of 140 billion cubic meters. This gave Greek Cypriot authorities the necessary confidence to grant licenses to other energy companies, which rushed into the region hoping to profit from the looming gas bonanza. As a result of these discoveries, all 13 offshore blocks in Greek Cypriot's EEZ have been allocated to heavy oil and gas companies from the Netherlands, France, Italy, the United States and Israel. In December 2016, Greek Cypriot successfully completed an international tender process and four international firms were granted the right to research Blocks 6, 8 and 10: Eni and Total; Eni; Exxon Mobil and Qatar Petroleum International. After a series of frustrated investigations, in February 2018, Eni finally announced the discovery of a gas-bearing structure in the Calypso 1 well that it drilled in Block 6. The promising reserve is the Egyptian EEZ, just north of the sea border with Egypt, where the same company discovered a huge gas field in 2015. Calypso is expected to hold 184 to 226 trillion cubic meters of natural gas - in other words, more than 115 trillion cubic meters in the reserves of Aphrodite, which was discovered in 2011 (Tziarras, 2019: 13).

Greek Cypriot also gave permission to Exxon Mobil and Qatar Petroleum to drill in the Zohr area of Egypt and the Delfini area close to the Calypso field of Greek Cypriot. According to preliminary interpretation of the well data, the discovery could represent a natural gas resource of about 142 to 227 billion cubic meters. The new discovery in the Eastern Mediterranean does not seem big enough to justify the construction of an LNG factory in Cyprus. Therefore, exporting to Egypt remains the most realistic scenario for monetizing Greek Cypriot's gas (Kambas and Zawadzki, 2019).

The discovery of gas reserves in the Eastern Mediterranean was met with enthusiastic response due to its potential impact on the economic, geopolitical and political balances in the region. It is widely acknowledged that new reserves can have a large and positive impact on Europe's gas diversification strategy, allowing European Union (EU) countries to achieve a long-standing goal, that is, to significantly reduce their dependence on Russian natural gas imports. Although these reserves, which attract attention from many points of the world, dream of serving each country's own interests, it seems that they will not reach the point of use unless a common denominator is met. In addition to the discoveries made, benefits can only be achieved if countries reach an agreement under a forum.

### **2.8.3. Oil and Gas Exploration Crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean**

Currently, there is no multilateral agreement regarding the delimitation of the Continental Shelf and Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ) between neighboring and counter-coastal states in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Mediterranean's becoming an energy-producing region and energy-oriented developments brought about the problem of limiting maritime jurisdiction areas. It has become increasingly important. States that have a coast in the Mediterranean have an obligation to cooperate with each other while exercising their rights regarding the delimitation of sea areas or making agreements.

Greek Cypriot; in 2003, Egypt signed agreements with Lebanon in 2007 and Israel in 2010 to restrict the EEZ, opened tenders for oil and natural gas exploration and extraction, issued licenses and started drilling activities. These bilateral agreements, which were made by ignoring the rights of Turkey and Northern Cyprus, clearly showed the effort to make the most of the energy resources of Greek Cypriot. Ankara also insists that without a solution in Cyprus, the Greek Cypriot Administration cannot unilaterally determine the maritime borders, issue licenses, and process the island's hydrocarbons. This situation constitutes the basis of the jurisdiction problem in the Eastern Mediterranean (Comak and Seker, 2019: 5).

According to Demiryol's research, Turkey opposed bilateral agreements on international platforms, pointing out that since the Mediterranean is a semi-enclosed sea, all interested coastal states should be involved in the delimitation process. Ankara also insists that without a solution in Cyprus, Greek Cypriot cannot unilaterally determine maritime borders, issue licenses, and process the island's hydrocarbons. Turkey signed agreements to

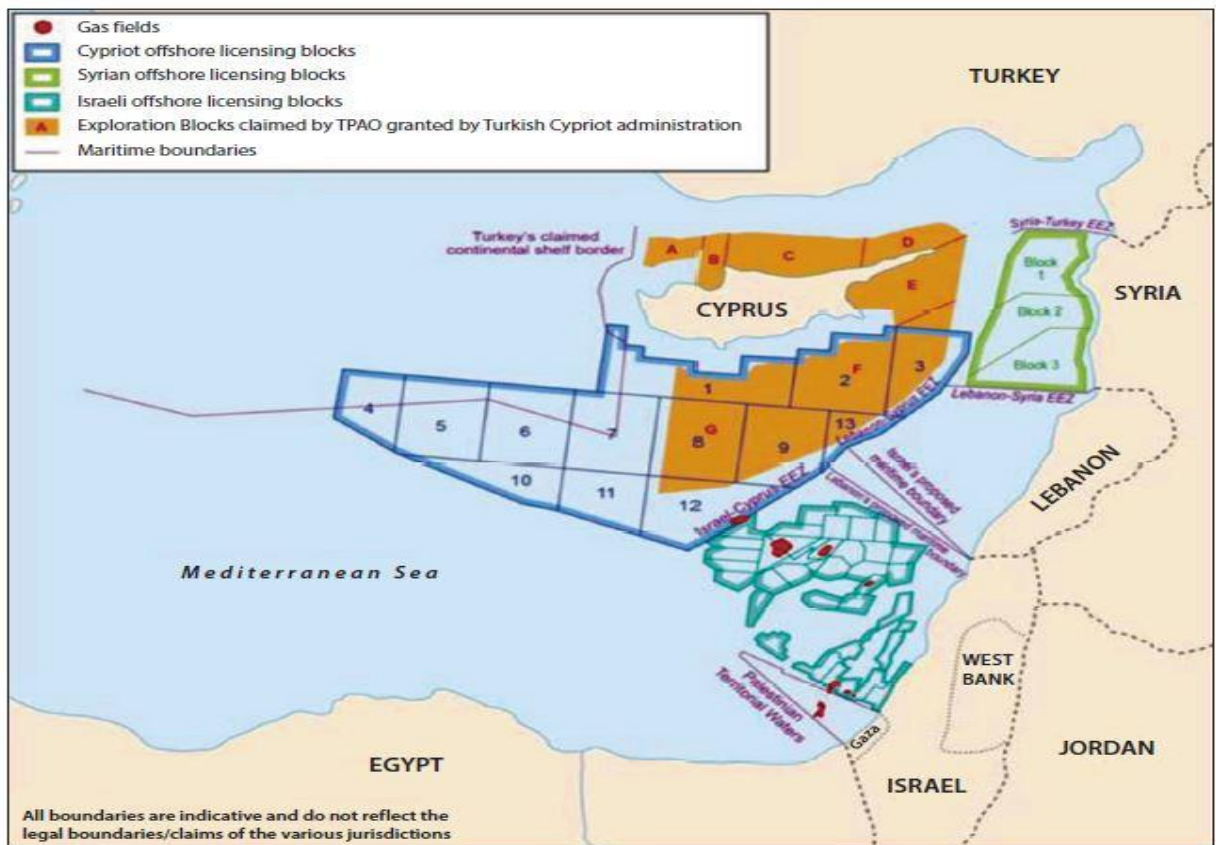
limit maritime jurisdiction areas with Northern Cyprus in September 2011 and with the Government of National Accord in Libya in December 2019. Based on the 2011 agreement, Northern Cyprus granted Turkish Petroleum Corporation (TPAO) a drilling license in areas partially overlapping with the parcels requested by Greek Cypriot. The agreement between Ankara and Tripoli, on the other hand, created two mutual EEZs, partially overlapping the parcels requested by Greece. It can be considered that this agreement also blocked the EastMed pipeline. The latest development in the EEZ wars was the delimitation agreement signed between Greece and Egypt in August 2020. A few days later, Ankara, which strongly condemned the agreement, announced a NAVTEX to restart seismic surveys near the Greek island of Meis, 2 km off the coast. Turkey actively uses its seismic exploration and drilling platforms to highlight its strategic interests and preferences. Ankara conducts routine operations in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean with the seismic exploration and drilling ships. Elements of the Turkish Naval and Air Force often support civilian ships for protection and deterrence. In July 2017, Ankara sent naval elements to the region to track a drill ship assigned to operate on the disputed 11th parcel of Cyprus. In February 2018, there was a short-term tension when the ENI drill ship sailing from the 6th parcel and the Turkish warships came face to face. In August 2020, when Turkey and Greece announced mutual NAVTEX for the same region, it was reported that Turkish and Greek navies were mutually mobilized (Demiryol, 2020).

Turkey's growing military presence in the Mediterranean is supported by an ambitious naval modernization program. Within the scope of the National Ship Project (MİLGEM), fifteen multi-purpose corvettes and frigates are produced that will significantly increase Turkey's combat power, and the National Submarine Project (MİLDEN) aims to design and build six submarines by 2030. These efforts, which will increase their ability to use force, shape Turkey's active stance in the Mediterranean and create a threat perception for counterparties. Regional geopolitical groupings paved the way for the emergence of a perception of encirclement in Ankara. Energy interests, which have recently been shared, have brought Israel, Southern Cyprus and Greece closer. Egypt also joined this group. The spread of the pragmatic alliance formed on the economic ground to the security field through joint military exercises and similar initiatives, on the other hand, aggravated the threat perception of Turkey. The perception in question is based on the idea that Turkey is not only excluded from the energy game in the Mediterranean, but also from the new regional order established (Bal, 2020).

Two recent developments have strengthened the perception of encirclement. The first was the establishment of the Eastern Mediterranean Gas Forum (DAGF) in January 2019. Countries included in DAGF; Greek Cypriot, Greece, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Palestine and Egypt. DAGF is also supported by France and America. While the full membership request of France is in question, America also demands to be a permanent observer. The second key development was that Greece, Southern Cyprus and Israel signed the EastMed Pipeline Agreement in January 2020. Ankara sees both the DAGF and the EastMed pipeline as components of its effort to confine Turkey to the periphery of the Mediterranean. The fact that the DAGF, the EastMed pipeline and other regional initiatives are supported by the United States and the European Union further strengthens the perception that Turkey is excluded by its allies. Turkey's active EastMed strategy primarily aims to break this siege. (Altıntaşbas, 2020).

In 2007, Greek Cypriot parceled 13 different regions in the Eastern Mediterranean without complying with any text. Five of the so-called license areas are partially within Turkey's maritime jurisdiction in the Eastern Mediterranean. Seven of these 13 parcels coincided with the license areas granted to TPAO by Northern Cyprus. Turkey signed an agreement with the Northern Cyprus in 2011, which determines the outer border of the Continental Shelf in New York. According to the method adopted in this agreement, the so-called declared parcels outside the jurisdiction of Turkey, remain within the maritime jurisdiction of Cyprus Island and are naturally accepted as such. In other words, there are two separate communities on the island with equal rights so Turkish Cypriot people are joined too, to these parcels. With these so-called declared parcels, the Greek Cypriot Administration wanted to extend the policy of owning the island to the maritime jurisdictions by taking the support of Greece, aimed at owning the maritime jurisdictions alone, ignoring the rights of Turkey and the Northern Cypriot (Peker, 2019: 97).

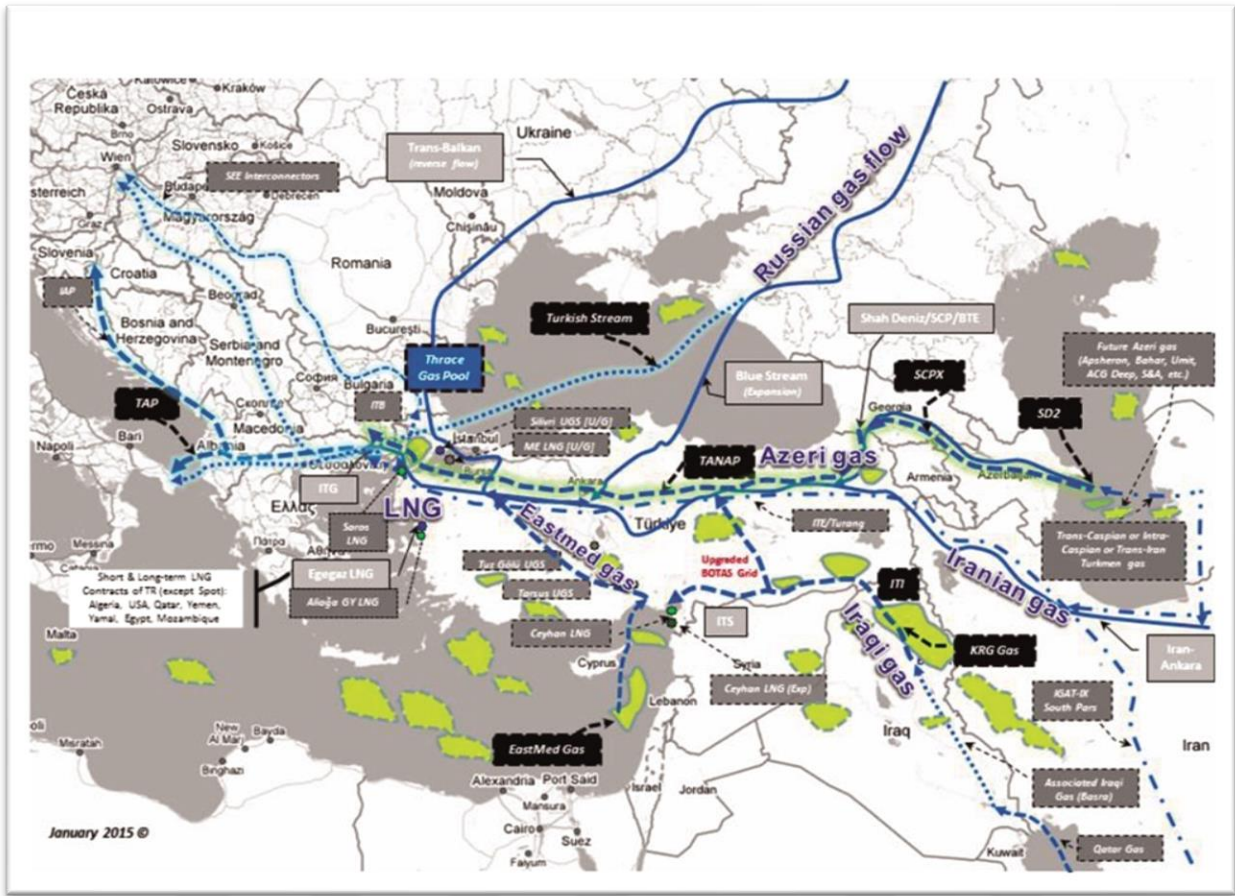
### EastMed Map of Claims, Conflicts and Disputed Parcels



Source: Oxford Institute for Energy Studies (OIES)

**Figure 1: EastMed Map of Claims, Conflicts, and Disputed Parcels**

Source: Insight Turkey, 2015: 119.



**Figure 2:** Turkish Gas Master Plan and Anatolian Gas Center Projection to 2023

**Source:** Insight Turkey, 2015: 128.

Turkey and the Northern Cyprus did not recognize these undertakings of the Greek Cypriot Administration, brought the issue to the UN agenda and required records were made. Turkey has stated that it will not allow foreign companies to engage in unauthorized oil and natural gas activities in the fields that the Greek Cypriot allegedly licensed which coincides with the Continental Shelf areas in the Eastern Mediterranean, and will take the necessary measures to protect their rights and interests in the Continental Shelf (Comak and Seker, 2019: 6).

With the EastMed project, the signatories came together many times and made some decisions, but they could not implement these decisions. On the other hand, some developments took place in 2018 in the alliance works established by ignoring the rights of the Turkish side. For example, in the meeting between Greek, Israeli and Greek leaders in Nicosia in May 2018, it was decided to sign the agreement until the end of the year for the

implementation of the project. Later, on November 26, 2018, a memorandum of understanding for the EastMed project was signed between four countries with the participation of Italy. For these alliances, even though such positive developments have been experienced until today, it is understood that the project did not come to an end even on paper, considering the facts such as not solving the financing problem, not disclosing a concrete road map on when to start the activities in the field, and the lack of feasibility studies for the seabed where the project will pass, it is understood that the project did not come to an end even on paper (Istikbal and Boyraz, 2019: 76).

As a result of the discovery of remarkable natural gas reserves, the Eastern Mediterranean attracts the attention of global powers and international companies, except for riparian countries. However, it is still unclear how these resources will be transferred to consumer countries. The main problem is the existence of a large number of riparian countries in the Eastern Mediterranean and the absence of an EEZ agreement between these countries, which has been accepted by all parties. Accordingly, it is not possible for any country to act independently from the others in matters such as hydrocarbon exploration in the region and the routes through which export routes will pass. The main point that put the developments in the region into a dead end is that the riparian countries could not reach a common agreement on the sharing and distribution of energy resources. In the next section, news archives from different press groups are included in order to see how the tensions arising from this situation are covered in the media. The news archives examined how the eastern Mediterranean crisis was followed by the Turkish state actors and how the newspapers interpreted these policies.

## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1. Methodology

Media and politics are in constant interaction. Every moment politics works and changes, while the media reflects, interprets and presents. For this reason, the media has an impact on the state, and the state has an impact on the media. This study has taken Turkish policy and the most read newspapers in Turkey (Sabah, Hurriyet and Sozcu) over the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis.

With the increasing discoveries in the eastern Mediterranean in recent years, it has taken its place on the world agenda under the heading of crisis. It has become the focus of attention by regional and global powers. A common denominator has not yet been determined for the extraction and use of resources in the parcellation of regions. In this study, it was examined how the developments in the Eastern Mediterranean crisis were handled and interpreted in the Turkish media. The subject of the analysis is to see to what extent the comments, criticisms and/or suggestions of the media on this subject are/are not effective on state policy. Based on this study, it is the desired result to see the place of media groups in Turkish politics and the extent of their relations with each other.

This study consists of two stages. The first stage was organized as researching the conceptual definitions of the subject and collecting data on the process of the eastern Mediterranean crisis. In the second stage, the columns published on the subject from the selected newspaper archives of Turkey were shared, interpreted and discussed.

Research method was used in this study. The media and the eastern Mediterranean crisis, which are the dominant roles of the research, are explained in detail under different headings. A literature review was conducted for the definition, functions and development process of the media, the importance of the eastern Mediterranean and the conflicts between countries. Many scientific publications and academic studies have been used. In order to observe the effectiveness of the media on politics, the archives of news newspapers were scanned. The contents and perspectives of the media archives were interpreted and coded as

objective, pro-state and anti-state news. All the differences in the news archives are discussed with the comparison method.

This media analysis is expected to contribute to the related literature in several ways. First, it provides useful input for comparative studies which analyze Turkish newspapers and it also helps those who want to be able to draw a general picture of Turkish media for enriching their research. Furthermore, it can be complementary to the quantitative analyses of Turkish media for the Eastern Mediterranean countries.

### **3.2. Scope of the Study**

This study includes literature reviews and archives of newspapers. For information about media and Eastern Mediterranean crisis were searched as literately. The news about the eastern mediterranean crisis has taken from the three most read newspapers (Sabah, Sözcü, and Hürriyet) in Turkey.

### **3.3. Population and Sampling**

In Turkey, there are 35 national newspapers. In this study, publications with a large audience were selected in order to achieve a more general and stable result. Although the eastern Mediterranean crisis has been going on since 2010, it has been experiencing its most active and hectic period in recent years. For this reason, there is a specified date range to be close to the current one.

### **3.4. Research Period**

Literature review for media and Mediterranean Crisis does not have specified period for searching. This situation is different for archives of news because the process of crisis is so long and a lot of national newspapers in Turkey. So, the research period of news start from the beginning of 2021 to the end of June 2021 and choose the most read newspapers in Turkey for more general and clear result.

### **3.5. Research Limits**

Temporal limits: Since the scope of the research is long-term, the time in the study was limited to a six-month period.

Spatial boundaries: The sample considers the impact of the Eastern Mediterranean crisis on Turkish state actors. In the study, it is limited to only Turkish politicians because there are a lot of countries involved in the Eastern Mediterranean crisis.

### **3.6. Data Collection**

The data sources are a collection of information gathered from newspaper publications (Sabah, Sözcü and Hürriyet) that primary data of this study. Secondary data is articles, academic publications and non-governmental reports for explanations and process of the crisis.

### **3.7. Instrument**

In the first chapter, a basic introductory part is covered and then the background, arguments and importance of the study are stated. In the second part, detailed information about the methodology part is given. In the third part, the conceptual explanations of the media, its historical process, and its change with the effect of globalization are examined by making use of academic studies and articles. In the fourth chapter, the geopolitics of the eastern Mediterranean, the importance of natural resources and the extraction process by countries are presented in line with the information transferred from the articles and academic studies. In the last section, which connects the main content of the study, the sources are newspaper publications, but are evaluated based on comparative observation.

### **3.8. Data Analysis**

Necessary information from articles, academic studies and newspaper publications on the internet was scanned and evaluated. The archives of the selected newspapers were examined and the news was grouped as neutral, pro-state, and anti-state. The aim here is to

more clearly reveal the reflections of ideological differences on the news. It was written in Microsoft Word.



## CHAPTER 4

### 4.1. News from Chosen Newspapers

Editorials, columns, and pages in newspapers are some of the ways the media company reflects its heart. These refer to the media outlet's stance on a particular issue or political concern. Sometimes this stance conflicts with the stance of the government and most contributes to furthering and broadening the discourse among the public, academia, industry players, stakeholders, politicians and government officials. When the rhetoric is already widespread and loud, the government can no longer afford to ignore them. In this way, the media becomes a part of the political and democratic decision-making dynamics (Viray and Versoza, 2017).

Media and politics are actors in the main roles of today's world with two different characters that feed on each other and maintain their existence. These two forces are growing in mutual benefit. In fact, the media and politics are seen as a system without alternatives, which performs public service and is commissioned by the society. It is possible to say that both institutions carry out their work on behalf of the society. In this respect, institutions that are in an inevitable dialectical relationship should act with the awareness of their responsibilities when the relations and interactions in the social system are examined in terms of their perspectives and social outputs (Akdağ, 2020: 1173). Unfortunately, news is approved by the government which media organs cooperate intensively with the government. Although the independence of the media is in the first place among the ethical principles, it does not seem possible to talk about its existence. Owners of financial power, namely media bosses (politicians, large companies, international organizations, etc.) are produced news content in line with their own interests or not.

Perceptions are created and messages are conveyed by media bosses through the media, which is a new form of communication on an international and national scale. The media, which is actively used in Russia's annexation of Crimea, as in the US invasion of Iraq, has also played a role in creating perception by each country's own media in the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean. Of course, the news language of the media changes the message very much. The news created for the benefit of the media bosses creates different perceptions, even if the topics are the same. Partially concrete examples of this can be seen in the newspapers

Sabah, Sözcü and Hürriyet. In this section, the last six months' news archives of Sabah, Sözcü and Hürriyet newspapers, which are among the most widely read newspapers in Turkey, which have different ideological views, selected and analyzed the news related to the Eastern Mediterranean crisis. In terms of approach and criticism of this news, guiding sentences are included. In addition, it is clearly evident that the news done/not done about the crisis in these newspapers is also interest-oriented.

#### **4.1.1. Sabah News**

Title: Turkey's remarks from former German Chancellor Schroeder: Europe must now accept this...

Text: Expressing that former German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder made important political statements about Turkey, the author included many quotations from the book and this showed that author's support for Turkey by sharing from the book at many points. In all these quotations, it is seen that the former German prime minister has been unfair to Turkey in many areas and that Turkey is a strong state. In the book titled "The Last Chance", Gerhard Schröder is quoted as saying, "Turkey is now the undeniable dominant power in the Eastern Mediterranean, whether Europe likes it or not."

Title: Ahmet Davutoğlu complained about Turkey to Greece! The expressions he used drew reaction

Text: While stating that Future Party Chairman Ahmet Davutoğlu made an exclusive interview with Kathimerini newspaper in Greece, he also emphasized the newspaper's opposition to Turkey in his article. It is obvious how scathing the author said, who said, "The President of the Future Party, who used accusatory statements about Turkey's foreign policy and relations with neighboring countries in his interview, also targeted the presidential system." There is some kind of condemnation about Davutoğlu's interview with anti-Turkey Kathimerini newspaper.

Title: Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis boarded a US aircraft carrier stationed in Crete

Text: The author, who entered the news as Greece, which continues its provocative attempts to escalate the tension with Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean, talked about the military exercise carried out jointly with the USA. There was a surprise visit to the ship of the USA by

the Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis, and the Greek media covered Mitsotakis' visit. He emphasized that he almost gave support to the Turkey-Greece tension. In the sub-title of 'Provocation Efforts at the End Phase', it is very clear that the author directed his arrows of criticism towards Greece and the Greek media.

Title: Scandalous Turkey call from Athens: Germany opposed

Text: The author stated that Greece called for sanctions against Turkey under the name of 'EU solidarity' rather than diplomacy and wanted the sale of arms and defense products to Turkey to be stopped. The author, who shared the news that the Merkel government did not find it right to impose an arms embargo on a NATO ally, criticized the diplomacy style followed by Greece.

Title: Sounds of rebellion in Greece, which entered into an arms race with Turkey! 'Salary not paid'

Text: After the tension with Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean, Greece, which tried to close its military gap in the field, faced a new crisis. The country, which was in an economic bottleneck, had bought new fighter jets from France due to its fear of Turkey despite the trouble it was experiencing, and started to strengthen its navy with the hope of establishing superiority in the seas. However, a scandal that came to the agenda revealed the true state of the Greek army. Although this paragraph is the summary of the news, it is obvious how unqualified the author has made Greece. It has been an article full of negative emphases on Greece, such as closing a deficit in the military field, new jet purchases due to the fear of Turkey despite the economic crisis, and the hope of superiority in the seas.

Title: Balances are being re-established in the Mediterranean! Fear gripped Greece

Text: In the news, it was stated that the balances in the Mediterranean were re-established after Turkey acted sensitively in the maritime border agreement between Egypt and Greece, taking into account the continental shelf. It has been announced that Turkey normalizes its relations with Egypt, Greece and the Greek Cypriot Administration (GCA) panicked in the Mediterranean. In the news, which contains these sentences at its base, it was constantly stated that Greece became uneasy after Turkey and Egypt started to get closer. The author evaluated that the improvement of Egypt-Turkey relations would be a negative because of loss of supporters for Greece, and that for Turkey, it would increase its efficiency and

competence in the eastern Mediterranean. Here, the message that Greece is incapacitated and Turkey is gaining strength is given clearly.

Title: Stunning confession from Israel! The strongest navy in the Eastern Mediterranean is the Turkish navy! Here is the world ranking of the navies

Text: The author, who included the research prepared by the Center for Political and Strategic Studies of the University of Haifa and published in January 2021, shared the sections describing the Turkish navy, its face, and its power in the last twenty years. In the research, he stated that this change in the Turkish Naval Forces made the Turkish navy the strongest navy in the Eastern Mediterranean.

The research also discussed the hypothesis that Turkey's increasing naval power will pose a potential threat and challenge to Israel in the future, and underlined that the Tel Aviv administration was warned that "this possible threat" should be taken seriously.

In the research, which also pointed to the striking power and intervention capability of the Turkish navy, it was stated that the Turkish Naval Forces would provide Turkey with a unique offensive capability in the Black Sea and Eastern Mediterranean.

While addressing these research comments, the author made statements to indicate that he also supports them. The correctness of the Turkish government's policy in the eastern Mediterranean is clearly stated in the news, the proof of which is the result of the research of the University of Haifa.

Title: Fear of the Turkish navy in Greece: They are getting stronger

Text: The author, who wrote that Greece's fear of Turkey is growing, emphasized that Greece has insufficient military equipment and power, so it tries to cooperate with foreign states. The Chairman of the Board of the Greek Fleet Fund Association, and the author, who conveyed the statements of Turkey about the naval power, once again expressed the helplessness of Greece. Emfiencioglou, who said, "Erdogan's Turkey has developed a very strong navy," said, "Our ships are old, and so we urgently need to strengthen our navy." The author also stated that the Greek government increased the budgets allocated to the navy for this reason.

Title: Stunning Eastern Mediterranean moves from Turkey! France and Greece did not get what they wanted...

Text: Addressing Turkey's visit to Libya, the author shared the comment of The Foundation for Political, Economic and Social Research's Energy Research Director Prof. Dr. Kemal İnat: "This visit is, first of all, an indication of Turkey's determined stance on Libya and the Eastern Mediterranean.

He especially emphasized that Egypt's abandoning the maritime jurisdiction area delimitation agreement signed with Greece and the Greek Cypriot Administration and signing such an agreement with Turkey, which would be more advantageous for itself, would provide optimal benefits for Turkey.

He said that for France and Greece, Egypt is an important ally against Turkey both in the maritime jurisdiction issue and in the power struggle in Libya, and it would not be in their interest to lose such an ally. He claimed that Cairo sees Turkey as the rising power of the Middle East.

The strengthening of relations with Egypt and Libya was underlined. It was also emphasized that the intensification of the government's ties with these countries would benefit to Turkey.

Title: Negotiations with Egypt are open-ended

Text: The author emphasized that the improvement of Turkey's relations with Egypt, which came together again after a long time, would provide convenience in the eastern Mediterranean crisis because Turkey and Egypt have the longest border in the Mediterranean Sea. He claimed that after Egypt was convinced, it was only a matter of time before Israel was convinced as well.

The message given in the news was directed to the government and it was mentioned that the Turkish Government's strong relations with Egypt would be of great benefit. Thus, it gave the message that friendly doors with Israel would be opened.

Title: French confession in the Eastern Mediterranean: Turkey is an indisputable power in the region

Text: The author, who discussed Turkey's becoming an indisputable regional power in the Eastern Mediterranean, criticized Greece and the Greek Cypriot administration, which has been trying desperately for years to remove Turkey from this equation, feared that its interests in the region are in danger. While emphasizing that Athens fail every time in its moves to pacify Turkey, he wants to point out the magnitude of Turkey's power. He claimed that

Turkey's determined stance of not giving up its legitimate rights in the region continued to cause disappointment in the states that created the conflict. Finally, he shared the following sentences in the comprehensive analysis published by the international French think-tank.

In the analysis, which determines the parties to the power balance that has changed significantly in the Eastern Mediterranean in recent years, France and Turkey, the term "Guardian of the Old Order" is used for France, while Turkey is referred to as "Growing Difficult Rival".

"Macron, France's ambition to re-establish the power it lost in the region and to take the lead in the Mediterranean is part of the Paris administration's desire to return to its traditional old order. Macron is driven by the idea of re-establishing a political dominance in the region where the political leadership is indisputably French does".

The author expressed that the discomfort felt by France was proved with these lines. The eastern Mediterranean policy followed by the Turkish government was appreciated and mentioned Turkey is conveyed the feared power in the eyes of countries.

Title: 'Provocation' diplomacy from Greece! Baseless accusations against Turkey...

Text: Greece's desire to eliminate Turkey in order to realize its dreams in the Eastern Mediterranean and its provocations for breaking the ties between Ankara and the countries of the region have been criticized by the author.

The author said that they wanted to create a perception with unfounded allegations against Turkey, which prevented a possible humanitarian disaster by going to Libya. Thus, he claimed that Athens was trying to undermine the positive agenda between Turkey and Egypt.

He stated that Athens had argued for Libya that the maritime jurisdiction agreement between them and Turkey was invalid.

Explaining that Egypt, which has signed a so-called maritime jurisdiction agreement with Greece, is likely to gain an additional area of 40 thousand square kilometers in case of a maritime jurisdiction agreement with Turkey, the author underlined the need to strengthen relations with Egypt.

It is very clearly stated in the news that Greece is far from a peaceful attitude has seen, first of all, on the title. Advised that Turkish Government to improve relations with Egypt. Thus, it is

perceived that the Greek pressure in the Eastern Mediterranean will decrease and Turkey will gain an advantage.

Title: Minister Çavuşoğlu met with Greek Prime Minister Miçotakis

Text: Greek Prime Minister Kiriakos Mitsotakis met with Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, and then Çavuşoğlu posted on social media: We met with Greek Prime Minister Kiriakos Mitsotakis. The revitalization of our dialogue channels is positive. It is important to strengthen our relations for the solution of our problems".

During his visit to Western Thrace and Athens, the President of the Western Thrace Turkish Minority Advisory Board talked about the rights of minorities, to which he was welcomed and hosted.

It was emphasized that both Greece was pleased with this visit of Çavuşoğlu and the minister's sensitivity to the Turkish people and their rights. Talking about an optimistic process from bilateral talks to country relations, the author created a positive atmosphere in his news.

Total news count	Pro-state news	Anti-state news	Objective news
13	13	0	0

The Sabah Newspaper did not include any criticism of the Turkish Government's Eastern Mediterranean policy. Positive and constructive language has been chosen for the Turkish Government. The authors clearly expressed their support or suggestions. The 'strong navy' and 'hard opponent' news about Turkey in other countries' researches are seen as another form of expression as proof of the newspaper's trust in the government.

#### 4.1.2. Sözcü News

Title: We talked 60 times; we couldn't tell! What does Turkey want? What is Greece saying?

Text: Dealing with the 61st exploratory talks between Greece and Turkey, the author states that Greece's declaration of increasing the nautical miles in the Lausanne agreement is against Turkey. Retired Rear Admiral Cem Gürdeniz states that he finds the Greek Prime Minister's statement, "If Turkey wants to become a member of the EU, it must give up on the Aegean"

unfortunate. He conveys that Greece expects Turkey to stop its gas and oil exploration activities and plans to imprison Turkey in the Gulf of Antalya. This article reflects the statement that Turkey should strive to advance its relations with Greece for the benefit of Turkey and should not compromise its own rights.

Greek Foreign Minister Nikos Dendias' statement "We trashed Turkey's November 27 Libya agreement" and then Dendias' statement on January 19 that "we will declare 12 miles east of Crete Island" has been criticized. It is emphasized that these talks, which Greece is not a rational and reliable interlocutor, will not yield good results for Turkey.

Retired Ambassador Tugay Uluçevik said, "I know the file of Turkish-Greek relations very well. Greece freezes Turkey's activity in the Eastern Mediterranean; it seeks to fortify its own de facto situation in the Aegean." Noting that Greece has not given up on its goal of expanding its territorial waters in the Aegean to 12 miles, Uluçevik said, "Turkey, on the other hand, has declared that the extension of Greece's territorial waters in the Aegean beyond 6 miles would be "a reason for war." This attitude should also be shown to ensure the return of the demilitarized status of the Islands, which was violated in violation of the treaties". "There is a threat that gives Turkey the right to self-defense," says Uluçevik.

Again, adding Uluçevik's comments, the author underlines that Turkey should take more rational and serious measures in this regard. The author conveyed his view Turkey's consistent defense of its rights in the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean through the thoughts of former Turkish statesmen.

Title: Message from retired Greek Ambassador to Miçotakis: Turkey cannot be excluded

Text: The author quoted Retired Ambassador Panagiotis Ioakimidis, Advisor to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, gave a foreign policy lesson to the Athens administration. Retired Greek Ambassador Ioakimidis said, "Turkey is a Mediterranean country, it cannot be excluded from what is happening."

The existence of this news, on behalf of the readers, supports the perception that Turkey defends its rights in the eastern Mediterranean to the end.

Title: Greek minister disturbed by Turkey-Egypt rapprochement

Text: The author conveyed the impact of Turkey-Egypt rapprochement on Greece with the following sentences. After the Egyptian government's acceptance of Turkey's continental

shelf boundaries in hydrocarbon exploration activities and its proposal to remove the Greek part from the pipeline project route, Greece was terrified. Greek Foreign Minister Nikos Dendias arrived in Cairo, the capital of Egypt.

It is an article written in a very neutral language and transmitted only as news.

Title: Notable Erdogan Comment from the British the Times

Text: The Times, one of the leading respected newspapers in the UK, focused on Turkey's rapprochement process with the European Union and President Erdogan's extension of an olive branch to Western countries. While reminding that President Erdoğan is in an effort to soften relations with the European Union by meeting with Greece, President Erdoğan's normally sarcastic style has been interpreted as a sharp change after the EU threatened to impose sanctions on Ankara due to the developments in the Eastern Mediterranean. The author, who wants to show criticisms of The Times about Turkey's internal and foreign relations, transferred that "Erdogan's diminishing global image in recent years and his bad management of the economy for years, has caused an economic crisis and this has caused high inflation, a decrease in foreign investors and an increase in unemployment".

Title: EU: If Turkey is not constructive...

Text: The author stated that the relations with Turkey were discussed in detail at the European Union (EU) Leaders' Summit. He stated this statement of the Head of the European Commission:

Von Der Leyen; "We talked about Turkey. A few days ago, President Michel and I met with Mr. Erdogan. Turkey has a positive approach. There is also a calming down in relations with some EU member states, but this situation is fragile. Together with High Representative Borrel, we are working on a report on the state of our political, economic and commercial relations with Turkey and on the means. We envision a two-stage plan. In the first stage, we will deal with the issue of aid to asylum seekers and the revision of the Customs Union together. If Turkey is not constructive and makes negative initiatives, especially in the Eastern Mediterranean, this process will stop".

The title was chosen in a way that would create a negative perception on behalf of Turkey. It has been stated that the course of positive relations between Europe and Turkey depends on Turkey's attitude in the Eastern Mediterranean. So here the pressure for good relations is on

the Turkish Government. This perception has the message that Europe's moderate attitude can only be possible with Turkey's implementation of smart policies. All kinds of responsible may have been intended to be thought only as Turkey.

Title: Libyan territorial waters analysis from The Times: Turkey's filling the gap scares Europe

The British press included an analysis that focused on Turkey's influence in Libyan territorial waters. European countries have given training and support to Libyan Coast Guard teams in the past and now Turkey has filled this void is written by The Times. And also it added "This situation is politically frightening for Europe".

The author explained an analysis of the British press's influence on Turkey's Libyan territorial waters. Writing that European countries provided training and support to Libyan Coast Guard teams in the past, and that Turkey filled this gap, The Times stated that he used the words "This situation is politically scary for Europe." again, after the Çavuşoğlu-Blinken meeting, he shared the remarkable Turkey statement from the USA: "Today I had the opportunity to speak with Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu. It is of great importance that our cooperation with our NATO ally Turkey continues in our common priorities. On the other hand, I emphasized our support for constructive developments with Greece. I also drew attention to the importance of democracy and human rights".

In the title, the image of the Turkish government is given the like occupying Libya's lands by illegal means and even without the consent of Libya.

Title: Very harsh response from Greece to Çavuşoğlu's statements

Text: The author stated that Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu went to Greece and met with representatives of the Muslim Turkish minority in Western Thrace.

Reuter's news agency reported that the Athens administration gave a very harsh response to Çavuşoğlu's words, "We want Greece to give the same rights that we give to the Greek Orthodox Church and Greek minorities in Turkey to the Turkish minorities living in Western Thrace."

Blaming the video shared on the official account of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Greek Foreign Ministry Spokesperson Alexandros Papaioannou said, "Turkey's constant efforts to

distort the truth and its claims that citizens living here have no rights or are discriminated against are baseless and completely wrong." has emphasized.

The author claimed that the meeting was unsatisfactory on behalf of Greece. Even the chosen title showed the Turkish government in a kind of subset against the Greek government.

Total news count	Pro-state news	Anti-state news	Objective news
7	2	4	1

Some headlines in Sözcü newspaper contain remarkably negative statements. From criticisms of other countries towards the Turkish government to threatening speeches were transferred. Along with this, there is some news that is neutral or supportive of the government for the protection of national interests.

#### **4.1.3. Hürriyet News**

Title: Greek Government Spokesperson: Meeting between Mitsotakis and Erdoğan will take place

Text: Greek Government Spokesperson Peloni announced that a meeting will be held between Prime Minister Kiriakos Mitsotakis and President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan as soon as the conditions are suitable. The author stated in his news that the aim of Athens is to try to reduce tensions and create a positive climate with Turkey.

It's just announcement news.

Title: Shock attitude from the Greek Minister! He entered a dialogue, started a fight

Text: The author relates the dialogue between the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Turkey and Greece, Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu and Nikos Dendias, at the press conference they held after their meeting in Beştepe. Upon the Greek minister's words, "If Turkey continues to violate our sovereign rights, sanctions will come to the fore again", Çavuşoğlu harshly responded to Dendias. Çavuşoğlu said, "You saw that we gave the necessary answer when the rights of our country and the Turkish Cypriot people were disregarded. But we, as two neighbors, are in favor of dialogue".

In the title, the message is given that Greece has again exhibited a provocative attitude. In the content, both the harsh and friendly situation of Turkey against the threatening attitude of Greece was emphasized.

Title: Breaking news: Minister Çavuşoğlu said, "Dendias did not act sincerely" and added: Despite everything, we are ready to take a step

Text: The author made important statements about the agenda of Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu. Minister Çavuşoğlu, regarding the scandalous statements of his Greek counterpart Dendias at the meeting held after the consultation meeting, said, "We regret that Dendias and the Greek side did not act honestly. Despite everything, we are ready to take steps to solve the problems. Everyone saw this at the meeting." conveyed what he said.

The purpose of repeating the news with the same content was to emphasize the maturity of Turkey's peaceful stance against Greece's ruthless and unfair attitude. The title selection is in the form of an official summary of the news.

Title: The Turkish navy is the most powerful navy in the Eastern Mediterranean

Text: According to the research published by the Center for Political and Strategic Studies at the University of Haifa, it was stated that the Turkish navy was the strongest in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the research, which also discussed the hypothesis that "Turkey's increasing naval power will pose a potential threat and challenge for Israel in the future", it was warned that the Tel Aviv administration should take "this possible threat" seriously.

The conclusion reached in the research conducted at the university in Israel, the news was made to show evidence of Turkey's naval power. The title has already been taken in a way that is extremely proud of Turkey.

Title: The Greek-French game did not hold

Text: The author reported on Greece's attempt to breach the Turkish continental shelf with the French research ship in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the face of Turkey's determined stance, both ships reported that they had moved away from the Turkish continental shelf.

The title is extremely remarkable and creates the perception of success.

Title: Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu: Dendias did not act honestly

Text: Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu said that although his meetings with Greek Foreign Minister Nikos Dendias took place in a positive atmosphere, the guest minister did not act honestly at the press conference afterward. The author, Minister Çavuşoğlu said, “We are telling you that a platform without Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean will not work. We proved this with the steps we took on the field because they did not listen to our word. We are in favor of a fair sharing”. It has been stated that the problems between Turkey and Greece cannot be resolved in a meeting. The author reported that the French seismic research vessel's attempt to enter Turkish territorial waters accompanied by a Greek frigate was described by Çavuşoğlu as "an unwelcome attempt".

Sharing the words of Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, for Greece, and the attitude of Çavuşoğlu are indicative of the strong and fearless behavior of the Turkish Government. The title, on the other hand, is extremely remarkable and creates the perception of success.

Title: Critical meeting with Egypt after 8 years

Text: The author reported that, after positive messages from Ankara and Cairo, the representatives of the two countries made the first face-to-face contact in 8 years. The author commented that Turkey's signing of a maritime jurisdiction agreement with Egypt, as well as with Libya, could provide a counterbalance to the maximalist demands of Greece and the Greek Cypriot part.

In the news, the message of the necessity of strengthening Turkey's relations between Egypt and Libya was given. Thus, it was stated that Turkey would gain an advantage over Greek Cypriot and Greece.

Title: Çavuşoğlu is in Greece today... Normalization with the target Athens

Text: The author discussed the route of Çavuşoğlu under subheadings to discuss the normalization process with Athens. He wrote that Çavuşoğlu would first visit Western Thrace and then meet with the Greek Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs. In the meeting on April 15, the author, who called Dendias' statements as unbelievable accusations, stated that Çavuşoğlu had no intention of a rematch.

Despite the wrong attitude of the Greek government, the visit of Turkey on behalf of the country's interests has been reported admirably.

Title: Last minute... Message from Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu before his visit to Greece...

Text: The author quoted the statements of Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu prior to his visit to Greece. He explained that Çavuşoğlu went to Athens to restore relations with Greece to the pre-eastern Mediterranean crisis and the meeting subjects.

It is impartial news that does not contain comments and does not create a perception.

Title: Doors opened with Greece! The positive agenda target has been achieved.

Text: The author stated that the visit of Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu to Greece for the normalization of Turkish-Greek relations took place in a positive atmosphere. During the meeting, all important issues including the Aegean, the Eastern Mediterranean, the activities of terrorist organizations in Greece, minorities, irregular migration and Cyprus were once again discussed.

It was presented as positive news regarding the solution of all problems regarding Turkish-Greek Relations. The title, on the other hand, gives the perception that there is a more positive situation than the content of the news.

Title: Last minute... Sharing of Greece from Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu

Text: The author shared the post of Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu on Twitter about his meeting with Greek Prime Minister Kiriakos Mitsotakis: "We met with Greek Prime Minister Kiriakos Mitsotakis. The revitalization of our dialogue channels is positive. Strengthening our relations is important for the solution of our problems. Afterward, the author narrated the visit of Çavuşoğlu to the Western Thrace region of Greece, where the Turkish minority is densely populated.

It is just news about the developments in Greek-Turkish relations. There is no comment.

Title: Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu's visit made an impression: Turkey headlines in the Greek press

Text: Even the title chosen by the author was the intention of emphasizing the success of Çavuşoğlu. In the content, he stated that the Greek press reported that the meetings of Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu in Athens "had taken place in a sincere atmosphere". The author included the news in the Greek press. This news was published as: Kathimerini newspaper,

"The first step for calm waters", Protothema newspaper "Dendias-Çavuşoğlu meeting: 25 items of the positive agenda are", in Avgi newspaper with the headline "Betting on a calm summer", "Dendias-Çavuşoğlu meeting in Athens took place in a friendly atmosphere".

In this news, it was especially emphasized that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Çavuşoğlu, gave the right of business. This success was reflected as a positive atmosphere in Greek relations, and even in the Greek press, the perception of Çavuşoğlu's success in improving relations was created.

Title: Last minute: Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu openly told the Greek newspaper: Give up...

Text: An important statement of the above news has been re-emphasized. The author repeated Minister Çavuşoğlu's statement that Greece should abandon the map of Sevilla for healthy relations with Turkey.

Title: Çavuşoğlu spoke to the Greek press: 3 steps are necessary for improvement in relations

Text: The author quoted the news of the Minister of Foreign Affairs Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu in the Greek newspaper To Vima. The answers of Çavuşoğlu to the newspaper questions were shared directly. The author discussed the main theme of the answers under the headings. The definite and clear answers of Çavuşoğlu to the demands of Greece in the Aegean and Mediterranean are given as the subtitles of the news. Therefore, the author's message about Çavuşoğlu as a stable state actor stands out.

Title: 'We do not allow fait accompli'

Text: The author reported that he witnessed the "winds of friendship" in Athens with Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu and that Çavuşoğlu gave positive messages about Greek relations. The author, who participated in the Sea Wolf Exercise, stated that the Minister of National Defense Hulusi Akar wants peace in the Mediterranean and the Aegean, and this is possible by talking and agreeing to each other.

The author emphasized that the navy was extremely disciplined, knowledgeable and determined. Despite the participation of military attachés from many different countries, the absence of Greece was condemned by the author. The image given is that the Turkish Navy is strong and competent. For Greece, on the other hand, it has been understood that there is still no sense of trust towards them regarding the Eastern Mediterranean.

Title: Moderate message from Mitsotakis before the meeting

Text: The author reported that Greek Prime Minister Kiriakos Mitsotakis, who met with President Tayyip Erdogan in Brussels, gave moderate messages for Turkish-Greek relations. However, in response to the optimistic statements in the following days, the Greek coast guard claimed that the Turkish Coast Guard forces "disturbed" the Greek boats. Greek Prime Minister Mitsotakis stated that the biggest difference of opinion between the two countries was the determination of the maritime jurisdiction boundaries. He emphasized the necessity of finding a middle way due to the existence of many common points, although Greece had a great disagreement with Turkey.

In the news, it was stated that both Greece wanted to establish good relations with Turkey and acted contrary to this. According to the content of the news, it is thought that relations could not remain stable due to the inconsistent attitudes of Greece.

Total news count	Pro-state news	Anti-state news	Objective news
16	13	0	3

Hürriyet newspaper mostly covered the news emphasizing the success of the Turkish Government, especially the Foreign Minister Çavuşoğlu. No negative criticism was seen in any news. An understanding of Turkey that is strong, knows what it is doing, consistent, peaceful and looks out for its national interests was emphasized.

#### **4.2. Comparative between news of Sabah, Sözcü, and Hürriyet**

Media has undergone many changes under the influence of the globalizing world. The media, which entered the process of monopolization, showed deviations from its own right and assumed the task of serving the media bosses in a material and moral sense. This understanding of service has taken precedence over the principles of correct information, and therefore, the same news has been reflected, interpreted differently, and sometimes not even presented to the public as news.

Even if the content of the news is the same, the differences in the words chosen are very effective in guiding the perception, and even the news that seems to be transmitted directly by the author can have the power to stimulate the subconscious with the effect of a

single word. The media plays mentioned here can be seen in the news of Sabah, Sözcü and Hürriyet newspapers. If it is considered in detail, the differences can be listed as follows:

- 1) Sabah and Hürriyet newspapers included Turkish Foreign Minister Mevlüt Çavuşoğlu's words about Greek relations, which he shared on his social media account. Sözcü newspaper, on the other hand, reflected a different situation over the same news from the headline to the content. The words of Çavuşoğlu that they are discriminated against for the Turks in the western lands were harshly answered by the spokesperson of the Greek Minister of Foreign Affairs, Alexandros Papainnoun. This dialogue was not reflected in Sabah and Hürriyet.
- 2) Under the heading of the eastern Mediterranean confession of the French, the news in Sabah newspaper did not find a place in Sözcü and Hürriyet newspapers. The expressions of the French think tank, Turkey, an indisputable power in the region and a tough competitor, were covered in detail in the Sabah newspaper.
- 3) In the news about the peace of consciousness of Turkey's presence in Libya and the positive relations with Egypt, especially Sabah newspaper and Hürriyet newspaper also frequently featured. Sözcü newspaper, on the other hand, conveyed the frightening assessment of Turkey's presence in Libyan territorial waters for Europe.
- 4) In the research conducted by the political and strategic research center of the University of Haifa, it was widely covered in the newspapers Sabah and Hürriyet that the Turkish navy was the strongest. It was shared as the hypothesis of the study that Israel should take this possible threat seriously. No such research was reported in Sözcü newspaper.
- 5) Hürriyet newspaper shared more news of the eastern Mediterranean crisis than other newspapers. Even the same news has been written many times by different authors. Some authors included interviews about this crisis with state actors who had personally attended meetings and exercises regarding the eastern Mediterranean crisis.
- 6) In Sözcü newspaper, it is emphasized in much news that positive steps have been taken in Turkish-Greek relations, but these relations are very fragile. The retired Greek Ambassador's statement that Turkey cannot be excluded from the Eastern Mediterranean is proof of being more objective when it comes to national interests. In the other news widely covered, the evaluation of Turkey's policy in the Eastern Mediterranean by Retired Rear Admiral Cem Gürdeniz and Retired Ambassador Tugay Uluçevik was shared. It has been commented that the long-standing exploratory

talks between Greece and Turkey have come to nothing. Finally, it has been evaluated that Turkey should take pragmatic and political steps that protect the interests of the country as soon as the unfair, insincere and threatening behavior of Greece is against Turkey.



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION and RECOMMENDATION**

#### **CONCLUSION**

The importance of the geopolitical position of the eastern Mediterranean has always attracted the attention of not only the riparian countries but also the whole world, and aroused the desire to own it. As a matter of fact, wars have always existed in this region and unfortunately, long-term peace or political stability has not been achieved. The increasing natural gas discoveries in recent years and the increase in the world's need for natural gas have caused conflicts between coastal and global powers in this geography. This crisis has reflected and taken part to the media so much in recent times.

The media is not independent of politics; politics is not separate from the media. The relationship between media and politics is an ongoing process regardless of the administrative system. In line with the research, the dependency of the Turkish media draws attention; especially the monopolized media has lost its right to be impartial. The monopolization that occurred in the press after 1980 and its effects on the objectivity of the press has become a matter of debate in Turkey for many years. With monopolization, press organs want to become the first power by surpassing both legal freedoms and the fourth power position given to them by the society. The reason for this desire is that the press is in the hands of large capital owners, the relations of these capital owners with politicians and their desire to use these relations in line with their interests. As a matter of fact, the limit of this desire is exposed to freezing by encountering the state's control network. Because in a place where the state exists, it is not possible for the media to be completely free. In Turkey, this relationship is in a mutual interaction and with a willed supervision and/or control mechanism of the state.

This study deals with the Eastern Mediterranean which factors have caused this crisis and these are discussed in detail. Also, the news on this subject in the three most read newspapers in Turkey were examined. The main purpose of this review is to evaluate the media-politics relationship in Turkey. It is to observe how the news with the same content in different media groups are written, what positive/negative criticisms these articles make against the government and how much the policy to be followed on this issue is reflected on the government. The main purpose of the thesis is to reach a conclusion by presenting the

available data and basic assumptions with the quantitative analyzes obtained. The archives of three ideologically different newspapers (Sabah, Sözcü and Hürriyet) (beginning of 2021 and end of June 2021) are located in the section above. Although there are messages conveyed through suggestions and criticism in these articles, no clear propaganda, manipulation or consent power has been found regarding the securitization/(de)desecuritization policy of the media. The biggest reason for this is that the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis is in a position to harm Turkey's interests. Despite the presence of anti-government media groups in the press, they did not spare their support when it comes to the interests of the country, state and nation. In the next paragraph, the columns leading to this conclusion are clearly examined.

In quantitative terms, Hürriyet newspaper has more news about the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis. When considered as content, the attitude of Hürriyet and Sabah that supports the policies of the current government stands out. Sözcü, on the other hand, used the language of negative criticism more. The effect of the media on state actors, which is the desired result of the research, emerges when the messages given in the news and state policy are taken into account. In the article titled 'Negotiations with Egypt are open-ended' in the Sabah newspaper, it was emphasized that strengthening relations with Egypt would provide positive feedback for Turkey in the Eastern Mediterranean. It was underlined that this situation would have positive reflections on Turkey-Israel relations. In the article titled 'French confession in the Eastern Mediterranean: Turkey is an indisputable power in the region', which was also published in Sabah newspaper, the message was given to the Turkish government not to give up its regional rights and to defend its national and international interests to the end. 'We talked 60 times; we couldn't tell! What does Turkey want? What is Greece saying?' In the article titled, there are suggestions to the Turkish Government in the interview with former Turkish state actors. There are statements that Greece should not give in to the efforts to neutralize Turkey in the Aegean and Mediterranean Seas and that it should defend its legal rights for its national interests until the end. In Hürriyet's article 'Critical Meeting with Egypt after 8 years', recommendations are given for the development and improvement of relations with Egypt and Libya. It has been emphasized that if relations with these countries are strengthened, Turkey will ensure the balance in the Eastern Mediterranean region against Greece and its supporters.

Considering the Turkish Government's struggle and policy in the Eastern Mediterranean in return for all these suggestions and messages, it is clear that there is interaction. First of all, there are recommendations from newspapers that Turkey should

defend and seek its rights to the end in the Eastern Mediterranean Crisis. Even in some news headlines, how stable and strong Turkey has been at these points since the very beginning of the crisis can be seen. In addition, the fact that Turkey has recently started to spend much more time to strengthen relations with Libya and improve relations with Egypt. All these are steps that show that the suggestions given in the columns reach the state.

In short, with the effect of monopoly and then capitalism, it caused the media to compromise on the principles of profit concern. The degree of variation in news content has decreased and standardized patterns have emerged. For this reason, the media has begun to reach media bosses before the public. The importance of the independence of the media is great for democracy and freedom. Media does not operate as a purely commercial enterprise in society. The state supports or controls its functionality, but not completely. As stated from the very beginning of the study, the first thing the media should consider is reputation and honesty. Profit is not above media principles. The media always adopts the principle of providing accurate and impartial information to the public. It takes the welfare of people into consideration at the highest level and undertakes the service of presenting its inputs and outputs with maximum benefit.

Especially, a constantly different and more accessible source of news is an advantage for media recovery. Using as many different sources as possible will positively guide the seriousness and attitude of the media in business ethics. It is necessary to evaluate each resource by comparing it with the others and to test it in other ways and methods. This is one of the public's duties. Media in Turkey contributes to the healthy formation of public opinion by providing a free and independent discussion environment. This is one of the tasks of the media. The state, on the other hand, directs its work by learning the views and tendencies of the people in this way. In this framework, it is seen that the independence and independence of the media can only be achieved in a free market environment. The possibility of this is only in the hands of the state.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

In this study, the news of the three newspapers with the highest circulation in Turkey about the Eastern Mediterranean event were examined. The desired result in this study is to see the effect of Turkish media on Turkish foreign policy. Although there are ideological differences between the newspapers, the messages and recommendations given when it comes to Turkey's rights in the Eastern Mediterranean are equivalent in the news content. These suggestions have been taken into consideration by the Turkish Government and it has been observed that they shape its foreign policy. Candidates who will do this study from now on;

- 1) examine the news in the newspapers of other countries and interpret the differences in the media coverage of the news between the countries, or
- 2) Social media, which is more active every day, can be preferred instead of newspapers, and a different direction can be given to this study by using methods such as interviews/surveys in order to see its effect on the public, not on the state.

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