

POLICIES OF TURKISH RADIO TELEVISION CORPORATION (TRT): THE
CASE OF THE DIRECTORATE OF DOCUMENTARY PROGRAMS

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ABSTRACT

POLICIES OF TURKISH RADIO TELEVISION CORPORATION (TRT) : THE CASE OF THE DIRECTORATE OF DOCUMENTARY PROGRAMS

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The objective of this study is to examine historically the policies of the Directorate of Documentary Programs (DDP) of the Turkish Radio Television Corporation (TRT). Since there is very little research about particular sphere of the public service broadcasting in Turkey it is aimed to contribute to this area of study.

In the course of the study, historical conditions, structural factors, broadcasting policies, the conditions of public broadcasting of a country, and the role of individuals and the research methods applied in media studies were taken into consideration. Furthermore, governmental, military, lawful, economic, cultural policies, and policies emerging from the institutional mechanisms, and practices of individuals are illustrated regarding the different time periods.

In this study, documentary research, observation, interview, and internet research were used as data gathering methods. Literature analysis, historical analysis and interpretative analysis were employed as methods of analysis.

It is mentioned that the role of individuals in the analysis of media studies is not paid much attention, additionally, especially in Turkey, research conducted about media generally ignores the methods of ethnography, field research and interpretative analysis. In analyzing the policies of DDP, it is asserted that except for the structural effects, individuals/actors have also roles in shaping these policies. Furthermore, to examine the media, particularly television policies, it is maintained that there is a need to carry out analysis at the individual level by the help of conducting field research, applying methods of ethnography, and interpretative analysis in Turkey. Finally, it is claimed that to a large extend DDP have been under the effects of public broadcasting notion of Turkey, and there is a need for improving the institutional policies for the DDP to serve the public interest.

Key Words: Turkish Radio Television Corporation, Documentary, Public Broadcasting Policy, Television, Media Ethnography

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE RADYO TELEVİZYON KURUMU (TRT) POLİTİKALARI: BELGESEL PROGRAMLAR MÜDÜRLÜĞÜ ÖRNEĞİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar Programı

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Bu çalışmanın amacı Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu (TRT)'nin , Belgesel Programlar Müdürlüğü (BPM) politikalarını tarihsel olarak incelemektir. Türkiye'de kamu yayıncılığının özel bir alanıyla ilgili yapılmış çok az sayıda araştırmanın olmasından dolayı, bu alana katkıda bulunmak amaçlanmaktadır.

Çalışma boyunca, tarihsel koşullar, yapısal unsurlar, yayıncılık politikaları, ülkenin kamu yayıncılığının koşulları, medya çalışmalarında bireylerin rolü ve kullanılan araştırma yöntemleri göz önünde bulunduruldu. Ayrıca, farklı zaman dilimlerine göre; hükümet politikaları ve askeri, yasal, ekonomik, kültürel politikalarla, kurumsal mekanizmadan ve kişilerin pratiklerinden doğan politikalar da belirtilmiştir.

Bu çalışmada veri toplama yöntemleri olarak belgesel araştırma, gözlem, görüşme ve internet araştırmasından faydalanıldı. Analiz yöntemleri olarak da tarihsel, literatür ve yorumlayıcı yöntemler kullanıldı.

Medya çalışmalarının analizinde, bireylerin rollerinin göz ardı edildiğine çalışmada dikkat çekilmiştir. Özellikle Türkiye’de medya üzerine yapılan araştırmalarda genel olarak etnografik yöntemlerden, alan araştırmasından ve yorumlayıcı analiz yaklaşımlarından faydalanılmamaktadır. Belgesel Programlar Müdürlüğü’nün politikalarını analiz ederken, bu politikaların şekillenmesinde yapısal etkilerin dışında bireylerin/aktörlerin de rollerinin olduğu savlanmıştır. Bunlara ek olarak, Türkiye’de medya, özellikle de televizyon çalışmalarında, alan çalışması yürüterek, etnografik yöntemlerden faydalanarak, yorumlayıcı analize başvurarak birey düzeyinde analiz yapılmasına gerek olduğu ileri sürülmüştür. Son olarak, Belgesel Programlar Müdürlüğü politikalarının büyük oranda Türkiye’deki kamu yayıncılığı anlayışının etkisi altında olduğu ve BPM’nin kamu yararına hizmet edebilmesi için kurumsal politikaların geliştirilmesine ihtiyaç olduğu iddia edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu, Belgesel, Kamu Yayıncılığı Politikaları, Televizyon, Medya Etnografi

To my family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- BBC:** British Broadcasting Corporation
- CHE:** Council of Higher Education (**YÖK:** *Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu*)
- DCMS:** The Department of Culture, Media and Sport
- DDP:** Directorate of Documentary Programs (**BPM:** *Belgesel Programlar Müdürlüğü*)
- DGPI:** Directorate General of the Press and Information
- diss. :** Dissertation
- DP:** Democratic Party
- EBU:** European Broadcast Union
- et al:** and the others
- GNAT:** Grand National Assembly of Turkey (**TBMM:** *Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi*)
- JDP:** Justice and Development Party
- JP:** Justice Party
- MP:** Motherland Party
- NAP:** Nationalist Action Party
- NATO:** North Atlantic Treaty Organization
- n. d. :** No Date
- NF:** National Front
- N. p. :** No Place
- n.d. :** No Date
- n. p. :** No Publisher
- NSC:** National Security Council
- NSP:** National Salvation Party

RPP: Republican People's Party

RRP: Republican Reliance Party

RTHC: Radio and Television High Council (**RTYK:** *Radyo ve Televizyon Yüksek Kurulu*)

RTSC: Radio and Television Supreme Council (**RTÜK:** *Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu*)

SAP: South-Eastern Anatolian Project (**GAP:** *Güneydoğu Anadolu Development Project*)

SPO: State Planning Organization (**DPT:** *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*)

TR: Turkish Republic (**TC:** *Türkiye Cumhuriyeti*)

TRT: Turkish Radio Television Corporation (**TRT:** *Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu*)

TV : Television

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to analyse the policies of the Directorate of Documentary Programs¹ (*Belgesel Programlar Müdürlüğü*) of the Turkish Radio Television Corporation² (*Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu*), from a historical point of view. More specifically, the research question of the study is how the policies of the Directorate of Documentary Programs of TRT have been historically shaped. With this purpose, the research focuses on the question regarding the policies which have affected both the functioning of the DDP, which belongs to the only radio and television corporation responsible for public service broadcasting in the Turkish Republic³ (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti*) and the production process of “documentary programs” in this department between the years 1980-2005.

The research and resources regarding television broadcasting in Turkey are rich.⁴ As such, there also exist a number of publications released by TRT itself.⁵ However, there is not much comprehensive research conducted about

¹ English acronym is DDP.

² English and Turkish acronym is TRT.

³ English acronym is TR and Turkish acronym is TC.

⁴ Some of the relevant sources are Beybin Kejanlıođlu, Sevilay Çelenk, and Gülseren Adaklı, eds. , Medya Politikaları: Türkiye'de Televizyon Yayınılıđının Dinamikleri (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2001). ; Önder Şenyapılı, Aysel İnci Gürel, TV' nin Türk Toplumuna Etkileri (N.p.: Milliyet Yayınları, 1977). ; Ünsal Oskay, Toplumsal Gelişmede Radyo ve Televizyon (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1978).

⁵ Some of the relevant sources are Aysel Aziz, Türkiye'de Televizyon Yayınılıđının 30 Yılı (Ankara: TRT, 1999). ; Ali Nihat Yazıcı, Kamu Yayın Kurumları ve Yeniden Yapılanma

any one specific department of the TRT and the programs or activities performed by each department.⁶ Some resources related to documentary film studies and television broadcasting in Turkey also provides us with limited information regarding certain studies made within the TRT.⁷ On the other hand, there has been no detailed research conducted on the DDP in TRT in terms of institutional mechanisms, history, or programs produced. Moreover, the policies that affect and shape the institutional existence of this department in its entirety have not been analysed. Briefly, there is no in-depth study conducted on the directorate that produces documentary programs within the public service broadcasting corporation in Turkey. Inspired by the afore-mentioned reasons, this study intends to examine the policies of DDP within the frame of public service broadcasting in Turkey from a historical viewpoint. To achieve this aim, this thesis focuses on a specific department, the DDP, and the specific field of the production of documentary programs. This may also contribute to discussions on the policies of public service broadcasting in Turkey, the effects of the policies of departments under TRT, and documentary as a type of television program in public service broadcasting. One of the reasons for determining such a research focus is that there is a little research related to a particular sphere of the public service broadcasting in Turkey. Also the common missions attributed to the documentary and the public service broadcasting (which will be mentioned in Chapter 2) was influential.

(Ankara: Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu, 1999). ; Erol Mutlu, Televizyon ve Toplum (Ankara: TRT Eğitim Dairesi Bşk., 1999).

⁶ There are very few studies available in literature, such as TRT, Radio ve Televizyon Çocuk Programları Kamuoyu Araştırması (Ankara: TRT Yayın Planlama Koordinasyon ve Değerlendirme, n.d.).

⁷ Some of the relevant sources are Füsün Balkaya, Türkiye’de Belgesel Film Çalışmaları (Ankara: Basım & Grafik Matbaacılık Ltd. Şti., 1993). ; Simten Gündeş, Belgesel Filmin Yapısal Gelişimi ve Türkiye’ye Yansıması (İstanbul: Alfa Basım Yayım Dağıtım, 1998). ; Aysel Aziz, Türkiye’de Televizyon Yayıncılığının 30 Yılı (Ankara: TRT, 1999).

The concept of “policy”, as also considered in this study, is defined and treated in numerous ways by different disciplines, approaches, theoretical frameworks, methodologies, and historical and economic viewpoints prevalent in social sciences. That is to say there is no agreement on its conceptualization. However, the term policy is generally treated as the way of management related to the affairs of government, state power, policy makers and interest groups.⁸ They “authorize the methods by which any institution is administered”⁹.

The definition suggested by Prunty is significant for this study as it underlines that to comprehend the issues related to the policy requires looking at the process they have been shaped. In the words of Prunty, it is

the authoritative allocation of values [which] draws our attention to the centrality of power and control in the concept of policy, and requires us to consider not only whose values are represented in policy, but also how these values have become institutionalised.¹⁰

Whereas for Prunty whose values and powers embodied in policies are crucial, how these policies have been shaped throughout the history is the focus of the study. On the other hand, for future analysis we keep in mind that hegemonic power can not be realized by “particular class” and hegemony is a “moving equilibrium” as Gramsci pointed out. It contains [the] relations of forces favourable or unfavourable to this or that tendency.¹¹

⁸ Jeremy Richardson, “Government, Interest Groups and Policy Change,” Political Studies, 48.5 (2000). ; W. D. Kay, Problem Definitions and Policy Contradictions: John F. Kennedy and the “Space Race,” Policy Studies Journal, 31.1 (2003).

⁹ David Osher, and Mary Magee Quinn, “Policies Matter: For Students, For Teacher, and For Better Outcomes,” Preventing School Failure, 47.2 (2003) 52.

¹⁰ J. Prunty, “Signposts for a Critical Educational Policy Analysis,” Australian Journal of Education, 29.2 (1985) 136. , qtd. in Gale 51.

¹¹ Dick Hebdige, “From Culture to Hegemony,” The Cultural Studies Reader, ed. Simon During (London: Routledge, 1993) 366.

In this study, media policies, related to the documentary (unit) in public broadcasting in the case of Turkey is the main concern. Firstly, broadcasting policies, especially public broadcasting, is taken into consideration theoretically. In the discussions related to the broadcasting policies it is often asserted that the social, economic, political, geographic and cultural factors that shape the historical processes of a country inevitably have influence on the area of broadcasting.¹² In other words, the structural, especially political and economic structural effects on the policies and the sphere of the broadcasting are emphasized. Furthermore, the relationship between the public broadcasting and nation-state, and the dependency of public broadcasting to the interests of nation state is noticed. On the other hand, as it is mentioned in the definition of policy, interest groups and policy makers could be influential on these studies. However, as Whitney and Ettema claim political-economic perspective has become dominant in the media studies. Accordingly, the role of powerful institutions gained priority and the role of individuals; the individual level of analysis is diverged in the analysis.¹³ Here, in the context of this study the role of individuals (human agencies) can be summed up as strategies¹⁴ developed by the groups and actors. According to Giddens, strategic conduct can be dealt with by “giving primacy to discursive and practical consciousness, and to strategies of

¹² Sydney W. Head, and Christopher H. Sterling, Broadcasting in America, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. , 1982) 3-4. ; Paul Kriwaczek, Documentary for the Small Screen (Oxford: Focal Press, 1997) 2-3.

¹³ D. Charles Whitney, and James S. Ettema, “Media Production: Individuals, Organizations, Institutions,” A Companion to Media Studies, ed. Angharad N. Valdivia (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003) 158, 159, 171, 172.

¹⁴ In our case, strategies developed by groups and actors are taken into consideration with the above-mentioned characteristics summarized by Giddens (such as having practical consciousness and agent’s knowledgeability). However, they could be various strategies such as resistance, coping, counter-strategies, or vice versa, and strategies emerging from the personal involvement.

control within defined contextual boundaries”¹⁵ and by avoiding from the “impoverished descriptions of agent’s knowledgeability”¹⁶.

In our case, policies produced by the social institutions such as political, economic structures, TRT as an institution, and groups and individuals are taken into consideration. Governmental, military, economic, cultural policies, legal arrangements, policies emerging from the institutional mechanism of the broadcasting institutions and the role of the individuals have been influential in the policies of broadcasting, which will be presented in detail in Chapter 2. In this sense, by the term policies (with its broad meaning which can not be limited to state power, political and economic structure as mentioned above), the points below will be evaluated as the policies, which have affected DDP under the organization of TRT:

- Related legal arrangements, such as articles on Television Enterprises and their Broadcasts in the Constitutions of the Turkish Republic, articles of TRT Regulation, and other related laws,
- Related policies of governments, such as their impact on staffing and determination of the programs’ topics,
- Actions and impacts of military, such as the impact of the Military Memorandum of March 12, 1971 on the TRT, documentary programs, and censorship,
- Related economy policies, such as the impact of new media environment, TRT budget incomes, and setting budgets for documentary programs, etc.,
- Related cultural¹⁷ policies in different time periods such as the understanding of Turk-Islam Synthesis in 1980s,
- Policies and practices emerging from institutional mechanisms, the organizational model of the department, and departmental regulations and practices, such as staff organization, the

¹⁵ Anthony Giddens, The Constitution of Society, 5th ed. (Oxford: Polity Press, 1991) 288.

¹⁶ Giddens, The Constitution of Society 289.

¹⁷ Here in this study, culture is referring to “a description of particular way of life which expresses certain meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in institutions and ordinary behaviour” in the words of Williams. Quotation is taken from Raymond Williams, The Long Revolution (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961) 12.

mechanisms of decision-making, in-group dynamics, practices of producing programs, resistance to censorship in DDP in the TRT.

In fact, each of the above-mentioned areas can be a particular subject to be investigated; however the limitations of the study do not allow us to make a comprehensive study about each one of them. One of these limitations is that there is a close relationship among these areas so it is not promising to examine them separately. The second limitation is about the lack of research about institutional history regarding DDP. Since there is no research conducted even about the history of the DDP, to analyse how policies of DDP were shaped throughout the history necessitates covering its history. Because of these limitations, this study aims to comprehend these policies holistically and does not include gender mainstreaming. However, some clues can be found in the study for the future gender based analysis such as there is only one female cameraperson working in Location Shooting Service. Also, few documentaries have been made about the women issues.

Although the foundation of the DDP dates back to 1980, documentary programs have been produced since TRT's broadcasting tests were first launched¹⁸ in 1968. To comprehend both the previous documentary program studies and the working mechanisms of the institution before the establishment of DDP, it is required to explore the period from the establishment of the TRT. Furthermore, to understand the dynamics behind the Turkish broadcasting system, establishment of the TRT, and the motives for the constitution of the DDP it was necessary to analyse the impact of the historical dynamics on broadcasting as well. Thus, it will contribute to our comprehension of the relationship between the policies of TRT and DDP, and cultural, economic, social, administrative policies of the country. Broadcasting, especially public service broadcasting, in Turkey is a sphere

¹⁸ Although the TRT Corporation Law came into force on 1 May 1964, broadcasting tests started in 31 January 1968, for this information see "*TRT'den-Tarih* (History)," TRT Corporation Official Website, online, 05-02-2005, www.trt.gov.tr

where fundamental social changes can both be easily traced and also to some extent be shown to influence these changes. Therefore, fundamental change in TRT can be perceived as both the trigger and the reflection of the multidimensional transformation of political, social and economic trends in the history of the country. Some examples about this issue that are presented in following chapters include the impacts of military interventions on TRT and TRT's role in spreading cultural policies through television programs.

Although the policies of all the departments working under the TRT inevitably have similarities, DDP's specific characteristics separate it from the others in certain ways. DDP is defined as a unit in accordance with the type of program produced by TRT's institutional regulation. It is the product, in other words documentary programs, which differentiates this department from the other departments of the institution. Documentary programs genealogically descended from early examples of films, especially "documentary films". Even from the earlier times of cinema, there has always been an ambiguity about the conceptualisation of documentary film. In time, documentary film has started to be evaluated as a "genre" since it covers a wide range of characteristics of different genres like narrative, experimental, reality show, TV documentaries and others. In this study, definitions, missions attributed to the documentary and its conversion to television broadcast format are dealt with to understand close relationship, need, and conversion of documentary in public service broadcasting. Therefore, it will be possible for us to argue the policies of DDP at the final analysis.

Technical developments related with the TRT have not been included in the scope of the study. As the DDP belongs to the Directorate of Television, policies regarding TRT in general and television in particular were taken into consideration in the examination of the policies of TRT. Thus, points concerning policies of radio have not been included into the discussions

about TRT, unless they were directly related with the specific concerns of the present study.

1. 1. Research Methodology and Sources Used

In this project, documentary research, observation, interview, and Internet research were used as data gathering methods. Literature analysis, historical analysis and interpretative analysis were employed as methods of analysis.

I conducted a documentary study and collected various sources. The sources consulted for this study are the following: (1) Official and governmental documents (such as the Development Plans of Turkish Republic Prime Ministry State Planning Organization (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*), Constitutions of the Turkish Republic and the TRT Regulation; (2) TRT's official handbooks, booklets, journals, annual broadcasting plans, publications and archive records; (3) Memoirs of TRT staff; (4) Print media (newspapers concerning the subject). Besides these documentary sources; relevant books, journals and dictionaries (concerning the history of TRT and Turkish Republic, theoretical framework of public service broadcasting, discussions on the documentary genre-film and the term policies and such) and dissertations available at The Council of Higher Education¹⁹ (*Yüksek Öğrenim Kurumu*) in Turkey were used for literature review. During the research, I encountered with problems while attempting to reach document archive and official documents in TRT. As it will be explained in Chapter 4, there is a disorder related to the archives. Therefore it was not possible to attain archival information about all of the researched issues.

¹⁹ English acronym is CHE and Turkish acronym is YÖK.

I tried to comprehend the subject matter by using the data obtained through observations and interviews, which would be more promising than only a critical review of the literature. In this way, I attempted to interpret the issue in such a way as to contributing to a holistic understanding²⁰ of the subject. In addition, I made an effort to reveal missing official information/recordings such as the program production processes, informal applications²¹ and broadcast control mechanism. Furthermore, general tendencies, similar and different approaches of informants in terms of topics were also examined (e.g. workers attitudes towards the producer will be recruited for the TRT, depictions of informants on the characteristics of documentary programs produced in DDP).

I was familiar with the field of documentary film production and visited acquaintances in the TRT and DDP several times before I began to study the issue. Thus I had impressions and observations about the institution. However these observations did not systematically focus on specific topics. While spending time at the directorate, I took field notes. They guided me to determine the main points to be focused on the institutional mechanism such as working hours, staff organisation, program production stages, etc. These issues assisted me in forming the content of the interviews and also making the overall analysis. Except for having information about the DDP, I was also acquainted with the staff before I conducted research, which provided me with the advantages of “participant observation”. During my stay in directorate, I was not only physically close to my informants and subject matter. Also, after a period of several days, people got used to my presence, studying there and we started to have a conversation. Therefore, I

²⁰ The information concerning the holistic approach can be found below, related to the historical analysis method.

²¹ By informal applications, applications which were not based on laws, regulations, and written orders and directives are meant here. As they were generally unwritten applications, these are attempted to be uncovered through the interviews.

could be involved in working and program production processes, and daily life of the informants to some extent. Some of the staff working in DDP discussed with me about their program projects, and shared problems arising from the working and daily life conditions. Then they began to ask me about my project (writing a thesis about DDP), and the problems that I encountered during the research. Thus I recognized that participant observation is a reciprocal process; it develops such an interaction between researcher and informant that both sides improve empathy. By the help of participant observation, I had also a chance to obtain data on which I did not envisage to interview or informants did not state while interviewing such as the duty programs, and strict time limitation of documentary programs.

The people with whom I went to have a lunch, at dining hall of TRT, introduced me to other people working there, telling them about my study on DDP. These people asked me several questions on this subject. And their questions had also a contribution to my study in terms of directing it. For example, am I making a division between “a documentary” and “a documentary program”? If I do, will I say that the young people in the private sector are making better documentaries? Or will I write about the conditions under which programs are made? Have I interviewed the cameramen? At a lunch when these kinds of questions were asked, the comment made by one of the producers of the department led to a definition related to making a participant observation. “She is observing the environment and how we work and she is asking key questions while trying to understand. She is also looking at TRT with a bird’s eye view. She can grasp important points as she is looking from outside too.” This speech enabled me to see the fact that “the participant observation gives a chance to have a look at both from inside and outside” in the viewpoints of informants except for the conceptual definitions of the term and experiences.

Interviews were carried out with retired employees, the employees who are still working in the institution and the officials in the capacity of official position in the institution (like the officials of the Directorate of Broadcast Archive, and Presidency of DDP). I conducted interviews in 2005 and 2006 and took notes. It was not possible to determine the size of the universe and whereupon the sample size of the research because of various reasons. For example, since this study examines the policies of DDP historically, to determine the universe it is required to reach the number of personnel who produced documentaries before the 1980 and working for DDP after 1980. However, as it was mentioned before, it was not possible to attain documents on retroactive archives in TRT and thus the numbers of personnel have worked till 2005. Furthermore, even if the sample size had been determined, it would be unfeasible for some reasons. For example, during the research it is needed to interview with the staff in the capacity of official position, which could not be foreseen before. Since the required data could not be reached by the focused interviews, new interviews had been conducted. Besides, it is also not probable to state definite number of the interviews as I did not only interview an interviewee alone but also interviewed with interviewees while they were occupied in the directorate, had lunch and other social occasions. Hence, I followed snowball (network-chain) non-probabilistic sampling method. On the other hand, I formally interviewed 19 staff/retired staff regarding aforementioned time periods (between the years 1968-1980, 1980-1990, 1990-1999, 1999-2005) and interviewed 16 staff in the capacity of official position. Among those, 19 of my interviewees were male and 16 were female. In addition to them, I interviewed many people (secretaries, civil servants, staff from different units) informally at social occasions (such as during coffee breaks, research activities) that I could not count the total number.

As still some of my interviews are working in TRT, for the sake of the interviewees and my own ethical responsibility, I did not mention names of my interviewees. From time to time names of some interviewees or all regarding the examined subject could be mentioned. Nevertheless, to prevent the disorder in the text, informants are cited without their names at all times. Since some of the interviewed officials are/were producers, if there is no specific reason to mention, I did not. Also, gender of the interviewees is not mentioned even it gives clues about their identity. Moreover, as it was mentioned before, research does not aim gender mainstreaming, and there is no specific case in the study that requires citing the genders of the interviewees.

Not all of the interviews were conducted with question-and-answer method. I conducted semi-structured interviews²² in two ways: one-way was with an interviewee alone and the other was conducted as a flexible interview at the directorate. For the former, there was no strict form of questionnaire where relevant questions were asked to the relevant people. For example, I did not discuss the foundation of the directorate with the new staff. I interviewed the informants on their thoughts, feelings, experiences, and actions about the historical changes in DDP and the practices related to the production of documentary programs in the institution since they began to work there. On the other hand, I have some fundamental questions mentioned-below while conducting the interviews.

²² According to Bailey, degree of structure is depended on the observational settings and types of questioning. Observational settings can vary from natural to structured laboratory. Types of questioning can vary from structured questionnaire to non structured questionnaire. In this study, although there are some main questions, there is no structured questionnaire. And research is done at the natural settings that all these factors bring the characteristics of semi-structured interviewing. Kenneth D. Bailey, Methods of Social Research, 3rd ed. (New York: The Free Press 1987) 243-246.

1. When did you start to work in TRT? When and how were you introduced with documentary programs and the directorate? Could you tell about those periods?
2. (This question is asked according to the time period of informant's starting to work for the directorate or to produce documentary programs in TRT between 1968-1980, 1980-1990, 1990-1999,1999-2005)
What kind of changes did you observe in the tasks of the directorate?
What type of projects have you worked on?
3. What are the program production processes in this department and how a documentary program is produced? What are the difficulties that you are confronted with while producing a program? (on budget, acceptance of program proposal, auditing and etc.)
4. How do you define a documentary and the documentary program?
5. What do you think about the current position of the directorate? How problems can be solved? Does working staff hold meetings regularly?

Also, I tried to get the institutional information through the interviews conducted with the officials in the capacity of official position in the institution. In this way, I attained the information related to the number of working staff and type of staff position in DDP, yearly budget of DDP and archival information on documentary programs and such. The latter way of interview was held at the directorate while employees were occupied. Since I was familiar with the directorate, staff and field of the production²³ it could be possible to interview about the operations of DDP and the procedures, stages of the documentary program production thereupon.

²³ Neuman summarizes the characteristic of field interview as a "joint production of researcher and a member...it involves a mutual sharing of experiences...members express them selves in the form of in which they normally speak, think, and organize reality." , qtd. in W. Lawrence Neuman, Social Research Methods Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches, 2nd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon 1994) 358. For more information see pages 358-362.

Therefore, applying methods of ethnography, field research has been conducted on how the policies of the Directorate of Documentary Programs in the field of public broadcasting have been shaped. Nick Couldry²⁴ states that the media studies are moved to a multi-sited direction. Because according to him the process of mediation is multi-sited and research location is not only home as generally accepted in the audience research. Couldry gives us some clues on what other places than the home can be with a question he asks: "What of the forces, the power relations indeed the people, that flow through that place?" By the inspiration from the approach of Couldry, it can be said that in this study, it is intended to look at the policies of the directorate and the production processes of the documentary programs transmitted to our homes from the side where production is made. Therefore it could also be possible for us to see which power relations can enter our homes with these programs.

In this study, web sources including academic e-journals, e-references and official websites of related institutions were consulted. The official websites of TRT and RTSC were searched to get information concerning institutions' history, structure of the TRT and such. The fact that some information did not exist on these web sites was also of importance. For example, on the official web site of the TRT, DDP has not been allotted a link in the institutional structure. In fact, it is not possible to find out which unit this directorate is under by browsing the website.

Since the perspective of this study is historical, historical comparative method is used. "Historical-comparative social research is a collection of techniques and approaches²⁵...and suited for questions such as which

²⁴ Nick Couldry, "Ethnography (Multi-sited Ethnography: Made for Television?)," Television Studies, Toby Miller, ed. (London: British Film Institute, 2002) 14-16.

²⁵ Neuman 369.

combinations of social factors produce a specific outcome²⁶." According to Fernand Braudel²⁷, a historical comparative researcher, history should be the study of present with specific methods, which combine all human sciences. So, the holistic approach of history requires that other disciplines, other points of view be mixed in it. In other words, we can say that not only one but also many histories should be analysed and composed together. Here in this study; as different methods and approaches will be applied, and effects of various factors on the policies of DDP will be investigated it is appropriate for our endeavour. Besides, this method is also coherent with the sources and materials of this study since the consultation with primary sources is important in this method. As for this study, when the thesis subject is concerned, the historical atmosphere of the Turkish State, the TRT, DDP and the subjective histories of the informants in a given time period are taken as references.

The interpretative method has been utilised to analyse the results of the qualitative study concerning DDP. Even if there is a wide range of interpretative approaches²⁸, there exist some common features of these schools of thought, which will be taken as references in this work. For all, "interpretative understanding of human action"²⁹ is the main technique for examining the social interaction. If we expand the issue in Neuman's words; "...interpretative approach is the systematic analysis of socially meaningful action through the direct detailed observation of people in natural settings in order to arrive at understanding and interpretations of how people create

²⁶ Neumann 370-371.

²⁷ For more information see Fernand Braudel, On History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

²⁸ For more information see Jaber F. Gubrium, and James A. Holstein, "Analyzing Interpretive Practice," Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry, eds. Norman K. Denzin, Yvonna S. Lincoln, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2003) 214-216.

²⁹ Anthony Giddens, New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies (London: Hutchinson, 1976) 23.

and maintain their social worlds.”³⁰ Giddens criticises the interpretative schools of thought that they did not contribute to the comprehension of problems concerning “institutional transformation and history”³¹. In this study, it is attempted to go beyond this critique by application of interpretative and historical methods as a whole. As such, it has been attempted to analyse how the interviewees describe related historical events and day-to-day experiences as social actions. For instance, discovering interpersonal interactions, it is intended to identify the working mechanism of the directorate, quality of the documentary programs produced.

The literature, historical and interpretative methods of analysis unite in possessing some characters of the qualitative research in this study. In qualitative research, “researchers work inductively rather than deductively. They do not begin with a hypothesis; instead they generate hypotheses from their data...Analytic inductive researchers work from the bottom up—beginning with data and developing theoretical categories, concepts and propositions from the data”³². Even if assumptions existed in the beginning of the study (such as the aforementioned interaction between the public service broadcasting and social, historical, and economic conditions of a country), strict hypotheses were not predetermined. However, hypotheses, models, themes and issues are unfolded in the final analysis. As March Bloch³³ said “..in history, elsewhere the causes can not be assumed. They are to be looked for...”³⁴.

³⁰ Neuman 62.

³¹ Anthony Giddens, New Rules of Sociological Method: A Positive Critique of Interpretative Sociologies 53.

³² Louise H. Kidder, “Qualitative Research and Quasi-Experimental Frameworks,” Scientific Inquiry and The Social Sciences, Marilyn B. Brewer, Barry E. Collins, eds. (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1981) 229.

³³ Marc L. B. Bloch is from Annales School like the Fernand Brudel. This school of thought was based on research method applied by a group of French historians.

1. 2. Thesis Outline

The problematic of this study of which frame I aim to put forward above is studied in the chapters mentioned below, considering the issues of a given historical period, theoretical frame, object of the study, resources, relevant literature, and methodology.

In the second chapter, to comprehend the policies of documentary, and of documentary departments in public broadcasting, it is intended to explore policies of broadcasting, and features and policies of public broadcasting. Then, documentary as a genre was discussed to comprehend the meanings, features, and functions attributed to it historically. Instead of drawing documentary genre with certain lines, general frame of the genre is attempted to explore to look at its relationship with the public broadcasting and how documentary film transformed to the documentary program as a television broadcast format. Thus, policies of documentary and of documentary departments in public broadcasting institutions are attempted to discover. By the help of these discussions, it is intended to comprehend the policies of DDP in the conclusion part of this study.

In order to understand historically the institutional mechanism, which the DDP belongs to, it is necessary to consider the TRT's history, and relevant laws and regulations. For that reason, Chapter 3 is devoted to related discussions about TRT. As comprehension of the policies of the TRT will contribute to our comprehension of the policies of DDP within a broader frame, the policies of the TRT is studied parallel to its institutional history. In this perspective, political developments, economical, social, and cultural policies related to the TRT in the below mentioned periods have been studied. Therefore, the policies of state bodies to realize their power, and the

³⁴ Marc L. B. Bloch, *The Historian's Craft*, trans. Peter Putnam, 3rd ed. (Hong Kong: Wing King Tong Co Ltd. , 1984) 197.

impact of the state organs on public broadcasting sphere can also be scrutinized. The institutional history of TRT has been examined with reference to significant turning points in the history of the institution and the Turkish Republic, under the following headings:

- Establishment and Institutionalization of TRT
- Between the years 1971-1980 (impacts of the military memorandum of March 12, 1971, implementations of Nationalist Front (*Milliyetçi Cephe*) governments policies and such),
- Between the years 1980-1990 (impacts of the military coup of September 12, 1980, the policies of Motherland Party (*Anavatan Partisi*), and such),
- Between the years 1990-1999 (particularly, the effects of private broadcasting channels' emergence and such),
- Between the years 1999-2005 (restructuring efforts within institution and such).

So, by the light of discussions held in this chapter, mainly the effects of political-economic structures (on the macro level) on those policies are attempted to be illustrated. By the findings and debates mentioned in this chapter it is also aimed to improve the comprehension of the discussions made (on the micro level) in Chapter 4.

The fourth chapter takes a matter in hand especially the issues regarding the Directorate of Documentary Programs. The field research part of the study focuses on the directorate. While focusing on the policies of this directorate, two fronts are followed. One is the institutional functioning of the directorate and the other is the production process of this unit. In my opinion, the examination of these two mechanisms of the directorate together is necessary as they are inseparably interwoven. First of all, representation of documentary programs in official reports before the foundation of TRT (such as in Development Plans of Turkish Republic Prime

Ministry State Planning Organization), position of documentary programs in the institution before the foundation of DDP and the foundation of the department were all reviewed. Furthermore, the main factors influential in the policies of the directorate were discussed on the basis of the above-mentioned historical time periods (after the establishment of the directorate in 1980) which have also been effective on the TRT. Then, the policies related to DDP's institutional mechanism and the production process of a documentary program are evaluated.

In the light of the findings outlined and discussions held, the overall analysis of the policies of DDP is illustrated in Chapter 5. Considering the main conclusions of the policies of DDP, three main assertions and conclusions are stated in the last chapter. By the help of the afore-mentioned dimensions of policies, such as governmental, cultural, first one focuses on the policies of DDP, from the individual level analysis. The second one asserts to need for a new method, methodological understanding in media research conducted in Turkey. And the last one emphasizes the close relationships of these policies with the public broadcasting notion of Turkey. In this way, how the policies of the DDP have shaped throughout the history is intended to be revealed.

CHAPTER II

POLICIES OF BROADCASTING AND OF DOCUMENTARY DEPARTMENTS IN PUBLIC BROADCASTING

In this chapter, to grasp the policies of documentary and of documentary departments in public broadcasting institutions it is needed to explore policies of broadcasting in general and characteristics and policies of public broadcasting in particular at first. Then, to examine the policies of documentaries and documentary departments in public service broadcasting, it is needed to look at characteristics attributed to the documentary genre in general and features it gained in broadcasting in particular. Therefore it will contribute to our comprehension of the policies of documentary, and of documentary departments in public broadcasting institutions. By the help of these discussions in this chapter, the exploration of specific characteristics of Turkish public broadcasting in Chapter 3 and the case of DDP in Chapter 4 it is intended to comprehend the policies of DDP in the conclusion part of this study.

2. 1. Broadcasting Policies

Even though the invention of radio and television can not be ascribed to the specific person or country, the studies made on the issue in USA, Great Britain, Denmark, and Canada were remarkable.³⁵ KDKA was the first radio

³⁵ Giraud Chester, Garnet R. Garrison, and Edgar E. Willis, Television and Radio, 4th ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971) 21.

opened by the government licence in USA in 1920.³⁶ Then after two years in 1922, British Broadcasting Company (BBC) was established and assigned to the State as a public corporation in 1927.³⁷ Therefore, two different broadcasting systems commercial in USA and public in Britain emerged and became the models for broadcasting system. And after the 1925, states started to regulate radio broadcasting in America and Europe. McQuail and Siune states that media policy was grown at that time as a state act against potential powers, which may challenge the political system.³⁸

In 1936, broadcasting tests of television were launched in British TV and in 1937 in the USA. These efforts, which made television broadcasting possible, had not a regular base. After the Second World War, studies on TV broadcasting were accelerated. Not only in USA and Britain but also in Canada, Italy, East Germany and various countries television was established and broadcasting was started.³⁹ Broadcasting policies were shaped by the effect of post-war conditions. For example, in Germany centralism in policies were avoided and regional policies were adopted to use broadcasting for propaganda during the War. In Greece, armed forces also intervened in broadcasting policies.⁴⁰ While broadcasting models of USA and Britain were pioneered the public-private diversification, broadcasting models and policies of the countries have gained different characteristics throughout the history. While some have been regulated by legal arrangements, some have controlled by parliament, government,

³⁶ Sydney W. Head, and Christopher H. Sterling, Broadcasting in America, 4th ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. , 1982) 127, 129.

³⁷ Walter B. Emery, Natinal and International of Broadcasting Systems, Their history, Operation and Control (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1969) 83, 86.

³⁸ Denis McQuail, and Karen Siune, eds. , New Media Politics, Comparative Perspectives in Western Europe, 2nd ed. (London: Sage Publications, 1987) 2. ; Head and Stirling 147.

³⁹ Albert Abramson, The History of Television, 1942 to 2000 (London: McFarland & Co. , Publishers, 2003) 3, 9. ; Chester, and et al. 43. ; Emery 88. For more information see Emery.

⁴⁰ McQuail and Siune 3.

armed forces and special councils.⁴¹ In addition, public monopoly in broadcasting (which is widespread in East and West Europe) is abolished in the course of time. For example while BBC was the monopoly till 1954, Independent Television Authority, commercial television, was established with the new act⁴² and so duopoly in broadcasting system was seen in Britain. On the other hand, in USA Public Service Broadcasting was established in 1967 by the act. This Public Broadcasting Service was a kind of network producing programs for public institutions. According to Kaya, social movements such as demonstrations of Black Panthers, students' unrest, and anti-war movement were influential in establishing public television network in USA.⁴³ Therefore, dual broadcasting system was also presented in USA. It is interesting that while broadcasting system was commercial, and regulated by state and market till 1960s, a public institution is also required in the broadcasting sphere in USA. Even though, States intervenes in the commercial system, the necessity of public broadcasting by states becomes more visible in this case.

Political influence was dominated the broadcasting sphere till the second part of the 1970s.⁴⁴ The support given by the new right ideology and neo-liberal policies to the privatization after 1980, technological changes, increasing satellite and digital transmission led the deregulation of media and resulted with the transformation of media structures.⁴⁵ Therefore national public institutions all around the world were threaten by private

⁴¹ Various examples can be found in Emery and Peter J. Humphreys, Mass Media Policy in Western Europe (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

⁴² James McDonnel, Public Service Broadcasting (London: Routledge: 1991) 32.

⁴³ Raşit Kaya, Kitle İletişim Sistemleri (Ankara: Teori Yayınları, 1985) 140, 144.

⁴⁴ McQuail and Siune 3.

⁴⁵ Raşit Kaya, "Türkiye'de 1980 Sonrası Medya'nın Gelişimi ve İdeoloji Gereksinimi." Türk İş Yılığ (Ankara, 1999) ; Raşit Kaya, "A Fait Accompli: Transformation of Media Structures in Turkey," METU Studies in Development, 21. 3 (1994) 383-384.

(commercial) broadcasting, which was supported by economical policies. Moreover, satellite and cable television enabled increasing international broadcasting and removed the necessity of broadcasting of which spectrum is limited to the geographic area of the country. As a result of these changes, public broadcasting institutions which are responsible from public service required to be restructured to compete in the new media environment.

From the beginning, broadcasting policies have been shaped by political, technological and economical reasons. However, in 1990s the effects of market and technological improvement have been more dominant according to Humphreys.⁴⁶ While this situation is still a current debate related with broadcasting, especially the public broadcasting, it will be discussed for our case (the policies of Turkish Radio and Television in the case of Directorate of Documentary Programs) at the conclusion of this study. There is also another discussion, which will be stated in the following of the study, which is the role of institutions, and staff working for the corporations and actors in broadcasting policies.

2. 1. 1. Public Service Broadcasting and Policies of Public Broadcasting Service

McDonnel says that David Sarnoff⁴⁷ was the first person to state that the radio broadcasting was a public service, but John Reith, the first general director of BBC, defined the public service broadcasting in the institutional sense and applied it. According to Reith⁴⁸ public service broadcasting has 4 aspects: “1-It should be protected from purely commercial pressures, 2-The

⁴⁶ Humphreys 159.

⁴⁷ He was an investor and administrator in the area of radio and television broadcasting.

⁴⁸ Asa Briggs, The Birth of Broadcasting (Oxford: Oxford University Press) 234-239. , qtd. in McDonnel 1.

whole nation should be served by the broadcasting service 3-There should be unified control, that is, public service broadcasting should be organized as a monopoly 4-There should be high program standards.”

In the scope of public service broadcasting, as broadcasting spectrum was limited to geographic area of a country, broadcasting primarily belongs to the public and nation.⁴⁹ Due to the fact that, public broadcasting had the mission to inform, educate and entertain the whole population.⁵⁰ The public service broadcasting corporations are usually supported by public funds. As it will be seen in the example of TRT, there are also corporations one of whose sources of income is advertisement. However, the commercial profit is not their main aim; whether they have an aim to get a commercial profit, their only difference from commercial broadcasting corporations is not that. Their aim is to give service for the benefit of the public. The public broadcasting corporations have a responsibility not for their shareholders but for the citizens of the country.⁵¹ In this sense, the public broadcasting has a national character. In addition, it is responsible to give service to all citizens and must reach the disadvantaged group as Bülent Çaplı also mentions⁵², this situation is important according to the principle of pluralism.

⁴⁹ According to Siune and McQuail, to claim that the limitation in broadcasting spectrum necessitates national public broadcasting, just legitimize the political systems main purpose, control on broadcasting. Siune and McQuail 3.

⁵⁰ Ruth Elizabeth Teer-Tomaselli, “The Public Broadcaster and Democracy in Transformation,” Canadian Journal of Communication, 23.2 (1998).

⁵¹ Ali Nihat Yazıcı, Kamu Yayın Kurumları ve Yeniden Yapılanma (Ankara: Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu, 1999) 12-13.

⁵² Bülent Çaplı, “Trt ve Kamu Hizmeti Yayıncılığı,” Türkiye’de Gazetecilik, ed. Doğan Tılıç, (Ankara: ÇGD, 2003) 295.

In the case of Canadian Public Broadcasting System, Marc Raboy illustrates the problem that public issue is usually perceived as national⁵³ which is also one of the core issues in the case of Turkey.

As broadcasting policies, public broadcasting policies have been also shaped by multiple effects. For example Judith Todd mentions that⁵⁴ from the BBC's foundation there is a struggle between the departments of the state about the revenues, and proportion will be taken from the license fee of the corporation. Additionally, according to her, in any broadcasting system there could be no independence from the state. As it will be mentioned with various examples in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4, there is a close relationship between the bodies of the state and broadcasting system in Turkey as well. Moreover, states' economic policies also shapes the sphere of the broadcasting.

It is also impossible to discuss public broadcasting systems and cultural policies separately. We can quote British and German systems as an example. When the Reith period in BBC was mentioned with the dominance of moral elements, in Germany under the post-war conditions civic culture was rooted.⁵⁵

Duopoly in broadcasting system also required new policies in broadcasting. For instance, the competition between the BBC and Independent Television between 1955 and 1962 resulted with the changes in program styles to be

⁵³ Marc Raboy, Missed Opportunities: The Story of Canada's Broadcasting Policy (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

⁵⁴ Judith Todd, The Big Sell (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1961) 17.

⁵⁵ Monroe E. Price, Television, The Public Sphere, and National Identity (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995) 35.

more competitive in BBC. Therefore, BBC2 was established for differentiation in programming.⁵⁶

The research conducted by Tom Burns on policies in public corporation is remarkable in indicating the role of staff, producers, officials and institutional policies in the process of program production. He refers the process of public broadcasting as can be created as a whole by “producers, programme departments, and broadcasting”⁵⁷.

The afore-mentioned changes experienced in 1980s affected the public broadcasting corporations unfavourably. It is needed a different approach for the public broadcasting. To be able to exist in the new broadcasting field has required these corporations to be restructured.⁵⁸ Great changes have been observed even in BBC which is the first corporation in terms of the public service broadcasting, which struggles to preserve its autonomous status in spite of the pressure of government and which is seen as a model for other public service broadcasters. In 1986 the pressure made by Thatcher government according the Peacock Report forcing the finance of BBC to get its revenues from the resources except for license fee funds (such as advertisement) has been increased in following years. BBC is struggling to find other resources instead of advertisements (so becoming a corporation competing with commercial channels in this way) for some of its channels.⁵⁹ So, it can be claimed that the pressure of political and market powers on the

⁵⁶ Bob Franklin, British Television Policy: A Reader (London: Routledge: 2001) 8, 9.

⁵⁷ Tom Burns, “Public Service and Private World,” Media Sociology, A Reader, Jeremy Tunstall, ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970) 156.

⁵⁸ For the examples on this subject, see Yazıcı, Franklin, Erol Mutlu, Televizyon ve Toplum (Ankara: and Bülent Çaplı, Televizyon ve Siyasal Sistem (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 1995).

⁵⁹ For more information see Franklin. ; “BBC Future,” Review of the BBC’s Royal Charter: BBC response to DCMS consultation, BBC Official Website, Online, 23-11,2005, http://www.bbc.co.uk/thefuture/text/dcms_response_complete.html

policies of public broadcasting is still dominant today. However, there is also a discussion supporting the public broadcasting as a social association. For example, according to Engelman, actors and performers also take roles in public broadcasting policies⁶⁰, as reformers do for public broadcasting. Burn's emphasis assists this claim by underlining the role of producers and departments in policy making.

2. 2. Documentary Genre from Documentary Film to Documentary Program in Television Broadcast Format

To understand the policies related with the documentary and how they have been shaped in public broadcasting, it is required to study the documentary genre historically in brief. Furthermore, it will also help us to apprehend the close relationship between the public broadcasting and documentary, and the reason why this study focus on this issue.

First of all, the term genre is discussed to show the ambiguity in drawing the genres with certain lines, which is also valid for documentary genre. However, possible meanings, features, and functions historically attributed to the documentaries are argued for establishing its relations with the public broadcasting. After that, conversion of the documentaries to the documentary program as a television broadcast format and new features it gained is stated.

2. 2. 1. Genre as a Term

The research made on the term genre has continued since Aristotle and Plato. The concept, which has taken part in modern debate, also in time has become a subject of study for different disciplines ranging from literary

⁶⁰ Ralph Engelman, Public Radio and Television in America: A Political History (Thousand Oaks: Sage, 1996).

studies sphere to history, from film studies to cultural studies.⁶¹ However, what is important for us in terms of the subject of this study is to be able to discuss in which frame the documentary as a genre can be studied and to be able to comprehend which characteristics of the documentary have come to the fore in the field of public broadcasting. Therefore, it will be meaningful to have a look at the basic discussion about the concept of genre at first.

Edgar and Sedwick⁶² defines genre simply as “a mode of categorization”. To them “It denotes a set of shared characteristics which allows for the grouping together of different forms of artistic expression or cultural production”. However, there is a widespread discussion in the studies made on genre that it is not possible to give a certain list of shared characteristics in these categories and the cases in these categories can have different features in spite of shared characteristics. Even because of this, Jacques Derrida claims that just when a study includes itself in a certain genre and forms such a relationship, this relation disappears.⁶³ In my opinion, although it is impossible (and unnecessary) to talk about a system of genre drawn with certain lines, it is more possible to draw a general frame which is shaped by inclinations and which has hybridized and sub-genres. In this way, it is more meaningful (and possible) to look at the relationship between the frame we try to call as a genre and the other things instead of drawing genre with certain lines. For example, to have a look at the relationship between the documentary and public broadcasting will be more possible instead of identifying the certain lines of the documentary as genre. Thus, it will be an example for the situation that genres mix and blur in the

⁶¹ For more information see David Duff, ed., Modern Genre Theory, (New York: Longman, 2000) 3-16. ; John M. Swales, ed. , Genre Analysis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) vii-viii.

⁶² Andrew Edgar, and Peter Sedwick, eds. , Cultural Theory, The Key Concepts (New York: Routledge, 2002) 160-161.

⁶³ From the article of Jacques Derrida, “The Law of Genre,” (1979), qtd. in Duff 5.

interdisciplinary works, just as Geertz mentioned.⁶⁴ In our study it will contribute to our discussion of the state of the documentary as genre in the field of public broadcasting in Turkey, getting blurred within the scope of art, film studies, history, policies, politics and communication.

2. 2. 2. Documentary as a Genre

Small states that very simple distinctions are made while forming the film categories and the expectations of the viewers lie in the basis of making this distinction. These distinctions can be stated as genre such as horror, western and music. To him, to make structural groupings and taxonomies while approaching the concept of genre both takes us away from these distinctions made roughly and enables us to come closer to these genres structurally. The three film genres he has formed in the context of film studies are like this: 1- Actuality Film/Video, 2-Fictive Narratives and 3-Experimental Film/Video. He states that we define the models included in the genres according to coordination and subordination; in other words we can identify them according to the state that they are in the same or lower order or according to their ranks and levels of importance. We can explain this issue for documentary as follows. While documentary is included in the field of actuality film/video according to his classification, propaganda, newsreel, cinema verite, ethnographic films are also included in this category. He also defines this category as non-fiction or documentary factual, and explains them according to the factors such that they have simpler structures than fictive narratives; a narration based on voice-over is used, and they are made with authentic places and people. Apart from this, city symphonies and

⁶⁴ Clifford Geertz, "Blurred Genres: the Refiguration of Social Thought," The American Scholar 49 (1980): 165-179.

docudramas are the categories which actuality film/video classification and fictive narratives classification include together.⁶⁵

These classifications show difficulty to solve the obscurity about the concept of genre in the film theory. For example, although the propaganda and newsreel films are the films made with actual people and in actual places, whether the comment deduced from the film as a whole is compatible with the facts or not is a subject of discussion. It can be said in another discussion that in documentaries there is less room for the narration based on voice-over⁶⁶, which contradicts with Small who has mentioned voice-over among the characteristics of actuality films.

According to Nijat Özön, documentary “is the type of film that does not give place to the fiction or rarely does this, obtains its material directly from the nature, suits to the external world’s reality as far as possible and reflects it by objective attitude”.⁶⁷ Eric Barnouw claims that documentary is non-fiction, the film of actuality with its most general definition.⁶⁸ Contrary to these definitions related to documentary, there are those who claim that documentary can not be objective and also it has a fictional character. For example, Michael Rabiger pointed out that documentaries are often supposed as the objective since tactic heritage from journalism to television, which compensates counter opinions. Thus, it is aimed to not to take responsibilities of the possible problems will be experienced. He asks that how can the camera be objectively positioned, even though somebody has to

⁶⁵ Edward S. Small, Direct Theory: experimental film/video as major genre, (Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1994) 13-17, 35.

⁶⁶ David McQueen, Television: A Media Student’s Guide (London: Arnould, 1998) 121.

⁶⁷ Nijat Özön, Sinema: Uygulayımı-Sanatı-Tarihi (İstanbul: Hil Yayınevi, 1985) 145.

⁶⁸ Eric Barnouw, Documentary: A History of the Non-Fiction Film, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Pres, 1993) 5.

put it somewhere and “how does one objectively decide when to turn a camera on and off?”⁶⁹

The documentaries are made according to the subjective choices of their producers from the selection of the subject to its processing and montage. In my opinion, documentaries are accepted as objective in general since they examined their subject of matters from different aspects and some characteristics are assigned to the documentaries historically⁷⁰. Therefore, its characteristic of reality comes to the front rather than actuality.

In the discussions related to the relationship between documentary and reality, the approach of Jean Rouch related to the ethnographic film can enable us to expand the subject. Mick Eaton analysis the approach of Rouch on the ethnographic film that “to show another how I see..”⁷¹ in other words one’s version of truth rather than reality. This understanding supports the view of Rabiger mentioned above that documentary can not be objective.

There are approaches which summarize that documentary is a product of a creative process further than the unprocessed reality. John Grierson, coined the term documentary, defined documentary as the “creative treatment of actuality”.⁷² This approach unites the actual with the aesthetic. In other words, documentary has a creation of reality rather than a presentation of reality. However, the quality of this creation gains importance. In other words, how a documentary is created (its format, approach) gains importance as much as the fact that the documentary is a presentation of the

⁶⁹ Michael Rabiger, Directing The Documentary, 3rd ed. (Boston: Focal Press, 1998) 6, 7. Quotation is taken from page 7.

⁷⁰ The information related to this issue can be found in the following discussions.

⁷¹ Mick Eaton, Anthropology, Reality, Cinema: The Films of Jean Rouch (London: British Film Institute, 1979) 45.

⁷² Stella Bruzzi, New Documentary: A Critical Introduction (London: Routledge, 2000) 5.

content.⁷³ Also, the formation of actuality leads to the character of fiction to arise reconstructing it beyond a simple presentation (the film's being a montage from the beginning to the end with every frame, subject and moment chosen). In my opinion, so it is impossible to talk about pure non-fiction.

Andrew Sarris argues that "all the films have a documentary character if they are considered as a document of a place, time and person".⁷⁴ This definition brings to the mind the question if the documentary is just to witness. If it was true, another product, which forms an analogy with the methods used in the production of documentaries, could be a documentary and news magazines or reality shows could be accepted as documentaries as they witness the moment. However, limiting the documentary with a single definition, characteristic and method is to refuse the fact that it is an understanding at the same time.⁷⁵ It is emphasized in some definitions related to the documentary that documentary tries to document the real world.⁷⁶ However, while developing an approach related to the documentary, Rabiger states that what is the only fact related to it, which will not be objected, is the one that the documentary deals with the "exploration of actual people and actual situations"⁷⁷. Namely, while being a witness for a moment can be a document for the future, documentary is a way of discovery.

⁷³ In Chapter 4 it will be discussed that in TRT, documentaries are treated as a content not as a format. The above-mentioned approach related to documentaries is remarkable in terms of asserting the documentary is not just the content.

⁷⁴ Simten Gündeş, Belgesel Filmin Yapısal Gelişimi: Türkiye'ye Yansıması (İstanbul: Alfa, 1998) 20.

⁷⁵ Discussion about documentary whether documentary is just the evidence or not can be found in Chapter 4.

⁷⁶ McQuenn 121.

⁷⁷ Rabiger 3.

At this point it will be meaningful to examine the relationship between the document and documentary. Philip Rosen approaches the documentary genre from the genealogy of the word document. He states that after the word, which had meanings such as to teaching/warning and evidence/proof in 15th century began to be used to mean document in 18th century. With the increased usage of documentation in 19th century, the documentary was used for the first time. Rosen says that the effects of the approach of Grierson found in the definition of documentary in Oxford English Dictionary in 1989. This definition is as follows: "Factual, realistic, applied esp. to a film or literary work, etc. based on real events and circumstances, and intended primarily for instruction or record purposes". In this way, having originated from the document, the word documentary has extended from witness to the definition of the actuality of the film.⁷⁸ In other words, it has gained the definition as a visual form comprehending what is factual which is more comprehensive than the written or momentary witness. Also this definition states that documentary has a mission to record and teach.

There are many functions attributed to the documentary. Susar states that the documentary is important in terms of "forming a social conscious, documenting material and moral values and being an intermediary to transmit these values among the generations".⁷⁹ In other words, according to her documentary can fulfil the functions to document, preserve and form a social conscious.

The view of Rotha on this subject is compatible with the point mentioned by Susar that it forms a social consciousness. He states that the documentary can have a function to be a bridge in the relationships people have with each

⁷⁸ Philip Rosen, "Document and Documentary," *Theorizing Documentary*, Michael Renov, ed. (New York: Routledge, 1993) 65-66. Quotation is taken from page 66.

⁷⁹ A. Filiz Susar, *Türkiye'de Belgesel Sinemacılar* (İstanbul: Es Yayınları, 2004) 9.

other and it can contribute the efforts of democratization.⁸⁰ To him, the documentaries have an important duty to teach the social responsibility. However, documentary is not a vehicle to teach entirely, but it is one of the rights of free thought.⁸¹ All of these missions attributed to the documentary emphasize its characteristics of being educational, forming a conscious and being an effective medium in documentation and communication among people rather than its artistic value.

In my opinion, the general frame, which can be drawn related to the documentary genre from all of this discussion, is that it is not completely fictional rather than being non-fiction; it is one's version of truth rather than being an objective, and it is a process of discovery rather than witness for a moment or event. However, it can be said that there is widespread acceptance that it is a means for recording, documentation, education, constructing relations in society and forming social conscious.

All of these definitions and the missions attributed to the documentary show what documentary as a genre can be, not what it is; what the meanings and missions attributed to it since the first documentary film made are. In short, to have a look at what the aims were to produce and use the documentary in the historical process and how it split into many subgenres can lead us to comprehend why there is a need for documentary also in the field of public broadcasting.

⁸⁰ It is stated in Chapter 4 that if documentary can be discussed in terms of voicing the problems (as one of my interviewee stated). The attribution of Rotha to the documentary indicates that the theoretical approaches also engage with the documentary from the same point. In this perspective, it can be asserted that documentary is of importance in public service broadcasting.

⁸¹ Paul Rotha, Belgesel Sinema, trans. İbrahim Şener, (İstanbul: İzdüşüm Yayınları, 2000) 168-172.

2. 2. 3. A Brief Historical Foundations of Documentary Genre from Documentary Film to Documentary Program as a Television Broadcast Format

Paul Rotha claims that documentary films did not arise as a different genre in any different slice of time, and they were formed as results of materialistic reasons. According to him, the fact that among these films there are examples which have different characteristics result from the state that these examples are not under the effect of the structures which will have a market relation.⁸² However, we can talk about the documentary approaches and genres, which are made in different geographies, with the approaches of different actors, which carry the effects of the historical periods, and their aims of use, types.

John Grierson defined the film *Moana* made by Robert J. Flaherty as documentary and coined the term of this genre in 1926.⁸³ However, depending on the definitions of documentary genre given above, it is possible to accept the first films which were made by Louis Lumiere, who is widely, accepted the father of cinema and the inventor of cinematography. The films made between 1895 and 1897 by Lumiere, generally told the middle class people and the events in the everyday life are made in authentic places and with authentic people. Some of the examples of these films are *Workers Leaving the Lumiere Factory*, *Arrival of a Train*, *Feeding the Baby*, *Watering the Gardener* and *Family Meal*.⁸⁴ However, the film *Nanook of the North* made by Flaherty between the years 1920 and 1922 is one of the important examples in terms that documentary is a vehicle for discovery as

⁸² Rotha, *Belgesel Sinema* 49.

⁸³ Forsyth Hardy, ed. , *Grierson on Documentary* (London: Faber and Faber, 1966) 13.

⁸⁴ Barnouw 7-8, 22.

being different from document film. Although Flaherty fictionally formed an Eskimo family and many scenes such as hunting scenes instead of recording a real life of Eskimo family, the techniques he used attracted attention. In order to make this film, Flaherty lived in the areas where Eskimos lived for a long time, made observations, used the technique of dramatization of specific individual and screened the developed films to those people to take a native feedback.⁸⁵ The studies of Flaherty in the naturalistic, romantic documentary genres and those with a technique of discovery gain importance. This approach of Flaherty in the cinema sector, which began to be industrialised, affected many documentary producers and the British Documentary School, which is pioneered by Grierson.

The documentary film studies which began in Empire Marketing Board with the leadership of Grierson in late 1920s drew the portrait of the working England, problems of the society. The films made by them such as *Drifters* in which fishermen were showed while they were working; *Housing Problems* told the life of working class and social problems.⁸⁶ They carry the characteristic of national propaganda. Apart from this, directing the camera at the social life and importance given to aesthetic concerns enabled the documentary approach to get a new viewpoint.

An important trend in the history of documentary genre is the trend of Kino-Glaz (Cine-Eye) of the Soviet film makers. Through the end of 1910's Dziga Vertov started to search the meaning of ordinary life in public sphere who declared the manifesto with a group. According to this group, cinema has to be pure art and it should be cleaned off from the theatre, scenario, drama, studio, painting, theatre and acting. This crew went out into the streets of Russia and tried to catch real life images of Soviet People. So, their vision

⁸⁵ Karl G. Heider, *Ethnographic Film* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976) 21-24.

⁸⁶ Juliet Gardiner, "Candid Culture", *History Today*, 56. 4 (2006). ; Gündeş 53-56.

was based on exploring the world in a new way. After the Bolshevik Revolution in Union of Soviet Socialist Republics where the level of literacy was low, cinema was one of the vital vein of the revolution, and it played an important role in education, news, social, cultural and propaganda fields.⁸⁷ Although the works done by this group had propagandist characteristics in terms of Bolshevik regime was constructed, they affected the documentary producers and trends in the sense of the challenge they made related to meet of the camera to the street and the people on street, and the reality of cinema.

The city symphonies in which the urban life was told from different aspects gained weight in 1920s and 1930s. The use of documentary with the aim of propaganda increased with the Second World War. Many examples can be mentioned related to the propaganda films made in Germany, Britain, Soviet Union and many other countries in this period.⁸⁸ With the development of television after the Second World War, the historical documentaries, which used archive materials, began to be broadcast.⁸⁹

The changes experienced in the cinema technology⁹⁰ made location shoots easy with the easily carried cameras in 1960s. Thus, genres such as Cinema Verite and Direct Cinema came out which generally give place no acting, which were made in natural places and with actual people and which were dependent on observation and interaction. After making films outside became easy, the films made in the distant places from the modern world

⁸⁷ P. Adams Sitney, ed. Film Culture Reader, 2nd ed. (New York: Cooper Square Press, 2000) 92, 353-363. ; Paul Rotha, Sinemanın Öyküsü (İstanbul: İzdüşüm, 2000) 222-225.

⁸⁸ Bill Nichols, "Documentary Film and the Modernist Avant-Garde," Critical Inquiry, 27. 4 (2001). 12,13. ; David Welch, Propaganda and the German Cinema 1933-1945 (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001).

⁸⁹ Barnouw 197-198.

⁹⁰ By the invention of lightweight camera, portable equipment and non-linear editing systems.

increased. However, after the possibility of the colour shooting came out, production budget increased and the documentaries passed from cinemas to the television.⁹¹ Especially the effect of the Direct Cinema has been seen in the non-fiction series productions, which have been broadcast on television since 1960s. Docusoaps based on observational documentary progressed with the interaction between filmmaker and spectator and which were made with a certain group or a group having common experiences were produced a lot in the televisions of America and England in 1990s. Docusoap which focuses on the life of a group of people in a house resembles to a documentary in terms that it is observer, and it is like a soap opera in terms that it is planned easily and it tries to catch the details of everyday life more than social issues. To what extent these programs belong to the documentary genre and if they are compatible with what documentary promises is another subject for discussion.⁹² However, it is clear that television produces formats making use of the conventions of documentary genre which can be watched and produced easily by.

Television is a medium which creates its own codes and genres. In fact, this state can be found in answer given by Todorov to the question where the genre arose from as from other genres, genres before itself or being affected by many other genres.⁹³ According to Kriwaczek, television is a melting pot, and many factual programs on television do not belong to a single genre; they have been formed by combination of many techniques.⁹⁴ This state is also true for documentary. Documentary was transformed into new

⁹¹ Rabiger 29.

⁹² Stella Bruzzi, "New British Observational Documentary: Docusoaps," New Documentary A Critical Introduction (London: Routledge, 2000) 75-79.

⁹³ Tzvetan Todorov, Genres in Discourse, trans. Cathrine Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 15.

⁹⁴ Paul Kriwaczek, Documentary for the Small Screen (Oxford: Focal Press, 1997) 12.

program formats such as docudrama and docusoap by being combined with different genres on television.

As television and cinema are different medium, it is also usual that the format a documentary takes on television differentiates. We can make use of an example given by McQuenn, in order to explain this difference. He states that in fact the use of voice-over commentary in the television documentaries results from a difference between cinema and television. To him: "Sound tends to anchor meaning on television, whereas the image tends to anchor it with cinema"⁹⁵. Although television is a visual media, the fact that the sound is given priority since the missions to inform, educate and entertain are attributed to it⁹⁶ supports this claim.

It has been mentioned above that in 1960s the trends such as Direct Cinema and Cinema Verite arose together with the technological developments, and documentaries inclined towards television as they had difficulties in finding budget and they needed new spaces to be produced and monitored. Dai Vaughan says that these developments created new possibilities for both documentary and television at the beginning. The possibilities such as the easily carried film equipments and synchronizing sound and image at the same time led to the transmission of the live events. In this way, while television made it possible to bring an avant-garde approach for documentaries, the current affairs broadcast on television began to make use of the techniques of documentaries. However, this technique, which made the films made outside easy, enabled the style of talking heads [which began to be used in documentaries very often] to become widespread after the live interviews increased. Thus, in documentaries a style in which interview was

⁹⁵ It is asserted that voice-over is used very often in TRT documentaries, because of documentary is treated as a program conveying information or the content in Chapter 4. McQueen's comprehension related with the inner dynamics of television supports this assertion.

⁹⁶ Related information can be found in the discussion about Public Service Broadcasting.

dominant, the authority of the person who was recorded decreased and the film did not present itself appeared.⁹⁷ In other words, technological changes began to affect the form documentary took and one of the missions attributed to it [the state that authentic person can tell his/her own opinions] in television broadcasting. In my opinion, as it has been mentioned above, the state that the sound is given priority on television and documentaries join with the formats of news and interview on television leads to the result that documentary is perceived as content on television.⁹⁸

Abercrombie states that the genres on television undergo a change and they are interwoven in time. To him, economic reasons can be effective on this change, such as the possibility of new program types to arise from the combination of genres in order to gain new viewers. According to him, what lies in the state that the narration increases in documentaries and docudrama becomes dominant is the desire to fulfil the expectations of the viewers.⁹⁹ Another approach related to the state that documentaries change as a result of economic reasons is that it became difficult to find sponsor after the number of documentaries on television decreased in late 1960s, and so their structures changed.¹⁰⁰

With the basic approaches mentioned above related to documentary genre, it can be noticed that film makers recorded different moments of life with different aims in historical process. The roots of documentary genre aiming to deal with actual people and actual circumstances have been run from the

⁹⁷ Dai Vaughan, Television Documentary Usage (London: British Film Institute, 1976) 2-5, 16.

⁹⁸ The reason why documentary programs are seen just as content in TRT will be discussed in Chapter 4. In addition, the effects of technological changes mentioned above can be another reason for documentaries' general acceptance as content in TRT.

⁹⁹ Nicholas Abercrombie, Television and Society (Oxford: Polity Press, 1996) 44-45.

¹⁰⁰ Giraud Chester, Garnet R. Garrison, and Edgar E. Willis, Television and Radio, 4th ed. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1971) 64.

everyday life of middle class people to the cultures living in geographies distant from the modern world, industrial sectors and the working conditions of people, the street and the war. The goals of this tendency can be listed under the titles such as informing, presentation, to create a possibility that authentic people can say their own words, propaganda, entertainment, art, and education. Just as its examples in terms of content can be given in every field, different researchers make different classifications in terms of genre. Various types, classifications, sub-genres of documentary films in terms of their content, format, and historical basis can be found in different studies.¹⁰¹ They can be examined as sub-genres under many titles such as realist, romantic, discovery, naturalist, observational, participatory, propagandist, dramatic.¹⁰² However, as Rotha has also mentioned, market relations are important in the formation of the documentaries. For example, the appearance of styles such as docusoap which has originated from the observational approach of documentary after the development of television industry, and the increase in the documentaries in televisions by increasing the production budgets with the colour shooting. There are also various changes underlined regarding the documentary's taking as a new format in television such as the emergence of docusoaps, increase in narration and docudramas, often usage of voice-over-interview and talking head style, and documentary's gaining the characteristics of entertainment under the expectations of audience (measured by ratings).

The fact that the documentaries were used with the intention of propaganda in the Second World War because of the relationship formed between documentaries and the reality. Common use of documentaries with the

¹⁰¹ The possibility/necessity of separation of format from the content is another subject of discussion. However, here with the very generalization, subject/theme/field of study is meant with the content and process, approach is meant with the format.

¹⁰² Examples can be found in Rabiger, Gündeş, Rotha Belgesel Sinema, and Barnouw.

purpose of propaganda during the war also explains what kind of effects state power has on the documentary genre. It will be an insufficient explanation to say that state power has an effect on documentaries just in a state of war. The works of British Documentary School and Russian documentary producers, which are consisted of national propaganda, also exemplify how a documentary serves and takes shape in the context of nation-state. At this point I think that what Todorov told about genre can be adapted for documentary genre. Todorov says that genre systems have the characteristics belonging to a culture and the dominant ideology of the period, and they display the characteristics belonging to the society just like the other institutions of that society.¹⁰³ In this sense it is common that the characteristics of the documentaries and the documentary programs in public broadcasting have are formed by the effects of technological developments, economic structures (as Rotha mentions), culture, history, society and state power, and they carry codes belonging to these effects as it will be noticed in the case of DDP.¹⁰⁴

2. 3. Policies Regarding the Documentary Programs and Documentary Departments in Public Television Broadcast

Although documentaries are produced by the independent producers in many places in the world, they need television as they have difficulties to find budget as mentioned above and they are not shown on cinemas as often as the fiction films. But, the fact that they have a format, which requires viewers to concentrate on, and they are not found entertaining makes them the programs, which can be abandoned in TV.¹⁰⁵ Moreover, to prepare

¹⁰³ Todorov 19, 119.

¹⁰⁴ The examples about the issue can be found in Chapter 4.

¹⁰⁵ Rabiger 29.

documentaries takes a long time and cost¹⁰⁶ that all these factors make it difficult to produce and broadcast documentaries in private television channels.

Although private television channels should pay attention to the benefit of the public, these institutions should also pay attention to the profit. As they are not supported by public funds, besides state regulations they also regulated by market. Above all, while increasing their profits, the commercial televisions give priority to the productions, which are produced in a short time, can be marketed to many people and guarantee the high ratings with very little expense. So, to produce or broadcast a program format which will assist in education, building social bridges, creating a social conscious, and focusing on a problem - the mission attributed to documentaries in the discussion we made related to documentary - is not the primary aim of the commercial televisions. However, public broadcasters should determine their target audience to cover the entire nation and to fulfil the expectations of the viewers.

From the first television broadcasts to date documentaries have been broadcast on television channels. Today, documentaries are broadcast in channels such as PBS, ZDF, ABC, CNN, BBC, ARD, ITV, Channel 4, France 3, RAI 3. Apart from these, after the cable broadcasting increased, the channels such as The Discovery Channel, Animal Planet, The Learning Channel, A&E, The History Channel were included in this market.¹⁰⁷ Some of the programs broadcast in these channels are produced by their own teams, departments. Some of them are obtained from documentary markets and networks.

¹⁰⁶ Abercrombie 117.

¹⁰⁷ Howard J. Blumenthal, and Oliver R. Goodenough This Business of Television, 2nd ed. (New York: Watson-Guptill, 1998) 216. ; EBU, Guides: EBU Member's TV Programming (Grand-Sacconnex: EBU, 2005).

The public broadcasting institutions such as ABC in Australia, Alabama Public Television (APT) in the USA, Channel 4 and BBC in the United Kingdom have their own documentary departments. Different effects have been seen on the policies of documentary programs and departments of these channels during historical process as it will be seen in the TRT. It is inevitable that these policies in television show difference between public broadcasting companies and commercial channels. Because, this difference between these televisions lies in the target of public broadcasting which is uniting national interests with culture and “making the nation as one man”¹⁰⁸, rather than income sources. For example, Williams states that this difference between public service and commercial televisions can be understood even from their planning of peak-hour programs, their difference in programming and their institutional approaches.¹⁰⁹

The effects of political and economic policies are seen in the context of public broadcasting in documentary programs and departments in different public broadcasting institutions in the world. For example, in his work which covers the years 1985-1993 Bullert tells about the political and economic pressures on the production of documentaries about certain ethnic, sexual and religious subjects (such as young Palestinians, gay rights..) on public televisions in America. To him, these programs have quality to remove the gap between the reality and the reality of American citizens. In this sense, there is a need for documentaries to enable the public view to be formed in public broadcasting.¹¹⁰ Bullert’s analysis is significant in underlining the

¹⁰⁸ Paddy Scannel, “Public Service Broadcasting: the history of a concept,” Understanding Television, Andrew Goodwin, and Garry Whannel, eds. , 2nd. ed. (London: Routledge, 1992) 23.

¹⁰⁹ Raymond Williams, Televizyon, Teknoloji ve Kültürel Biçim, trans. Ahmet Ulvi Türkbağ (Ankara: Dost Kitabevi Yayınları, 2003) 31.

relationship between documentaries and public broadcasting on public view. It also highlights political and economic pressure on documentaries in public television.

Vaughan states that after the reorganization made in BBC in 1960s, even the creative part of the programs are intervened in.¹¹¹ The fact that some documentary programs were banned in the years when they were produced and they could be broadcast later in public broadcasting institutions was related to the policies of that period very closely.¹¹² For example, the BBC docudrama which was inspired by Dresten firebombing and told the effects of a probable nuclear attack in London was banned in 1965. It could be broadcast just 20 years later.

According to Tony Moore, producer of ABC, the economic problems, which have been troubling in ABC since the mid-1990s had an effect, also on documentaries and the documentaries began to be magazinized.¹¹³ However, we can say that this state can be seen not only in ABC but also in many public broadcasting institutions. For example, the budget of documentary department in BBC was also cut down.¹¹⁴ It is related with the understanding of the public broadcasting Reith mentioned in 1920s has changed to some extent today. The changes experienced after 1980s have been affected public broadcasting deeply. At this point, in fact, it is not

¹¹⁰ B. J. Bullert, Public Television: Politics and the Battle Over Documentary Film (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997) 1-2.

¹¹¹ Vaughan 11-12.

¹¹² The examples about the issue related with DDP can be found in Chapter 4.

¹¹³ "Arts-Hub," The online home for Australian Arts Workers, online, 17-02-2006, <http://www.artshub.com.au/ahau1/process/printnews.asp?ContentID=59821>

¹¹⁴ Malcolm Clark, Frances Stonor Saunders, "Documentary in Crisis," New Statesman, 4509. 129 (2000). ; From the notification of "The BBC Interview The DG[Directorate General] and the Doc [Documentary], Sheffield International Documentary Festival, online, 10-02-2006, <http://www.sidf.co.uk/industry/session.php?pid=184>

wrong to claim that cuts made in budgets allotted to documentary programs lies in the choice of public broadcasting institutions in order to increase their competitiveness. In such a case, documentaries' transformation to entertainment program formats is usual.

The relationship of the documentary program production and the re-organizational efforts in the public corporation is also closely related with the institutional policies. This relationship is crucial in understanding the organisational, institutional policies and their effects on the documentary production. There are many examples one of which is the reorganization of the Finnish Public Service Television and of documentary department as a result. Changes in the new media environment after 1980 also affected Finish Public Broadcasting and in 1994 it is started to be reorganized by the act. Taisto Hujanen argues that transformation in the program management also affected the documentary department. While funds were allocated to the department before, it was restricting the flexibility of the production place. Then, by the allocation of funds to the teams it would be possible to study also at house.¹¹⁵ As it will be discussed in the case of Turkey, organizational and institutional policies deeply affect the programs produced as well.

In the policies related to the documentaries in public broadcasting, it can be argued that head of departments/actors also take roles. Brian Winston demonstrates¹¹⁶ how Paul Rotha, The head of BBC Documentary Department during 1950s, transferred the documentary tradition of Grierson to the BBC.

¹¹⁵ Taisto Hajinon, The Power Schedule (Tampere: Tampere University Press, 2002) 108.

¹¹⁶ Brian Winston, "Not a Lot of Laughs: Documentary and Public Service," Dissident Voices (London: Pluto Press, 1998) 152.

Ludvigsson emphasizes the studies of two documentary program producers in Swedish Public Television in his book.¹¹⁷ Indicating the importance of national (history) in public broadcasting and one particular producer's special role in program making, his study is significant for our discussion.

So far in the study, we have discussed the definitions and missions attributed to documentaries and public broadcasting as well as the policies of broadcasting. Depending on this analysis, we can conclude that they have common features. In addition, it is stated that the policies of both public broadcasting institutions and documentary programs produced for these institutions shaped by political and economic structures, interest groups (such as reformers), and actors (such as producers, head of institutions –John Reith- and departments-Paul Rotha-). Various effects such as governmental policies, military powers, legal arrangements-acts, councils-, cultural policies, economic policies have underlined as the influential factors. Furthermore, especially on the institutional policies the role individuals/actors are noted. In my opinion, directing the field of public broadcasting to give service for the benefit of the public can be possible by the analysis of these policies and determination of the policy considerations later.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ David Lugvisson, The Historian Filmmaker's Dilemma. Historical Documentaries in Sweden in the Era of Häger and Villus (Uppsala: Uppsala University Press, 2003).

¹¹⁸ Thus it will also be possible for us to determine policy considerations for TRT and DDP.

CHAPTER III

THE POLICIES OF TURKISH RADIO TELEVISION CORPORATION (TRT)

To comprehend the policies of TRT to which the DDP belongs, the relevant laws, economic, cultural, governmental and military policies related to the TRT intended to be examined throughout chapter three within aforementioned historical periods in chapter one. Thus it will be easier for us to look at the policies of the directorate producing documentary programs within a broader frame and to understand how they are shaped within this frame. To analyse afore-mentioned policies, the institutional history of TRT and main historical changes experienced in economic, social, and political fields in Turkey followed by parallel.

3. 1. The Policies of TRT from a Historical Perspective

3. 1. 1. The Policies of TRT in its Establishment and Institutionalization Period

The practices in Turkey can be said to keep up with the age in terms of the regular radio broadcasting. Regular radio broadcasting began in Turkey in 1927.¹¹⁹ In Turkey, any important attempt was not made in terms of television broadcasting until 1960s. Even though television broadcast tests launched at the İstanbul Technical University for the first time in TR in

¹¹⁹ Jülide Gülizar, "Türkiye Radyoları," *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, ed. Murat Belge, vol. 10. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983) 2738, 2739.

1952¹²⁰ there was not any institution for television broadcasting at national level in those years.

Through the 1961 Constitution¹²¹, the establishment of television gained legality. Also, its autonomy was placed under the protection of the constitutional guarantee. The first version of the article 121 with the title of the Management of Radio and Television and News Agencies of the 1961 Constitution was as follows¹²²:

The administration of broadcasting and television stations shall be regulated by law as autonomous public corporate bodies.

All radio and television broadcasts shall be made along the principles of impartiality.

The broadcasting and television administration shall be vested with such authority as is required for the performance of its function of furthering and promoting educational and cultural activities.

A basic requisite for news agencies established or subsidized by the State is to exercise impartiality.

Also, in 1962 it was made possible to “form a special consultancy to deal with the works of radio (and TV) apart from the general directorate in the Ministry of Tourism and the Press”¹²³. Although the television broadcasting

¹²⁰ Mahmut Tali Öngören, Televizyon Kılavuzu (İstanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1972) 274-275.

¹²¹ On 27th of May 1960, the armed forces announced that they had seized the administration in Turkey. After the military coup, 1961 Constitution was adopted by Constituent Assembly. It was submitted to a referendum and came into force [Kemal Gözler, Türk Anayasaları (Bursa: Ekin Kitabevi Yayınları, 1999) 117]. The 1961 Constitution included changes of the election of the president, administrative matters such as the system of the assembly and the rights such as the right of strike given to workers, personal freedom, press, universities. [Amos J. Peaslee, and Dorothy Peaslee Xydis, Constitutions of Nations, 3rd ed. vol. 2. (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1965-1970) 1154-1155.] Also, in this constitution there was an article related to development, development plan and State Planning Organization. In this way, the attempt made in the national planned development in Turkey took part in the constitution.

¹²² Peaslee, and Peaslee 1181.

¹²³ Uygur Kocabaşoğlu, Şirket Telsizinden Devlet Radyosuna-TRT Öncesi Dönemde Radyonun Tarihsel Gelişimi ve Türk Siyasal Hayatı İçindeki Yeri- (Ankara : Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1980) 367.

gained a legal ground with these developments, an institution to make the television broadcasting could not be founded immediately. The foundation of this institution was discussed within the frame of “Development Plans” put into practice by the 1961 Constitution.

A public institution to be active in the field of planned development in Turkey was founded with the law 91 on 30th September 1960. The name of this institution was TR State Planning Organization¹²⁴ (*TC Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*).¹²⁵ In the “Economic and Financial Provisions” section of the 1961 Constitution, the 4th title related to the budget was about “The Development”. In the A sub-title of this title, in the first clause of the 129th article titled as “Development Plan and the State Planning Organization” it was stated that:¹²⁶

Economic, cultural and social development is based on a plan.
Development is carried out according to this plan.

Moreover, in the 2nd clause of the 41st article titled as “The Order of Economic and Social Life” in this Constitution, it was stated that¹²⁷:

It is the duty of the State to encourage economic social and cultural development by democratic processes and for this purpose to enhance national savings, to give priority to those investments which promote public welfare, and to draw up development projects.

In this way, social and cultural developments were also added to the development plans, which had always been considered, on an economic basis until the 1961 in Turkey. The television to be established in Turkey was

¹²⁴ English acronym is SPO and Turkish acronym is DPT.

¹²⁵ Alkan Soyak, “Türkiye’de İktisadi Planlama: DPT’ye İhtiyaç Var Mı,” Doğuş Üniversitesi Dergisi, 4. 2 (2003): 175.

¹²⁶ Peaslee, and Peaslee 1183.

¹²⁷ Peaslee, and Peaslee 1163.

a candidate to realize this mission in that period in terms of realization of the “function of furthering and promoting educational and cultural activities” stated in the Constitution.

During the period when the development movement in 1961 in Turkey was dealt with in social and cultural dimensions apart from the economic basis, the General Secretary of United Nations U-Tant also stated in his speech in 1962 that “Development is not only economic growth but also total change, reform and progress in economic, social, political and administrative terms in the life of a nation and state”¹²⁸.

Especially in 1960s, the assumption that there was a relationship between the means of media, modernization and development was put on the agenda in modernization theories. While theorists such as Lazarsfeld and Merton claimed that the role of the media in the social change was very little, theorists like Lerner, Schramm, Rogers, Frey and Pye insisted on the reverse.¹²⁹ In conclusion, in 1960s not only social and cultural development but also their relationships with the media became a prominent discussion which was also put in the agenda for Turkey in those years.

The first five year development plan which was put into practice after being published in the Official Gazette on December 1962 developed a planning strategy related to the period between 1963 and 1967.¹³⁰ However, in spite of the developments mentioned above related to the television, in the first

¹²⁸ From the speech of U-Tant, General Secretary of United Nations, in 1962, qtd. in M. Nihat Gündüz, Kalkınma İçin Sistemci Denetim (Ankara: Kardeş Matbaası, 1974) 7.

¹²⁹ İrfan Erdoğan, Kapitalizm Kalkınma Postmodernizm ve İletişim (Ankara: Erk, 2000) 64-67.

¹³⁰ Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, Development Plan: First Five Year: 1963-1967 (Ankara: Union of Chambers of Commerce and Industry and Commodity, n. d.).

development plan there was no program about the television to be founded.¹³¹ Also in the Report of The Second Five-Year Development Plan Specialization Commission on Radio and Television, there was an idea that the television would be expensive in terms of Turkish economy.¹³² That no investment was planned related to an institution to make the television broadcasting in the First Development Plan directed the criticisms about this issue to the planners. Emre Kongar¹³³ states that in Turkey the planners are presented as being against the development movement. He states that planners are shown as being against the television too. To him, the planners wanted an attempt to be planned in terms of television. In the same way, how the works related to the television progresses as a result of an attempt without a plan will be stated in the course of this study.

In 1963 a treaty, which required the foundation of “Television Training Centre”, was signed between the governments of Federal Republic of Germany and Turkey. According to this agreement, the technical equipments of the centre and the training of the staff to work at this centre would be provided with the support of the Federal Republic of Germany.¹³⁴ Although there was a transition to the colour television system in the western countries, the television broadcasting made without any plan in Turkey began as the black and white within the frame of Germany’s support. In this way, both the German companies producing TV and the assembly plants found a new market in Turkey.¹³⁵ Thus, old media

¹³¹ On the 377th page of the First Development Plan only the situations and investments related to radio were mentioned. See Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, Development Plan: First Five Year: 1963-1967 377.

¹³² For more information see Ünsal Oskay, Toplumsal Gelişmede Radyo ve Televizyon: Geri Kalmışlık Açısından Olanaklar ve Sınırlar (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Basımevi, 1978) 18.

¹³³ Emre Kongar, 12 Eylül ve Sonrası (İstanbul: Say Yayınları, 1987) 177-178.

¹³⁴ Mahmut Tali Öngören, İletişim Notları (Ankara: ÇGD, 1995) 36-37.

technologies marketed to the third world countries by the West was experienced in the television system donated to Turkey. In this way, dependence was created in terms of by-technologies, receivers and broadcasting system of the television.

“Turkish Radio and Television Corporation Law” number of 359 was adopted on 24th December 1963, and it was put into force on 1st May 1964.¹³⁶ The law described the institution as being autonomous, impartial and monopoly.¹³⁷ The radios, which had been temporarily transferred to The Ministry of Tourism and Presentation on 2nd July 1963, were transferred to the TRT on 1st May 1965.¹³⁸ Adnan Öztrak whom the Executive Board of TRT elected as the general director was nominated for this task formally on 4th May 1964.

We understand from all these developments that the contradictory regulations and applications of the official organs that the official attempts for the foundation of TV did not develop in accordance with the works related to the planned development. Among the causes of this disorder experienced in the field of broadcasting, the political atmosphere of the period was effective as well. The civil government was legitimized again with the adoption of the 1961 Constitution and the general election on 15th October 1961. There had been three coalition governments formed by the

¹³⁵ Semih Tuğrul, Türkiye’de Radyo ve Televizyon Olayları (İstanbul: Koza Yayınları, 1975) 154-160.

¹³⁶ Directorate of Press and Information, Radio and Television in Turkey (Ankara: Directorate of Press and Information, 1999) 5.

¹³⁷ Ahmet Çiftçi, Radyo ve Televizyon Hukuku (Ankara: Gazi Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Yayınları, 1999) 13.

¹³⁸ TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulunun 2001, 2002 ve 2003 Yılları Eylem ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesine İlişkin Rapor Özeti (Ankara: TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, 2003) , 20-05-2005, www.cankaya.gov.tr/tr_html/DDK/trt.htm

leadership of Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*)¹³⁹ until the 1965.¹⁴⁰ However, in this period when the planned development was aimed at, the fact that the coalition governments came to power for the first time made it difficult to form stability.

The project to establish TV, which had not been included in the First Five-Year Development Plan, was covered in the Second Five-Year Development Plan. In Second Development Plan (1968-1972) in Section 10, under the title of Transportation and Communication, there is a subtitle for the Radio and Television. In the article of "a-Objectives"¹⁴¹ under this subtitle, it was said that "i-Tv stations will be started in Turkey in the course of the Second Plan period. ii-The receiving of at least one national and one regional radio station will be made possible all over Turkey". Under the article "b-Developments and Problems" it was stated that

...It was foreseen during the First Plan period that the receiving of at least one radio station, which is an effective means in securing national unity and education in each region of the country, should be realised....The range of transmission of the Radio and TV Administration transmitters is 283,000 Km² for a population of 14,000,000. Thus, at present, 36.8 per cent of the whole country and 42.6 per cent of the total population is benefiting from radio facilities....At present there are about 2,500,000 radios which have been registered. However, estimates are that there are still some 1,500,000 radios which have not been registered and that there are 3,000 TV sets in İstanbul and around 4,000 in the Southern cities.

Thus we understand that a mission was given to the radio and television described through their qualities of "promoting educational and cultural activities" in the Constitution in terms of being effective means in "securing national unity" as they reached the 42 % of the population in the Second

¹³⁹ English acronym is RPP and Turkish acronym is CHP.

¹⁴⁰ Stanford J. Shaw, and Ezel Kural Shaw, History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey, vol. 2. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) 424, 425.

¹⁴¹ Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, Second Five-Year Development Plan: 1968-1972 (Ankara: Central Bank of the Republic of Turkey, 1969) 634.

Five-Year Development Plan. Also it is understood from the plan that there were approximately 7000 TV receivers in Turkey at the end of the year 1968.

Furthermore, in the section of Radio and Television under the title of "Second Five-Year Development Plan Investments" it is also mentioned as follows. "With the investments to be made, 78 per cent of the country and 86 per cent of the total population will receive broadcasts, and TV stations will be erected and operated" ¹⁴². It is understood that with the investments anticipated to be made in the plan it is wanted to increase the population the radio and television broadcasts reached 2 times and to enlarge the area of broadcasting in a short time.

At the stage of the foundation of TRT, some problems were experienced in terms of the budget. With German technical support, the necessary equipments and training of the staff to make broadcasting were provided at a certain level. However, as any work was not made related to TRT in annual budget of the State, government programs and in the first development plan, TRT could not demand any staff, budget and investment. Till 1967, the expenses of the TRT had been supplied from the budget of radio or the general directorate.¹⁴³ On 16th January 1967 the closed-circuit television broadcasting was made to the members of the Budget Commission of the Assembly, and the budget of TRT was put under the control of the Prime Ministry on 27th February 1968. The Constitution Law Court gave the institution economic autonomy on 8th July 1969.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴² Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry State Planning Organization, Second Five-Year Development Plan: 1968-1972 634-635.

¹⁴³ Aysel Aziz, Türkiye'de Televizyon Yayıncılığının 30 Yılı (Ankara: TRT, 1999) 25-26.

¹⁴⁴ "TRT'den-Tarih (History)," TRT Corporation Official Website, online, 12-04-2005, www.trt.gov.tr

According to the law number of 359, the organs of the institution consisted of the executive board, general director, consultancy committees, political broadcasts and related sub-institutions. Academicians were also present in the executive board where there were two people working in government and two people working in TRT. It is stated by the law that the members of the committee could not be members of a political party. In this way it was wanted to form a structure to protect the autonomy of the institution where there was no domination of the representatives of the government in the management. The authority to control the institution in terms of economic and administrative issues was put under the control of The High Control Committee. The control in terms of programs was assigned to the executive board and the general director.¹⁴⁵

The people working for television were trained by German and English experts. They began to work for television broadcasting in 1966. After the closed-circuit television broadcasting commenced in 1967, the test broadcasting for three days a week began on 31st January 1968.¹⁴⁶ The transmission lasted for 6-7 hours at first and it was transmitted to a small area.¹⁴⁷ Mahmut Tali Öngören, the first Chairman of the TV Program Department of TRT, states that the planning of programs and broadcasting, regulations, trained staff, internal control and technical infrastructure of the institution were insufficient in that period.¹⁴⁸ He also states the aims of the program in 1968 in one of the reports of TRT:¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Jale Sarmaşık, Türkiye’de Radyo ve Televizyon Düzeni (1927-2000) (Marmara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Yayını: İstanbul, 1994) 29-33, 41,42.

¹⁴⁶ Emel Ceylan Tamer, Dünü ve Bugünüyle Televizyon (İstanbul: Varlık, 1983) 47-50. ; Jülide Gülizar, TRT Meydan Savaşı (Ankara: Ümit Yayıncılık: 1995) 13-14.

¹⁴⁷ Bülent Çaplı, “Radio and Television Systems in Turkey”, Radio and Television Systems in Southern Europe : Cyprus, France, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Slovenia, Spain, the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, Turkey (Strasburg: European Audiovisual Observatory, 1998) 72.

“To regulate training programs addressing the villagers and the people at different level of education directly, education programs for the schools directly, cultural programs and the television broadcasts which reflect the role the television will play in our everyday life in the future.”

The mission of the programs in terms of education and cultural development was also stated in this report and the rural population and the masses were shown as the target.

Suat Hayri Ürgüplü, to whom the duty of forming the government would be assigned in the second month of the year 1965, stated in the program of the coalition government that “We will focus on the impartiality of the radios of Turkey”¹⁵⁰. The Nation Party, one of the partners of the coalition government, prepared a draft law to amend the Law of TRT. The Justice Party¹⁵¹ (*Adalet Partisi*), which came to power in 1965 election and which was seen as the continuation of DP, included this draft into the program of the government.¹⁵² The chairperson of JP Süleyman Demirel stated in the program of the government that¹⁵³:

Considering the complaints related to the implementation of the Law of TRT Institution, it will be amended by giving importance not to damage its autonomy secured by our Constitution. We believe that television is a means of transmission with a high quality of education. Therefore, we are decided to realize the television broadcasting in Turkey.

¹⁴⁸ Mahmut Tali Öngören, “TRT\Televizyon,” Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi, ed. Murat Belge, vol. 10. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1983) 2749-2750.

¹⁴⁹ Mahmut Tali Öngören, and et al. , “TRT Ankara Televizyonu’nun Yönetim ve Program Alanlarındaki Genel Durumun Belirten Rapor,” (Ankara: TRT, 1967)., qtd. in Aziz 30.

¹⁵⁰ “TBMM Kütüphanesi-Hükümetler-Ürgüplü Hükümet Programı-,” GNAT Official Website, online, 20-05-2005, www.tbmm.gov.tr

¹⁵¹ English acronym is JP and Turkish acronym is AP.

¹⁵² Oya Tokgöz, Türkiye ve Ortadoğu Ülkelerinde Radyo-Televizyon Sistemleri (Ankara: Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1972) 128.

¹⁵³ “TBMM Kütüphanesi-Hükümetler-1.Demirel Hükümeti Programı-,” GNAT Official Website, online, 20-05-2005, www.tbmm.gov.tr

The Television broadcasting was commenced according to the wishes, without required planning, in terms of TV broadcasting.¹⁵⁴ As it is deduced from these examples, the existence of the TRT institution created an important controversy for the political parties and the party in power after TRT had gained a legal validity in 1964.

The debates about making an amendment to the law of TRT and putting an end to the autonomy of TRT were put on the agenda after the foundation of the institution. Both the pressure the political parties tried to put on TRT after 1964 and the effect of the social movements on TRT after 1965 were influential in this matter. For example, in April 1965 the inspectors of the Ministry of Tourism and Presentation wanted to inspect TRT. However, the general director Adnan Öztrak did not allow them to do this and then the Council of State decided that the Ministry did not have the right to inspect.¹⁵⁵

JP was in power until the election was held in 1969. Extreme left (Turkey Labour Party-*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*) and right (Republican Peasant's Nation Party-*Cumhuriyetçi Köylü Millet Partisi*)¹⁵⁶ parties had the right to representation for the first time at the Assembly. In this period, the groups representing left and right ideologies such as Society for Social Democracy (*Sosyal Demokrasi Derneği*), Revolutionary Youth (*Devrimci Gençlik*), Socialist Thought Clubs (*Sosyalist Fikir Kubbeleri*), and Patriotic Hearths (*Ülkü*

¹⁵⁴ For the detailed information given by TV Deputy Chairman Öngören related to under what conditions TRT began its television broadcasting, see Mahmut Tali Öngören, Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi 2749-2751.

¹⁵⁵ İ. Cengiz Taşer, Radyonun Organizasyonu ve Özerkliği (Ankara: TRT Basılı Yayınlar Müdürlüğü Yayınları, 1969) 168-169. ; "TRT'den-Tarih (History)," TRT Corporation Official Website, online, 18-04-2005, www.trt.gov.tr

¹⁵⁶ The name of this party was changed as Nationalist Action Party (*Milliyetçi Hareket Partisi*) in 1969. English acronym is NAP and Turkish acronym is MHP.

Ocakları) appeared in the society.¹⁵⁷ The protests of students and workers, union movements are staged more in political sphere when compared to the past. Towards the end of 1960s, the urbanization increased, and polarity and conflict began to be seen between the political groups. As a result of rising industrialization, small business lost its competitive force.¹⁵⁸ The tension between the opposing groups through political and social movements was shown and discussed through television. The first ban, which was based on the 17th article of the law of TRT, was put on the news in January in 1969 and then on the boycott of the teachers in December. This article of the law gave the government the right to intervene the TRT broadcasts.¹⁵⁹ Therefore, it is understood that television broadcasting has been started to be intervened with the purpose of “securing national security” which was mentioned in the second development plan.

The criticism made by a newspaper about the program of “Sexual Education” broadcasted on radio led to the creation of a control mechanism for the TRT programs. So, a committee comprising experts in the Central Program Department was formed in 1966 and then it began to inspect the radio programs.¹⁶⁰

It is misleading to argue that only the political party in power was uneasy about the autonomy of TRT. The military forces were also not pleased with the autonomous structure of TRT. It was such that an amendment was made

¹⁵⁷ Kemal H. Karpat, “Ideology in Turkey After The Revolution of 1960,” Social Change and Politics in Turkey (Leiden: Brill, 1973) 363-365.

¹⁵⁸ Meliha Benli Altunışık, and Özlem Tür, Turkey-Challenges of Continuity and Change- (London: Routledge, 2005) 36-37.

¹⁵⁹ Article 17: The Prime Minister or any Minister he will charge has the authority to cancel the news or broadcasts when necessary. The resolution to cancel must be written; if it is oral in case of emergency, it must be repeated in a written form. , qtd in. Aziz 34.

¹⁶⁰ Özden Cankaya, “Türkiye’de Radyo Yayıncılığının Öyküsü”, “ İstanbul Radyosu, eds. Ayhan Dinç, Özden Cankaya, and Nail Ekici (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000) 26, 28.

to the 121st article of the Constitution after the military memorandum in 1971.

3. 1. 2. The Policies of TRT between 1971 and 1980

It can be said that there was an atmosphere of freedom enabled by the 1961 Constitution in Turkey being parallel to the revolutionary movements in the world towards the end of 1960s. The fact that the number of trade-union movements rose and the thousands of university students became organized increased the social dynamic. However, the rise in the number of the right and left parties and the split within the national bourgeoisie were also considered to be the factors increasing the social polarity. The political party in power after the 1969 election was JP again. Till 1971 some fundamental problems such as the uprising as a result of the armed intervention of the police force directed towards the workers, members of the trade union, in 1970, revolutionary student movements turn into a guerrilla movement, the use of the nationalist militants constituting the base of the NAP by the political party in power to suppress the leftist movement had been experienced. The instability and political unrest rose in society.¹⁶¹

On 12th March 1971, a group of soldiers among whom will be the 2nd general director of TRT, Musa Ögün, brought the memorandum given by the Chief of General Staff and Commanders-in-chief of armed forces.¹⁶² The memorandum charged the parliament and the government with putting the country into a social and economic uneasiness and stated that the power was seized by the Turkish Armed Forces on condition that it would be seized by the parliamentary regime again in the future. After the intervention the JP

¹⁶¹ Murat Belge, "Sol," , Mehmet Ali Ağaoğulları, "Aşırı Milliyetçi Sağ," Geçiş Sürecinde Türkiye, eds. İrvın C. Schick, E. Ahmet Tonak, 4th eds. (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2003) 166, 174 ; 213-214.

¹⁶² Refik Özdek, Hedef TRT (Ankara: Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yayınlar, 1977) 58-61, 70.

government resigned. The possibility that the intervention may have been made by the reformist wing of the military disappeared in a short time. Several youth organizations and political parties had been closed and the activities of the trade unions had been limited by the governments formed above the parties until the election held in 1973. This period is mentioned as a period when a number of people were arrested and tortured. By amending the 1961 Constitution, the freedoms in various spheres stated by the Constitution were limited. This attitude especially towards the left movement led to the result that the nationalist conservative wing strengthened.¹⁶³

After the military memorandum, the 121st article regulating the TRT Law was also amended and put into force on 20th September 1971. The new version of the article was like this:

The broadcasting and television stations are instituted only by the State, and their administration in the form of public corporate bodies is regulated by law. The law can not impose any provisions violating the principle of impartiality in the administration, control and establishments of its administrative organs. All radio and television broadcasts shall be made with due regard to the principles of impartiality.

Conformity to the requisites of the integrity of the State with its territory and people, to the national, democratic, secular, and social Republic based on human rights, and to the national security and public moral in the selection of news and programs, in their elaboration and presentation and in the performance of their functions to assist culture and education, as well as in the principles of ensuring the authenticity of news and in the selections of the organs, their powers, and their duties and their responsibilities shall be regulated by law.

Impartiality is the rule for news agencies established or subsidized by State.¹⁶⁴

When we make a comparison between the first version and the last version of the 121st article mentioned above, we can see the difference between them

¹⁶³ Feroz Ahmad, The Turkish Experiment in Democracy 1950-1975 (London: C. Hurst for the Royal Institute of International, 1977) 288-298. To see text of memorandum see page 288-289.

¹⁶⁴ The Turkish Constitution as Amended (Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi, 1978) 59, 60.

more clearly. The amendment made in the first clause includes the principle of impartiality instead of autonomy.

The amendment made in the third clause considered “the selection”, “the elaboration” and “the presentation” of the news and programs, “the performance of their functions to assist culture and education” on the basis of the principles of “national security and public moral”. The necessity of the programs to conform to “national security and public moral” was determined. The effects of this understanding were echoed in the content and presentation of the news and the programs made after the 1971 memorandum (For the examples related to the documentary programs, see Chapter 4).

After this period the impartiality of the TRT of which autonomy was removed became a controversy. The staffs of the TRT were also changed with the change of the political party in power. About the issue of autonomy, Haluk Şahin states that “the public broadcasting corporation model (‘s) ... explicit goals is to free the broadcasting service from direct government control. However, autonomy is neither total nor absolute; it is always matter of degree.”¹⁶⁵ How it will be possible to remain impartial without autonomy is more controversial.

After the memorandum on 2nd June 1971 The General Director of TRT Adnan Öztrak resigned. Öztrak is the general director who was associated with the autonomous period of TRT. The retired major general Musa Ögün was appointed to his position on 27th July. The new law numbered as 1568 related to TRT was adopted on 29th February 1972 at the Assembly together with the amendment made in the TRT law numbered as 359. The

¹⁶⁵ Haluk Şahin, “Broadcasting Autonomy in Turkey, Its Rise and Fall 1961-1971, Journalism Quarterly 58. 3 (1981) 398.

organizational structure of the institution was changed with this law. The duty to implement the TRT law passed from the Ministry of Tourism to the office of Prime Minister.¹⁶⁶

This law made serious amendments to the organs of the institution. Coordination and TRT Selection Committee was added to the organs of TRT. The provision that the two members of the Executive Board shall be from the people working for the institution was cancelled and the number of the representatives of the government was increased. While the candidates except for the representatives of the government had been appointed by their institutions beforehand, they would now be appointed by TRT Selection Committee. The Selection Committee was comprised of the General Secretary of National Security Council¹⁶⁷ and 4 rectors elected by the President. The provision that the general director shall be elected by the executive board and appointed by the Council of Ministers was cancelled and the provision that the general director shall be appointed by the Council of Ministers directly was legalized.¹⁶⁸ In this way the effect of the Council of Ministers on the administrative organs of TRT increased, and the President and even NSC had a voice in it. The voice of representatives working for TRT was abolished in the decision mechanism. Therefore, the autonomy of TRT was removed not only in the constitutional right but also in taking decision.

After the military memorandum, the interventions in TRT were not limited to the amendments related to the TRT law. The removal, dismissal and arrests of the staff occurred.¹⁶⁹ Some of the resolutions of the executive board

¹⁶⁶ Tokgöz 134.

¹⁶⁷ English acronym is NSC.

¹⁶⁸ Sarmaşık 47-58.

after the memorandum were the following ones: “No comments shall be made except for the world affairs ... radio shall comment on the internal affairs...”¹⁷⁰ The interviewees state that there were interventions in the content and the subject of the programs, and some of the films in the archives got lost. (For the examples related to the documentary programs, see Chapter 4).

For example, one of the interviewees stated in an interview that he had worked in the production of a program dealing with social and political issues in the unit of the office of the chief and this program was cancelled after the memorandum.

That the advertisement broadcast began in TRT in 1972 led to the dependence of TRT on advertisements in terms of its source of income, and the encouragement of consumption.¹⁷¹ Thus it had been given rise to the commercialization of TRT. Also the Directorate of Program Planning would be founded in this period.¹⁷² Even though after the memorandum, the autonomy of TRT was abolished and its dependence on the civil and military governments increased, institutional policies related to broadcasting (such as the foundation of program planning unit, including advertisement revenues) founded in this period.

¹⁶⁹ For the examples about this subject, see Topuz Hıfzı, and et al. , Yarının Radyo ve Televizyon Düzeni: Özgür, Özerk ve Çoğulcu bir Alternatif (İstanbul: TÜSES Yayınları, and İLAD, 1990) 104, Aziz 41-42, Gülizar, TRT Meydan Savaşı 36-38. In these sources it is stated that Muammer Sun, Emil Galip Sandalcı, from the members of the Executive Board, and Mahmut Tali Öngören, Melih Aşık, Sevgi Soysal, Yalçın Doğan, from the people working for TRT, were arrested.

¹⁷⁰ “TRT'den-Tarih (History),” TRT Corporation Official Website, online, 25-04-2005, www.trt.gov.tr

¹⁷¹ Dilek Beybin Kejanlıoğlu, “Türkiye'de Yayıncılık Politikası: Ekonomik ve Siyasal Boyutlarıyla Türkiye'de Radyo Televizyon,” diss. , Ankara U. , 1998, 121. ; Özden Cankaya, Türk Televizyonunun Program Yapısı (Mozaik Basım ve Yayıncılık: İstanbul, n. d) 26.

¹⁷² Directorate of Press and Information 6.

The coalition governments formed after the general election in 1973 had a short life. RPP and National Salvation Party¹⁷³ (*Milli Selamet Partisi*), whose government partnership lasted for 10 months came to power in 1974.¹⁷⁴ In this period the journalist İsmail Cem İpekçi was appointed as the TRT General Director. Cem attempted to introduce reforms in TRT. A plan was prepared for the 1975 General Broadcasting Plan, basing it on the provisions in the laws and regulations, and the approaches of functional broadcast and management through principles. During the period of Cem, the broadcast hours and the variety of the programs increased.¹⁷⁵ The military landing of troops in Cyprus by the Turkish Armed Forces was also broadcast through TRT in the period of Cem. In his book *TRT'de 500 Gün* (500 Hundred Days in TRT) Cem gives the details related to the work done with the National Information Organization, government and General Staff during the troop.¹⁷⁶ So, it could be understood that the relationship between TRT, public broadcasting company, and the bodies of the state at that time.

As a result of the dissolution of the government on its own, the first Nationalist Front¹⁷⁷ (*Milliyetçi Cephe*) coalition comprised of JP, NAP, NSP and Republican Reliance Party¹⁷⁸ (*Cumhuriyetçi Güven Partisi*) came to power on March 1975. Nevzat Yalçıntaş was appointed as the TRT General Director. In the resolution of the Board of Ministers related to the dismissal of Cem it was stated that it was already impossible legally to appoint him to this position as he had not completed 10 years in government employment.

¹⁷³ English acronym is NSP and Turkish acronym is MSP.

¹⁷⁴ TBMM Kütüphanesi-Hükümetler-1. Ecevit Hükümeti Koalisyon Protokolü-," [GNAT Official Website](http://GNAT.OfficialWebsite), online, 20-05-2005, www.tbmm.gov.tr

¹⁷⁵ Cankaya, [Türk Televizyonunun Program Yapısı](#) 32-39.

¹⁷⁶ For more information see İsmail Cem, [TRT'de 500 Gün](#) (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1976) 124-141.

¹⁷⁷ English acronym is NF and Turkish acronym is MC.

¹⁷⁸ English acronym is RRP and Turkish acronym is CGP.

It was also said that he is not suitable for this position in terms of the national security due to the ideas in his book titled "12 March" and the programs broadcast in his period contained immoral elements. The decree that the RPP issued to remove the legal obstacle that Cem had not completed 10-year period of government employment was also criticised in the resolution of the Board of Ministers.¹⁷⁹ In fact, issuing a regulation for a person lies in the desire of the parties in power, both before and after Cem, to appoint the person they wanted as the general director and it can be understood by looking at the periods when the general directors were appointed that this situation was not peculiar to Cem. After Cem brought a suit against this resolution in the Council of State and the resolution to cease the execution was passed, Yançıntaş resigned.

After the government appointed Şaban Karataş to the position of general directorate on January 1976, Cem perpetuated his general demurrer. The period of Karataş, which lasted for about 1.5 years, reminds us of the relationship of DP and radio in terms of TRT's giving service to the party ideologies.

Of the TRT news announcers Jülide Gülizar¹⁸⁰ talks about the action to make TRT the organ of NF in that period and TRT staffing exam made on May 1976 was a part of this action. She tells some anecdotes such as playing the song "The Black Sea was becoming rough looking at the flag of Turks" (*Çırpınırdı Karadeniz Bakıp Türk'ün Bayrağına*) during the exam, asking the people in exam "What does the year 1917 remind you of?" and the fact that only those people who answered the question as "the year when Alparslan Türkeş (the chief of NAP and the vice-prime minister of NF government) was born" not as "the October Revolution in Russia" passed the exam. She

¹⁷⁹ From the resolution with the number of 1976/1 of Turkish Republic Council of State Court Department Committee. , qtd. in Cem 279-288.

¹⁸⁰ Gülizar, TRT Meydan Savaşı 140-142.

also states that the policies put into execution in this period led to the result that program producers inactivated, some programs were cancelled, and these policies affected the content and language of the programs. She even says that some statements¹⁸¹ such as “Colonel” (*Albay*), “Commander” (*Başbuğ*), “shooting those who give up their aims and so on” (*davadan döneni vurmak*) invaded the programs, and the programs such as “Examples from the Eastern Turkistan Folklore”, “Conquest”, and “Competition of reading Koran” began to be broadcast in place of the programs cancelled. The increase in the number of the programs of religion and morality and commemoration of important events and people in Turkish history in their anniversaries were also the applications in that period.¹⁸²

According to a person working for TRT in the Karataş period, there is a nepotism in personnel recruiting. S/He states that

In the building of TRT in Kavaklıdere, the people filling the application forms for jobs spilt over from the corridors to the car park. Karataş tried to dismiss the existing staff in order to place his own staff.

From all these examples it can be understood that in the period of NF, politics and ideology of government have affected the policies of the TRT. However, even though both Yalçıntaş and Karataş are the general directors appointed in the periods of NF, Karataş is rather frequently mentioned with the partisan politics. So, although they are the representatives of the same ideology, the implementations of the general directors/actors vary in degrees.

İsmail Cem, who was appointed to his position again on February 1978 according to the resolution of the Council of State, resigned after he began to

¹⁸¹ These expressions are those found very often in the statements of NAP and its chairperson.

¹⁸² Cankaya, Türk Televizyonunun Program Yapısı 42, 43.

work. Cengiz Taşer was appointed to this position in the period of RPP, which came to power again, and then Doğan Kasaroğlu was appointed in the 2nd Period of NF.¹⁸³ In the period from the memorandum in 1971 to 12th September 1980, 11 attempts to form a government were made. It is clear that especially in this period there was a relationship between the changes in the government and the changes experienced very often in terms of the applications, general directors of TRT and the partisan practices.

This period was the setting for the splits in the right and left wings of the political life, and the gaining strength of Islamic conservative wing such as NSP and radical nationalist right wing such as NAP.¹⁸⁴ In 1980s a collapse was experienced not only in the social and political sphere. Korkut Boratav states that the populist sharing policies of the political rule in the period until 1976 were reflected in the economic sphere. In this sense, the balance between the desires of the masses and the representative power of the political parties affected the period. The economic crisis which became evident in 1977 was also effective in 1980s. In 1980s, the years when an economic crisis was experienced all over the world, the effect of this crisis was also felt in Turkey. In the period of JP which came to power in 1979, the policies of economy known as 24th January Resolutions taken in 1980 and began to be applied.¹⁸⁵ Therefore, both Turkey and TRT would meet new economy policies and military government.

¹⁸³ Özden Cankaya, Bir Kitle İletişim Kurumunun Tarihi: 1927-2000 (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Kültür ve Sanat Yayıncılık, 2003) 148, 149, 159.

¹⁸⁴ Mehmet Ali Ağaogulları cites the statements of the NAP members, declarations of party, and findings of an official reports in his article titled Aşırı Milliyetçi Sağ. For more information see Mehmet Ali Ağaogulları, "Aşırı Milliyetçi Sağ," Geciş Sürecinde Türkiye, eds. Irvin C. Schick, E. Ahmet Tonak, 4th eds. (İstanbul: Belge Yayınları, 2003) 189-236.

¹⁸⁵ Korkut Boratav, "İktisat Tarihi," Türkiye Tarihi, ed. Sina Akşin, 5th ed. , vol. 4. (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1997) 329-332, 341,343.

3. 1. 3. The Policies of TRT between 1980 and 1990

Among civilians, the first ones informed of 12th September 1980 Military Coup, were Doğan Kasaroğlu, the General Director of TRT and his deputies. They were called to The Presidency of General Staff on 11th September and asked to make ready the radio and television for broadcast at 04.00 o'clock the following day. And the military coup was transmitted live by TRT.¹⁸⁶

After the 12th September Military Coup, a period when the National Security Council ruled the country until 1983 began. In this period, 650 thousand people were arrested, human rights were violated in many fields, and practices of martial law began all over the country. The state of emergency regime that would continue in eastern provinces after 1983 continued in 1990s.¹⁸⁷

While “restoring the State of law” was shown as the cause of the 1960 military coup and the social and economic problems were shown as the cause of 1971 intervention, in 1980 the causes were anarchy, terror and economic crisis. In terms of the evaluation of this coup, there are different approaches such as those supporting the view that the economic causes were dominant and those claiming that it was made as a result of the crisis in the political regime.¹⁸⁸ Also there is the other possibility mentioned that when the strategic importance of Turkey increased after the Revolution in

¹⁸⁶ Mehmet Ali Birand, Hikmet Bila, and Rıdvan Akar, 12 Eylül Türkiye'nin Miladı, (İstanbul: Doğan Kitapçılık, 1999) 176,184.

¹⁸⁷ Bülent Tanör, “Siyasal Tarih,” (1980-1995), Türkiye Tarihi, ed. Sina Akşin, ed. Vol. 5. (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1997) 91-97.

¹⁸⁸ While Turgut Özal, who became prime minister in 1983, claims that financial difficulties are experienced before all military interventions, Emre Kongar states that the causes of these coups are not economic crisis but the prescriptions written for these crisis (like IMF prescriptions) can only be realized by military governments and the cause is the social conflict related to the political regime. See Emre Kongar, 12 Eylül ve Sonrası (İstanbul: Say Yayınları, 1987) 160-162.

Iran and the occupation of Afghanistan by Russia, the west and NATO supported an administration by which they could work in terms of cooperation for security.¹⁸⁹ In terms of our subject matter, the effects of these probable causes on the period are important.

One of the important changes made after the coup was that a new constitution was put into execution in 1982. This constitution adopted a model of democracy supporting less participation. The activities of the associations, trade unions, political parties, occupational organizations were limited.¹⁹⁰ Also with the adoption of the constitution in the referendum, Kenan Evren was selected as the president for seven-year period.¹⁹¹

The 121st article related to TRT in 1961 Constitution lost its validity after the 1982 Constitution. Instead of it, 133rd article was adopted. The first version of this article was like this¹⁹²:

The broadcasting and television stations are instituted only by the State, and their administration in the form of public corporate bodies is regulated by law. The law regulates the broadcast in the way to protect the existence and independence of Turkish State, the indivisible unity of the nation, the peace of the society, the general morality and the fundamental characteristics of the Republic stated in the 2nd article of the Constitution and regards the principle of impartiality in all radio and television broadcasts, in the administration and the control of the Institution and the formation of the administrative organs.

The principles of selection, elaboration and presentation of the news and programs and performance of their functions of furthering and promoting education and national culture, and the selections, the authorities, the functions and the responsibilities of the organs shall be regulated by the law.

¹⁸⁹ Feroz Ahmad, The Making of Modern Turkey, 6th ed. (London: Routledge, 2000) 174-175.

¹⁹⁰ Kemal Gözler, Türk Anayasa Hukuku (Bursa: Ekin Kitabevi Yayınları, 2000) 101, 102.

¹⁹¹ Tanel Demirel, "The Turkish Military's Decision to Intervene: 12 September 1980," Armed Forces & Society 29. 2 (2003) , 260.

¹⁹² Türkiye Cumhuriyeti, Milli Güvenlik Kurulu ve Danışma Meclisi, Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası: 1982, 2nd ed. (İstanbul: Yasa Yayınları, 1982) 92.

The provisions of 2nd clause above shall be applied about the news agencies characterised by being a public economic enterprise or subsidized by the State or other public corporate bodies.

In this law, it was mentioned about “national culture” not “culture”. The programs and understanding related to national culture, not culture, were determined (For the examples related to the documentary programs, see Chapter 4). The clause “conforming to the traditions of morality and national security based on human rights” related to the programs was omitted. The principle of impartiality about “broadcasts, and the administration and the control of the institution” was preserved. Though the principle of impartiality was stated in the constitution, the applications would contradict with it. Furthermore, the clause that “the selections, the authorities, the functions and the responsibilities of the organs shall also be regulated by the law” was added to the principle of impartiality necessary to be found in “the formation of the Organs”. This amendment notified the new broadcasting law and council.

The new TRT law with the law number of 2954 was adopted on 11th December 1983. This law led to the foundation of a council responsible for the control and evaluation after the broadcast: Radio and Television High Council¹⁹³ (*Radyo ve Televizyon Yüksek Kurulu*). For this council comprised of 12 members, the right to appoint 8 members was assigned to the president and the right to appoint 4 members was assigned to the Board of Ministers. One of the members the Board of Ministers appointed was proposed by NSC. In this way a council whose impartiality was disputable had an authority to sanction over TRT on a large scale.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³ English acronym is RTHC and Turkish acronym is RTYK.

¹⁹⁴ Topuz 112-114.

The administrative staffs of TRT were changed before the law. On the day following the coup, the major general Servet Bilgi was appointed as the General Director of TRT temporarily. Kasarođlu returned to his job on 24th October 1980, and he remained in office till 20th January. The amendment made to the Institution and Function Regulations of TRT was published in the Official Gazette on 2nd October 1980. With this amendment, new appointments were made in the office of the department of news, department of television and the Directorate of Ankara Television.¹⁹⁵ Consequently, after the military coup, the effects of military government and political structure became the determining factor in broadcasting policies.

According to the 10th article of 2954 law, the organs of TRT were the executive board, the general directorate and coordination council. The executive board was comprised of the general director and 6 members appointed by the board of ministers selecting from 12 candidates listed by RTHC. The general director was appointed according to the resolution of the Board of Ministers selecting from the three candidates proposed by RTHC.¹⁹⁶ Namely, RTHC and the board of ministers had an influence on the determination of the main organs of TRT.

¹⁹⁵ This information has been taken from the monthly periodical called "The History of the Month" (*Ayın Tarihi*), Turkish Republic Prime Ministry Directorate General of the Press and Information (DGPI) (*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Başbakanlık Basın Yayın ve Enformasyon Genel Müdürlüğü*) publishes from September 1923 until today. This periodical could not be published regularly in some periods; since 1982 it has been published once every three months. It gives us important events and news in Turkey and World. The volumes of this periodical can be found in the official website of the directorate. "Yayımlarımız-Ayın Tarihi-1980-Ekim-3-," DGPI Official Website, online, 20-5-2005, <http://www.byegm.gov.tr>

¹⁹⁶ This information was taken from, TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulunun 2001, 2002 ve 2003 Yılları Eylem ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesine İlişkin Rapor Özeti, The duties of the RTHC was transferred to RTSC inline with the 36th article of law no. 3984.

The Motherland Party¹⁹⁷ (*Anavatan Partisi*), which was founded by Turgut Özal from a former technocrats working in SPO before 1980 and in Prime Ministry after 1980, came to power in the general election in 1983. Özal was one of the politicians supporting liberal economy.¹⁹⁸ He presented 24th January Resolutions as the only way for Turkey to be saved from the economic crisis it was experiencing. As the left wing could not develop alternative policies, the right wing in power could propagandize the resolutions of free market economy.¹⁹⁹ With an authority assigned by the new TRT Law²⁰⁰, in 1984 Özal had also a chance to propagandize of his party by the television program.

The policies of MP had an influence on not only the economic life of Turkey. Özal and the 1980s would be remembered with neo-liberalism in economy and the effects of the Turk-Islam Synthesis in culture. The effects of Özal's policies showed themselves in the field of broadcasting too.

After the coup, the period of the General Director Macit Akman, ex military man, is remembered with the transfer of the TRT staff to other institutions and the period monotonous programs were produced. Tunca Toskay was appointed as the General Director of TRT in 1984 by RTHC together with Motherland Party Government. The fact that Toskay was a representative of the government in this council destroyed his impartiality. Then he was criticised as he gave permission to the MP propaganda in TRT. The practices

¹⁹⁷ English acronym is MP and Turkish acronym is ANAP.

¹⁹⁸ Ersin Kalaycıođlu, "The Motherland Party: The Challenge of Institutionalization in a Charismatic Leader Party," *Turkish Studies*, 3. 1 (2002) 41, 42.

¹⁹⁹ İlhan Tekeli, and et al. eds. , Türkiye'de ve Dünyada Yaşanan Ekonomik Bunalım (Ankara: Yurt Yayınları, 1984) 7-10.

²⁰⁰ 18th and 19th articles of the law of 2954 give permission to the transmission of the activities of government in TRT. For more information see Hülya Yengin, Ekranın Büyüsü: Batıda Deđişen Televizyon Yayıncılıđının Boyutları ve Türkiye'de Özel Televizyonlar (İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1994) 113-114.

done in this period until the year 1988 when he was the general director were the following ones: transition to the colour television, to begin to search for the ways to market the materials related to the institution or produced in the institution, to get in touch with the broadcasting corporations and festivals in foreign countries, to participate in the Cannes and Rio De Janeiro Television Programs Festivals and to market the advertisement programs. Also in this period, there was an increase in the number of the dramas, and the programs made outside the institution. The purpose of Özal to commercialize TRT became evident in this period. In the opening ceremony of TRT Oran Site in 1991 he stated that he wanted the institution to be a commercial institution of which stocks will be sold to the public.²⁰¹ Therefore, in 1980s the products of TRT started to be marketed. So, the effects of economic structure of the period and neo-liberal economic policies were influential on TRT.

The Broadcast Control Council was also founded in the period of Toskay. In 1986 it was adopted that 205 words shall not be used in the productions and broadcasts of TRT and this resolution had been valid until 1988. According to this resolution, it was suggested to use *Millet* (Nation) instead of *Ulus* (People), *Mesela* (For Example) instead of *Örneğin* (For Example), *İmkan* (possibility, opportunity) instead of *Olanak* (possibility, facility), *Hafıza* (memory) instead of *Bellek* (memory), *İnkılap* (reform, revolution) instead of *Devrim* (revolution)²⁰² (The examples of the practices done related to the “circular of language” are met in DDP, see Chapter 4). This circular can be seen as a practice of the process of being a union with national culture stated

²⁰¹ Aziz 58-59, 65, 68-96.

²⁰² From the resolution with the number of 3300/35 and the date 10-01-1986 of TRT General Directorate (News Department Presidency). ; “TRT'den-Tarih (History),” [TRT Corporation Official Website](http://www.trt.gov.tr), online, 14-08-2005, www.trt.gov.tr Although words mentioned in the text are the synonyms, in the resolution it is stated for the prohibited words that they did not come up to standard of Turkish.

also in the 1985 broadcasting plan²⁰³ and the application of assisting the national culture mentioned in the Constitution of 1982. This implementation was also points out the tightening censorship mechanism in TRT. However, the resistance strategies developed by people working for TRT was also seen in that period (The relevant examples of the resistance strategies can be found in Chapter 4).

For the first time the live transmission of Mevlana Ceremonies were broadcasted in 1980 and this was followed by the international live transmission of the Ceremonies of Pilgrimage in 1988.²⁰⁴ These can be considered as rather new attempts of the policies Turk-Islam Synthesis. The applications such as cancelling the beer advertisements in 1984²⁰⁵ echoed what Emre Kongar stated about the cultural policies in MP period. In 1986 a regulation was made related to “the Council to Protect the Children from Harmful Publications” to which no amendment had been made since 1927. Kongar states that this council was a representative of the cultural policies of MP government and this approach supporting the censorship also controlled TRT.²⁰⁶ So, it is seen that cultural policies of TRT in 1980s in the spheres of language and program topics were shaped by the military government and the governments of MP. And the national culture legalized by the constitution, took shape the Turk-Islam Synthesis.

²⁰³ TRT, 1985 Genel Yayın Planı 17 qtd. in Cankaya, Türk Televizyonunun Program Yapısı 77.

²⁰⁴ “TRT’den-Tarih (History),” TRT Corporation Official Website, online, 14-08-2005, www.trt.gov.tr

²⁰⁵ Aziz 74.

²⁰⁶ For more information see Kongar 282-295.

3. 1. 4. The Start of Private Television Broadcasting in Turkey, Legal Regulations and the Changes in TRT

In 1980s the changes experienced in world economy, technological developments, political and cultural causes led to the developments of digital transmission and private television broadcasting. The effects of this development were echoed in Turkey in late 1980s. Developments to remove the monopoly of the State in the field of radio and television broadcasting were experienced.

Star Television, which belonged to Magic Box Company, began its transmission in Germany in 1990 by using satellite transmission. In this way, the first private television broadcast to Turkey was founded contrary to the law. It was revealed later that one of the shareholders of the company was Ahmet Özal, the son of President Turgut Özal, in that period. This channel was followed by Channel 6, Channel D, Teleon, Show TV, Cine 5, HBB and various private radios.²⁰⁷ By the law with the number of 3517 adopted in 1989, the transfer of the transmitters of TRT to PTT was legalized. In 1990 The Constitution Court cancelled "the Law Related to the Foundation and Operation of Radio and Television Transmitter Stations by the General Directorate of PTT". In spite of this, the transmitters had not been transferred to TRT until the new law adopted in 1999.²⁰⁸

After the 133rd article of the Constitution was amended on July 1993, the legal obstacle for the private broadcasting companies was removed. The new title of the 133rd article was Radio and Television Administrations and State-Financed News Agencies and its provisions were the following ones²⁰⁹:

²⁰⁷ Bülent Çaplı, and Can Dünder, "80'den 2000'lere Televizyon," Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi-Yüzyıl Biterken, vol. 15. (İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1995) 1376-1382.

²⁰⁸ Çiftçi 16-19.

Radio and television stations shall be established and administered freely in conformity with rules to be regulated by law.

The unique radio and television administration established by the state as a public corporate body and the news agencies which receive aid from public corporate bodies shall be autonomous and their broadcasts shall be impartial.

The second clause of the article included the provision of autonomy again. Whether it conformed to the status of TRT's autonomy will be discussed in next parts of the study.

The legal regulation stated in this amendment of law had not been made until the year 1994. Private radios and televisions made use of this gap in the law. There was an increase in their number and they continued their transmission without any control mechanism.²¹⁰ All these legal arrangements indicate the disorder in broadcasting planning; and nepotism in the start of private television broadcasting was influential on this disorder.

By the law 3984 related to the Establishment and Broadcasts of Radios and Televisions adopted on 13th April 1994, another council was founded to replace RTHC: "The Radio and Television Supreme Council²¹¹ [*Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu*]...as an autonomous and impartial public legal person in order to regulate radio and television broadcasting services"²¹². Also in the 8th article of the law the duties and responsibilities of the council and its duty of control in some cases were stated. By this law, the institution with an

²⁰⁹ "English-The Constitution of the Republic of Turkey-," [GNAT Official Website](http://www.tbmm.gov.tr), online, 13-09-2005, www.tbmm.gov.tr

²¹⁰ Sezer Akarcalı, [Türkiye'de Kamusal Radyodan Özel Radyo ve Televizyona Geçiş Süreci](#) (Ankara: Punto Matbaacılık, 1997) 173, 181, 198, 199.

²¹¹ English acronym is RTSC and Turkish acronym is RTÜK.

²¹² 5th article of law no. 3984 can be found "RTÜK- English-Law on the Establishment of Radio and Television Enterprises and Their Broadcasts Law No. 3984," [RTSC Official Website](http://www.rtuk.gov.tr/ying3984.htm), online, 28-10-2005, <http://www.rtuk.gov.tr/ying3984.htm>

authority to select the members of RTSC was mentioned as GNAT. The Assembly selected 9 members for this council among the 18 candidates comprised of 10 candidates proposed by the party in power and 8 candidates proposed by the opposition party; 5 of these 9 members were selected from those proposed by the party in power and 4 members were from those proposed by the opposition party.²¹³ According to the 36th article of the law the authority of RTHC to select the administrative organs of TRT was transferred to RTSC. The law number of 4756 adopted on 15th May 2002 suggested some amendments about RTSC also. These amendments were made within the frame of technological developments and EU norms. The resolution that the members of the council shall be selected by the Board of Ministers from the candidates was cancelled by the Constitution Court and it was suggested that they shall be selected by the Assembly from the candidates proposed by the political parties in the assembly according to certain quotas.²¹⁴ The situation related to the membership entered the Constitution by the law with number of 5370.

The private television broadcasting began in 1990 being contrary to the law affected TRT deeply. The increase in the number of private televisions led to the decrease in the revenues TRT got from advertisements and its ratings.²¹⁵ According to the 2nd article of the Law of Turkish Radio-Television Institution Revenues with the law 3093 which was adopted in 1984 and

²¹³ 6th article of law no. 3984 in Radyo Televizyon Üst Kurulu, 3984 Sayılı Radyo ve Televizyonların Kuruluş ve Yayınları Hakkında Kanun Yönetmelikler ve Tebliğler (Ankara: Radyo Televizyon Üst Kurulu, 1996) 12.

²¹⁴ TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulunun 2001, 2002 ve 2003 Yılları Eylem ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesine İlişkin Rapor Özeti

²¹⁵ Ali Nihat Yazıcı, Kamu Yayın Kurumları ve Yeniden Yapılanma (Ankara: TRT Genel Sekreterlik, 1999) 57.

underwent some amendments later²¹⁶, the main revenues of the institution included²¹⁷

- a) the costs of label to be got from radio, television and video equipments,
- b) the shares to be taken from electricity energy revenues,
- c) the financial contributions made from the general budget,
- d) the revenues from advertisements and announcements made in radios and televisions,
- e) the revenues from the production, broadcast and sale of films, tapes, records and so on.

Many of the interviewees working for TRT at that period stated that there was an increase in the number of the archive materials of the institution, which were brought to the outside illegally. The archive films and programs copied from the archives or whose originals were brought outside began to be transmitted in the private channels. In order to prevent the disorders in archives and catalogues, losses, to make it possible to preserve, advertise and sell the visual and auditory materials, and to transfer the archive materials to digital system, The General Directorate of Broadcast Archives was transformed into The Department of Broadcast Archives in 2000. New applications began to protect the archives, for instance, the change in the conditions for the people working for the institutions to use the archives, the restoration of the films in the archives and the start of infrastructure works for the new catalogue system. Moreover, an application related to the works of shadowing begin to be made for the visual archive for which pre watching demand is made by those outside the institution that want to buy

²¹⁶ The share of 3.5 % given to TRT from the revenues of electricity energy was decreased to 2 % according to the resolution of the Board of Ministers with the date of 22.01.2003.

²¹⁷ TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, Türkiye Radyo-Televizyon Kurumunun Eylem Ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesine İlişkin Rapor Özeti (Ankara: TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, 2004) , 20-05-2205, www.cankaya.gov.tr/tr_html/DDK/trt.htm

them. There will be transition to a digital shadowing system (water marking) spread all over the vision.²¹⁸ All these changes related to the TRT signify the changing environment in broadcasting sphere by the impact of private televisions' emergence. TRT's revenues and economic policies had been affected by the competition between the TRT and private ones. Besides, improvements resulted by the emergence of private televisions forced TRT to implement new institutional policies.

Özden Cankaya²¹⁹ claims that the increase in the number of the private radios and televisions will lead to the staffing problem in TRT. She states that the transfer of the qualified staff of TRT to these channels with high payments will create problems in the staff policies of TRT. According to her, TRT is even a school training staff for other broadcasting companies. One of my interviewees said that "TRT is not a school, it can be just a neighbourhood school (*mahalle mektebi*)" as an answer to the widespread view that it is a school. According to her/him, the people to work for TRT should be trained very well before beginning to work there. However, the unqualified people see TRT as a school since they learn everything they know in this institution, and the situation of the private channels where these people with the origin of TRT work in the administrative organs or produce programs points to just this fact. In the report summary of the Presidency State Control Council related to TRT, it is indicated that there is a redundancy of staff in the institution as a result of nepotism in staff

²¹⁸ TRT, Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu Temmuz 2000-2001 (Ankara, TRT Genel Sekreterlik, 2001) 251, 252. ; From the interview with one of the officials of Broadcast Archive Presidency; TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, Türkiye Radyo-Televizyon Kurumunun Eylem Ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesine İlişkin Rapor Özeti. By the help of the water marking, the visual materials demanded for the pre watch can be identified when copyright is being violated.

²¹⁹ Özden Cankaya, "Türkiye'de Radyo Yayıncılığını Öyküsü," İstanbul Radyosu, eds. Ayhan Dinç, Özden Cankaya, and Nail Ekici (İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2000) 42.

appointment, and there is a lack of qualified staff in some positions in the institution.²²⁰

While the news related to The Gulf War was transmitted live by the channel Star 1 in 1991, TRT transmitted it for a very short time. That TRT censored the vision of aircrafts taking off from İncirlik Air Base of the U.S while it was transmitted by CNN destroyed the status of impartiality of its news and caused its reliability to become disputable again.²²¹ So, impartiality of the TRT became more disputable.

The transmission through satellite began in 1986. The channel TV2 began its transmission in 1986 and the channel TV3 which transmitted also South-eastern Anatolian Project²²² regional broadcast, TV GAP was opened in 1989. TRT-İnt (International) test-broadcasts began transmission in 1990 and the channel TRT-İnt-Avrasya (*Eurasia*) was opened in 1992. The educational channel TV4 began its test broadcast in 1990. In 1995 the broadcasts of GNAT television began to be transmitted by TRT3. When the fact that the number of channels increased at the beginning of 1990s was added to all these factors, structural change became inevitable. The effects of sudden increase in the number of TRT channels will also be seen on the programs produced (Related discussion can be found in Chapter 4).

²²⁰ The problem that there was lack of staff in TRT was experienced after the private channels broadcast launched. The decrease in the number of the staff was at the rate of 16 % from 1988 to 1992. This information is taken from Çaplı, and Dündar 1381. In addition, according to the Presidency State Control Council report, at the end of 2002 there were 155 kinds of main staff titles, 673 parenthesis titles and at the end of 2003 there were 8000 employees. TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, Türkiye Radyo-Televizyon Kurumunun Eylem Ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesine İlişkin Rapor Özeti.

²²¹ Cankaya, Bir Kitle İletişim Kurumunun Tarihi: TRT (1927-2000) 281-282.

²²² English acronym is SAP and Turkish acronym is GAP. GAP is regional development project.

3. 1. 5. From the Period of Restructuring Efforts in TRT up to 2005

Yücel Yener was appointed as the General Director of TRT in 1997. The works to restructure TRT began in the period of Yener. In 1999 TRT founded the Change Office to be able to restructure the institution. The Executive Board found it suitable for this office to get consultancy service from McKinsey & Company.

In the TRT report in 1998, the resolution finding it necessary to restructure TRT stated some factors such that “the variety and attractiveness of its programs were low when compared with those in commercial channels; it needed an amendment in the organization structure, and there was a need for performance evaluation and reform in the technical infrastructure in the institution”. Based on the report prepared by the consultant company, a written regulation was made for the new applications in 2000. Within the frame of this attempt in the summary related to the Control of the Presidency State Control Council with the date of 1994²²³, it is stated that about 14 million dollars were spent for this enterprise. It is emphasized that the proposals of the consultant were not applied except for the application of visual products such as the new TRT logo, cost accountancy and partial application of the administration information system.

However, in the booklet titled as “1997-2001 New Horizons” (1997-2001 *Yeni Ufuklar*), a publication of TRT, the applications in the period of Yücel were the following ones: the increase in the duration of broadcast in TRT2 and GAP televisions and radios, the increase in the number of news offices abroad, the increase in the rate of viewers, the increase in the number of qualified staff and so on.²²⁴

²²³ TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, Türkiye Radyo-Televizyon Kurumunun Eylem Ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesine İlişkin Rapor Özeti.

However a book was written about the applications made in TRT by Yücel Yener before the resolution to appoint a new General Director of TRT in 2001: "Love for Position/Yücel Yener has a Farm: TRT" (*Koltuk Sevdası/Yücel Yener'in Bir Çiftliği Var*).²²⁵ In this book there are many claims about the misuse of authority by the general director. There are long lists of names claiming that the people taken to work for the institution in four years were the relatives of military-civilian bureaucrats, politicians and even the members of RTSC.²²⁶ RTSC appointed Yener to this position for the second time in 2001. However, he resigned as a result of the political pressures²²⁷. In an interview made with him²²⁸ after his resignation he states that he wanted to make TRT an institution to be able to compete with other channels, but the understanding of the new government was not in line with this aim. He gives an answer to the accusations related to TRT stating that "TRT is already a farm from the beginning". Mission attributed to TRT with the perspective of development has been displaced with the discussions on nepotism in TRT in the course of time. Even though, claims related to the nepotism were increased in the period of Yener, only in this period efforts were made to restructure the TRT. While other public broadcasting services have attempted at restructuring, these attempts related to TRT were aborted. Change Office was closed in 2004 and was not established again although there was a prime ministry circular, on the public institutions. They were

²²⁴ Türkiye Radyo-Televizyon Kurumu, *1997-2001 "Yeni Ufuklar"* (Ankara: TRT, 2001) 9, 12,18, 24, 25, 33, 41, 62-67.

²²⁵ Ahmet Erçakır, *Koltuk Sevdası/Yücel Yener'in Bir Çiftliği Var: TRT* (İstanbul: Çivi Yazıları, 2001).

²²⁶ See pages 41-91.

²²⁷ Between 2000 and 2003 there were many motions forwarded to the Assembly by the deputies related to the applications of Yücel Yener in TRT. See "Genel Kurul Tutanakları-Tutanak Metinleri ve Özetler," [GNAT Official Website](http://GNAT.Official.Website), online, 20-10-2005, www.tbmm.gov.tr

²²⁸ Nuriye Akman, "Yücel Yener hakkındaki iddialara cevap verdi: TRT benden önce de çiftlikti![Yücel Yener responded claims against him: TRT was a farm before I was in charge too]," *Zaman Gazetesi*, 26. Apr. 2003.

assigned the duty of “restructuring team” with the date of 6 January 2004.²²⁹ Here, once more it is seen that applications of broadcasting policies contradict with legal arrangements.

Today TRT continues its broadcast through 6 television channels 4 of which are national (TRT-1, TRT-2, TRT-3/ TRT-GAP/ TBMM TV, TRT-4) and 2 of which are international (TRT-INT, TRT-TURK/ AVRASYA), 4 national radio channels, 8 regional radio channels, 1 international radio channel, 1 tourism radio channel and 1 website.²³⁰

As it is stated in the law with the number of 2954, the organs of the corporation is still comprised of the General Director, the Executive Board and Committee. Its centre is in Ankara. Outside the scope of the specific provisions stated in this law, the provisions applied to the Public Financial Corporations are also put into practice for TRT. In the scheme taken from the official website of the corporation, the institutional structure is shown in the following way²³¹:

Deputies of General Director

Broadcast Programming Deputy

Administrative Deputy

Technical Deputy

Financial Deputy

Main Service Units

News Department Presidency

²²⁹ “TC Başbakanlık Personel ve Prensipler Genel Müdürlüğü-Kamu Yönetiminde Yeniden Yapılanma Çalışmaları- [TR Prime Ministry Official Website](http://195.140.196.81/genelge_pdf/2004/2004-0320-00244.pdf), online, 13-9-2005, http://195.140.196.81/genelge_pdf/2004/2004-0320-00244.pdf

²³⁰ TRT, [2005 Genel Yayın Planı](#) (Ankara: TRT, 2005) 8-16.

²³¹ “TRT-Yapı (Structure),” [TRT Corporation Official Website](#), online, 14-10-2005, www.trt.gov.tr

Television Department Presidency
Radio Department Presidency
Music Department Presidency
Foreign Broadcasts Department Presidency
Broadcast Planning Coordination and Evaluation Department
Presidency
Studios Department Presidency
Transmitter Department Presidency
Broadcast Archive Department Presidency

Advisory and Control Units

Law Consultancy
Research Planning Coordination Department Presidency
Inspection Council Presidency
Broadcast Control Council Presidency

Assistant Service Units

General Secretariat
Defence Secretariat
Staff Department Presidency
Education Department Presidency
Social Affairs and Indoor Service Department Presidency
Revenue Department Presidency
Advertisement Department Presidency
Accounting and Financial Affairs Department Presidency
Purchasing and Supply Department Presidency
Constructive Work Department Presidency
Computing Service Department Presidency
Research and Production Department Presidency
Technical Planning and Coordination Department Presidency

Provinces Organization

Ankara Television Directorate

Ankara Radio Directorate
Ankara Region Transmitters Directorate
İstanbul Region Directorate
İstanbul Television Directorate
İzmir Region Directorate
Antalya Region Directorate
Çukurova Region Directorate
Diyarbakır Region Directorate
Erzurum Region Directorate
Trabzon Region Directorate

The resolution mechanisms were gathered in the centre just as TRT channels were not seen in the organisational structure of the corporation. The works in the corporation progress by a slow bureaucracy.²³² There are too many departments and directorates, which causes the units to have difficulties in working coordinated. It also affects program production procedure negatively for an increased bureaucratic process. Consequently, all these factors make inevitable that TRT has to be restructured.

Islamic wing gaining strength in 1990s and The Justice and Development Party²³³ (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*), the new party of right, got the most of the votes in the general election in 2002 and formed the government. In period of JDP government, again some resolutions to affect broadcasting, TRT and RTSC were adopted.

By the law 5370 adopted on 21st June 2005, an amendment was made to the 133rd article of the 1982 Constitution. The sub-title of the article was amended as “F. The news agencies related to the public, radio and television

²³² Yazıcı 1.

²³³ English acronym is JDP and Turkish acronym is AKP.

institutions and Radio and Television Supreme Council". On the condition that it would come after the 1st clause, the clause mentioned-below was added.²³⁴

The Radio and Television Supreme Council founded with an aim to regulate and control the activities of radio and television shall be comprised of nine members. The members shall be elected by Grand National Assembly of Turkey among the candidates the political parties will show two times more than the number of the members to be determined according to the rates of the number of the member of political party groups, taking the number of the members for each political party as the basis. The foundation, duties and responsibilities of Radio and Television Supreme Council and the qualities of its members, the system of election and the duration for them to carry out their duties shall be regulated by the law.

According to the amendment it can be said that the rules made by GNAT and political parties have a weight in the election of the members. The revenues of the council include the annual frequency allocation prices it will get from private televisions and radios, the share it will get from the advertisement revenues of these companies, the administrative fines it will get from radios and televisions, and the appropriation it will get from GNAT when necessary.²³⁵ Beybin Kejanlıođlu, Sevilay Çelenk and Gülseren Adaklı state in their research they made on RTSC²³⁶ that it is impossible to talk about the autonomy of the council as the budget of the council is dependent on the advertisement revenues it will get from private radios and televisions and it is under the effect of some state institutions (for example, the effect of NSC in terms of national security in the frequency allocation of channels). The effect of the Assembly, namely the authority of legislation, is very

²³⁴ "Türkiye Cumhuriyeti Anayasası," GNAT Official Website, online, 17-1-2006, <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/Anayasa.htm>

²³⁵ 12th article of law no. 3984. "RTÜK-Mevzuat (Legislation)-3984 Sayılı Radyo ve Televizyonların Kuruluş ve Yayınları Hakkında Kanun (Law on the Establishment of Radio and Television Enterprises and Their Broadcasts Law No. 3984)," RTSC Official Website, online, 28-10-2005, <http://www.rtuk.gov.tr/kanun3.htm>.

²³⁶ Beybin Kejanlıođlu, Gülseren Adaklı, and Sevilay Çelenk, "Yayıncılıkta Düzenleyici Kurullar ve RTÜK," Medya Politikaları (Ankara: İmge Kitabevi, 2001) 135-136.

evident in terms of the source of income of the council and the election of its members.

In the period of JDP, some amendments related to the general director of TRT were made. After the resignation of Yücel Yener in 2003, Şenol Demiröz was appointed to this position on January 2004. In the period of Demiröz, the works related to transition to the digital transmission were accelerated. There was an increase in the number and duration of religious programs; an authority was given to the producers outside the institution to plan the broadcasts and then the programs these producers made were broadcast in TRT through the purchase outside the institution.²³⁷ That the share of 3.5 % transferred to TRT from electricity revenues was decreased to 2 % on January 2003 caused TRT to have financial difficulties. It could not get approval in the executive board of TRT budget. As a result of relations with the government tensed up after the Prime Minister Recep Tayip Erdoğan gave the approval that TRT shall be controlled by Prime Ministry Inspection Council, Demiröz demanded his resignation and he resigned on August 2005.²³⁸

Nowadays TRT is talked about a lot with the claims that those in the administrative ranks find the clothes of the women participating in the programs very immodest, and they warn the artists of TRT to obey regulations related to the clothes and the men not to wear earrings. A new general director has not been appointed for 7 months (on March 2006) yet.²³⁹

²³⁷ İsmet Demirdöğen, "Hükümetin Gözü TRT'de [The Government Pay Attention to the TRT]," Radikal Gazetesi, 16 Feb. 2005. ; "TRT'den-Tarih (History)," TRT Corporation Official Website, online, 14-08-2005, www.trt.gov.tr ; TRT, 2005 Genel Yayın Planı.

²³⁸ Ergun Aksoy, TRT'de 'The End': Demiröz Gitti [Demiröz Left], Sabah Gazetesi, 02 Agu. 2005.

²³⁹ Sefa Kaplan, "TRT'de At Kuyruğu ve Küpe de Yasak, [Pony Tail and Wearing are also Forbidden in TRT]" Hürriyet Gazetesi, 01. Feb. 2006. ; Betül Kotan, "TRT'den Önce Kıyafet

Therefore, when it came to 2006, TRT was left in an administrative and financial indefiniteness. The effects of JDP policies on the institution can be seen clearly. TRT has had a financial difficulty as a result of the decrease in the share it got from the electricity energy. Although the policy of privatization of public corporations stated by JDP in government program is not applied for TRT, it is on the agenda that TRT could be forced to become a commercial corporation with the decrease in its budget.

If we make an all over analysis of the policies of TRT, it can be said that the effects of the governmental, military, economy, law and cultural policies differentiate in terms of time periods. For example, while the influence of military governments become more evident after the military coups and memorandum, the effects of governmental powers can be seen after TRT's autonomy is abolished and turns into the impartial public corporation. In my opinion, the policies of law can be evaluated with reference to the other policies. From 1961 to 1993, all amendments made to the articles of the constitutions related to the broadcasting were put into the execution after the military interventions. However, changes in economic structure, technological developments led to make legal arrangements for broadcasting in 1990s. The policies of culture can be examined with its relation to the state power. While cultural policies of the governments and military powers vary concerning the mentioned time periods, it can be said that they strengthen by the power of law (as duty of TRT is changed from "assisting to the culture" to the "national culture"). Furthermore, policies emerging from the policies and practices of the interaction between people in relation to the TRT can be found in more detail in Chapter 4. Shortly, although we can discuss these policies regarding to the historical periods, it is required to comprehend the issue entirely as each has close relations with the others.

Sansürü, Sonra Açığa Alma, [Clothing Censorship from the TRT At First, Then Removing from the Office]" Radikal Gazetesi, 29. Jan. 2006.

CHAPTER IV

THE POLICIES OF THE DIRECTORATE OF DOCUMENTARY PROGRAMS

As it was mentioned in the thesis outline, the policies of the Directorate of Documentary Programs are discussed in this chapter. In this discussion, the functioning of the directorate and the production process of this unit is analysed as a whole. Within the given time periods in chapter one, policies of DDP are stated and criticised. Furthermore, to comprehend the institutional mechanism, institutional functioning and the process of program production, it is also required to have a look at various institutional policies related with them such as the procedure of program production, and the duties of DDP. Thus, further discussions on the policies of the directorate will contribute to our understanding of the issue and the features of specific field of public broadcasting in Turkey.

4. 1. The Policies of related to the Documentary Programs in the TRT Institution in the Period before the Establishment of the DDP (1968-1980)

When we look at the Radio and Education Report²⁴⁰ of Turkish Republic SPI Education Policies Specialization Commission TRT Committee, it is seen that the function of the radio in terms of education was of great importance in 1963. It can be seen from the report that it was expected from the radio to assist overcoming the difficulties met in the education of people spread over 63.000 allocation unit. We will see this expectation also for the

²⁴⁰ TC Başbakanlık Eğitim Politikası Özel İhtisas Komisyonu TRT Komitesi Radyo ile Eğitim Raporu, 1963, 1-7 qtd. in Oskay 40.

communication means, television and documentaries in general after the beginning of the planned development in Turkey.

Such attitudes were met related to the documentaries in the process of planning and structuring TRT before TRT institution began its broadcast. The documentary programs, which would not take place as a genre even in the TRT General Broadcasting Plans, are mentioned in the Second Five Year Development Plan Radio and Television Specialization Commission Report as follows: "Television can bring the documentary programs and the films with artistic value to the masses and spread them"²⁴¹. In fact, this statement is one of the first definitions related to the mission of documentary programs in TRT institution. Pointing out the importance of visual information and the usability of visual communication in development in our time, the plan includes this statement covering the documentary programs as well: "That the people participate in the development movement and do what is expected from them in developing societies is dependent on the fact that the idea of development becomes a belief in people. As a result of a psychological inclination, the people show a tendency to believe just what they see, do whatever necessary and work for those they see".²⁴²

Documentary programs were produced in TRT before the establishment of a directorate producing documentary programs in TRT in 1980. They were produced under the Department of TV-Programs until the year 1972, under the TV Department after the change made in the organization structure of

²⁴¹ From DPT, İkinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı Radyo ve Televizyon Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu (Ankara: DPT, 1966) 222-225, qtd. in Oskay 47.

²⁴² From DPT, İkinci Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planı Radyo ve Televizyon Özel İhtisas Komisyonu Raporu 222-225, qtd. in Oskay 47.

TRT in 1972²⁴³ in various units. That the archive where there were audio-visual materials could not be protected in the first years of the institution made it impossible to have an access to these programs and even the archive information today.

Of the television program producers beginning to work for the institution in the first years of TRT stated in the interview that the films were stored in the bathroom of a flat as there was no room in the first building of TRT on Mithatpaşa Street²⁴⁴, and this room was flooded one day as a result of a burst in the stopper of the valve in the bathroom. Also the interviewees said that as a result of financial difficulties, new sound records of the new programs were made again on the old sound band used before. They also stated that sometimes as there was no raw film to copy the archive films, the films with the quality of archive or program bands, the originals of these materials were cut and used while producing new programs, and because of this the archive could not be preserved. It was also stated that there could be some losses since TRT changed many buildings before it was moved to its existing building in Oran Site.

The fact that the audio-visual archives could not be preserved in TRT is not peculiar to the Department of Broadcast Archives. It could not be possible to have an access to the some archive information, which is necessary for this study too. Different officers stated the obligation that official documents had to be preserved for 10 years and the written press had to be preserved for 5 years. It was said that the documents and written materials whose period

²⁴³ For the explanations related to the organizational changes in TRT see Ali Nihat Yazıcı, Kamu Yayın Kurumları ve Yeniden Yapılanma (Ankara: Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu, 1999) 42-54.

²⁴⁴ After long researches for television building, it was found suitable to unite two buildings on Mithatpaşa Street in Ankara. By remodelling the basements of these two buildings a studio was formed. Emel Ceylan Tamer, Dünü ve Bugünüyle Televizyon (İstanbul: Varlık, 1983) 47.

was over can be found in the archives of related units and in the stores of TRT in Çakırlar²⁴⁵ or they could be sent to SEKA²⁴⁶. In the 9th article of the Regulation related to TRT Archive Services²⁴⁷, period for the preservation was 1-5 years for the documents in the unit archives and 10-15 years for the documents in the institution archive. However, it could not be possible to have an access to the information, which could be found in the archives of many units. In my opinion, the fact that the staff in the institution was changed very often with various reasons (such as dismissal, appointment to another unit, voluntary appointment) was influential on the issue. Because, the interviewees generally stated that they did not know where to find the information, which belonged to the period before they began to work there. Also some of them said that the documents could be found in the “store” of the department (as one of my interviewees stated, the archives are used as stores).

4. 1. 1. The Trainings related to the Producing Television Programs before the Establishment of DDP

It is said in a TRT publication published in 1965 that “BBC programs can be taken as a model for the educational programs Turkish radios will make”²⁴⁸. BBC was taken as a model for TRT also in terms of the policies and planning of broadcast.²⁴⁹ The sources and experts of BBC were given the trainings for the TRT staff and educational material after the foundation of TRT.

²⁴⁵ Çakırlar is a district in Ankara.

²⁴⁶ For the purpose of paper transformation they could be sent to the Cellulose and Paper Factory A.C.

²⁴⁷ Türkiye Radyo Televizyon Kurumu Arşiv Hizmetleri Hakkında Yönetmelik, from the TRT institutional portal.

²⁴⁸ From TRT, Radyo ve Eğitim (Ankara: TRT Merkez Program Dairesi Başkanlığı Servis Yayınları no. 8) 1-18. qtd. in Oskay 44.

²⁴⁹ Aysel Aziz, Türkiye’de Televizyon Yayıncılığının 30 Yılı (Ankara: TRT, 1999) 23.

It was stated in the third chapter that the first trainings given in TRT was provided by the experts from Germany and England. These trainings were not given to specific expertise fields. For example, in 1970 Leonard Chase from BBC gave training to producers and the expert from Thompson Foundation trained for cameramen and correspondents. The producers who produced documentary programs in this period could not be trained related to the production of documentary programs except for the training for being a producer. It is even stated by the interviewees that the cardboard boxes or people were used in the courses as if they were cameras since the number of the cameras was not sufficient.²⁵⁰ However, among the people I interviewed, one of the producers stated that s/he had participated in the earliest course related to the production of documentary programs given by Thompson Foundation in 1979.²⁵¹

It can be said that until 1980 in the institution there was no regular training have been given which led to specialization in documentary programs and BBC had an influence on the trainings of the producers especially in the first periods of TRT. As there was no specialization in the trainings, the negative effects of training policies can be seen in programs produced, personnel policies and such.

4. 1. 2. The Documentary Programs Made in the Period before the Establishment of DDP (1968-1980) and the Policies Related to Them

The programs stored in the existing database program of the Department of Broadcast Archives can not be listed according to the producing unit. Only when it is searched with the key word "domestic documentary" (*yerli yapım*

²⁵⁰ From the interview with the official from TRT Education Department and producers worked for TRT at that time.

²⁵¹ As the annual education plans of 1970s are not exist in the institution it was not possible to check this information.

belgesel), the documentary programs, which were made in every unit of TRT and the domestic documentaries made outside the institution, are listed in terms of broadcasting year without any chronology. This required picking all the documentary programs broadcast before 1980 and made by the Department of Documentary Programs after 1980 from a list of 436 pages containing thousands of films. Furthermore, as it was stated in Chapter 3, Broadcast Archive Department was established by the restoration of The General Directorate of Broadcast Archives in 2000. However, it is interesting that any research based on a year or unit still can not be made with the existing database program.

It can be stated that the existing information in these lists is not so reliable. Because, although DDP was established in 1980, we can see some documentary programs made by DDP were broadcast in 1973 and 1976 in these lists. The broadcast dates of some programs and the directorates of some other programs are not known. Some of the programs were arranged again because of their copies made in different band format and duration. There are programs above 100, which were made in DDP, and of which broadcast dates are not known, and there are programs above 400 which were made in other directorates and of which production dates are not known again. However, this list is the only list of the institution, which was outdated and detailed.

In the table below, which was based on the information in the lists of Department of Broadcast Archives, we see that few documentary programs were broadcast in the first years of TRT. The reason why the number of programs produced in TRT is low is that the number of producers is low and there are some other factors (mentioned about the loss in archives), which prevent us from having access to the archives, and the archive information is influential on this state.

Table 4. 1: The Number of Domestic Documentary Programs Broadcast between the Years 1968-1980

According to the Year of Broadcast	Directorate of Documentary Programs (DDP)	Other Directorates	Unknown (Directorates)
1968	0	1	0
1969	0	0	0
1970	0	2	1
1971	0	16	1
1972	0	21	6
1973	1	40	6
1974	1	29	4
1975	0	35	4
1976	4	55	3
1977	3	53	2
1978	1	54	4
1979	0	39	5
1980	2	50	1

According to Table 4.1., about 450 documentary programs were broadcast between 1968 and 1980. According to the research made by Gökçe Bayrakçeken in 1997²⁵², there are 15-16 documentary programs, which were made until 1980. One of the reasons why there is difference between the lists is that the directorate of archives was reorganized into the department of archives and the broadcast archives were arranged again. In my opinion another important reason is that there is confusion among different units of TRT about the question whether documentary programs is a format or a content, which will be discussed later in the study. A program, which is a domestic documentary program in a list made by the officers of the Department of Broadcast Archives, can not be classified as a documentary program by a different unit or person.

²⁵² Gökçe Bayrakçeken, "Belgesel Sinema ve Türk Belgesel Filmciliğinin Gelişimi ve Yapısı Üzerine Sosyolojik Bir İnceleme," diss. , Hacettepe U, 1997, 103.

The program named as *The Trees* made by Ertan Somunkiran and Nilay Erol in 1971 was the oldest documentary program in TRT archive in accordance with the list given by Bayrakçeken. During the interview, an interviewee indicated that s/he had made a copy of this film and in the following years s/he donated it to the TRT archive. Coincidentally, *The Trees* became the oldest documentary film in the archive. However, it is known that TRT broadcast two documentary programs named as *The Waters of Antalya* and *The Antalya Forest* even in the first broadcast on 30th January 1968.²⁵³ Hence, these indicate that there were no institutional policies regarding the broadcast archives for the early years in TRT.

It is seen in the list of the Department of Broadcast Archives, with the programs which were made on different subject matters such as history and society between 1970 and 1980. There programs such as *Keban* (dam) made by Education Culture Directorate in 1973, *Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk]*²⁵⁴ in *Ankara* (capital city) made in 1974, *What are They Reading?* made in 1975, *Why Textile?*, *Mine Coal* made in 1978, *The Occupations* made by Directorate of Program in 1978, *Old Turkish Houses* made by İstanbul Television in 1976, *The Census* made in 1975, *My Turkey* made by the Directorate of Child and Youth Programs in 1976.

The documentary program series named as *Ankara* which consisted of 9 parts and which was produced by Mehmet Ege and Münip Senyücel in 1975 was a work in which a comprehensive archive and documentary research was made in TRT. In terms of the documentary programs made in TRT in 1970s, another important event was the production of a colour program named as *The Past in Deep* by the use of underwater cameras for the first time

²⁵³ Mahmut Tali Öngören, *İletişim Notları* (Ankara: ÇGD, 1995) 57.

²⁵⁴ Leader of Turkish Independence War and first president of Turkish Republic.

in 1978. Its subject was about the extraction of a thousand-year old sunken ship in Marmaris.²⁵⁵

As it will be discussed later, the documentary programs are not generally accepted as a type (it is not seen as a type which can have specific methods, methodology, cinematography- for example, any program containing a conversation on history or children is also seen as a documentary in the advertisement of the program) in TRT. The broadcast rates of documentary programs are not stated in the sources of TRT Institution. Özden Cankaya also can not give any broadcast rates related to the documentary programs in her study titled *Türk Televizyonunun Program Yapısı (1968-1985)* (The Structure of Turkish Television's Programs (1968-1985)) since the documentary program was not showed as a type among other productions. After 1972 she gives the broadcast rate of the foreign documentary programs comparing it to the total broadcast of TRT and can not give the rate of domestic documentaries. Because the rate of documentary programs is not given as a type in the institutional sources and publications (such as in the general broadcasting plans, the television production application instructions, and so on) both in that period and today.²⁵⁶ The table below is based on the information given by Cankaya.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁵ TRT, Temmuz 1999 Temmuz 2000 (Ankara: TRT Genel Sekreterlik, 2001) 49.

²⁵⁶ Further information can be found under the subtitle of DDP and Documentary Programs in the Institutional Sources.

²⁵⁷ Özden Cankaya, Türk Televizyonunun Program Yapısı (1968-1985) (Mozaik Basım ve Yayıncılık: İstanbul, n. d) 27, 33, 37, 40, 46, 49, 54. The rate of 1973 was not mentioned.

Table 4.2: The Broadcast Rate of Foreign Documentary Programs Compared to the Total Broadcast between the Years 1972-1979

According to the Year of Broadcast	The Broadcast Rate of Foreign Documentary Programs Compared to the Total Broadcast
1972	0,96
1973	--
1974	0,97
1975	2,75
1976	0,79
1977	2,19
1978	1,59
1979	1,44

Referring to the Table 4.2., the period when the broadcast rate of the foreign documentary programs is the highest timely the period of İsmail Cem was the general director. In this period the historical documentary program serials taken from France were shown. Cem states that it is necessary to examine the history "in order for the history...which has almost been hidden from the society, to show the roots of the formations today" and these documentary programs are chosen according to the fact that "among historical documentaries the realism and truth of the French productions are known in the world of television".²⁵⁸ Cem sees TRT as an institution of the superstructure²⁵⁹ and in this sense he wants the historical consciousness to be got through an institution of the superstructure. The documentary programs fulfil this function by expressing the truth and reality. At this point we understand what kind of policies are followed related to the documentaries by changing governments and administrators and what kind of a duty is given to the documentaries to tell the truth and reality.

The effects of the situation that the function of TRT to further the culture and education was defined on the basis of national unity were also seen on the

²⁵⁸ İsmail Cem, TRT'de 500 Gün (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1976) 50-51.

²⁵⁹ İsmail Cem, TRT'de 500 Gün 103.

documentary programs after the amendment made to the 1971 Constitution. Also it is understood that the military and governments had an influence on the content and subject of the programs in that period.

In the first TRT Establishment and Function Regulation with the date of 1966 there is no statement related to the documentary programs.²⁶⁰ After the amendment made to the TRT Law in 1972, TRT Establishment and Function Regulation was also amended. Some departments, which had had a status of “chief” in the period when TRT was established, became directorates. Some of the Program Directorates under the Ankara TV Directorate were among these departments. The only directorate one of whose duties was mentioned as documentary program in this regulation was the Directorate of Culture Department in Ankara TV. One of its duties was to make actual and documentary studies which are about national and global culture, important figures and days in Turkish history, art, artists and traditions, and which advertise Turkey and unite the nation.²⁶¹ So, one of the important missions attributed to documentaries in 1970s is defined in the regulation related with the national unity.

The interviewees stated that after the 12th March 1971 military memorandum there were interventions to the content and subject of the programs, the producers were asked to make programs especially related to the Republic, Atatürk, and national themes and some of the films in the archives were lost. For example, one of my interviewees said in the interview that s/he made a documentary program after the memorandum, which was about the assembly. The producer stated that later s/he could not find the program band. S/He said that s/he learned from the personnel in the institution

²⁶⁰ TRT, Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu Kuruluş ve Görev Yönetmeliği (Ankara: Aklan Matbaası, 1966).

²⁶¹ TRT, TRT Kuruluş ve Görev Yönetmeliği, (Ankara: Ayyıldız Matbaası A.Ş, 1972) 82-83, 89-90.

while the program was being broadcast, a person who waited for the film until the end of the broadcast took the 16 mm film bobbin and left with a car.

One of my interviewees stated that s/he made a program on a subject as instructed to her/him in 1972. S/He also told that military representatives from the General Staff participated in the control made in the General Directorate which was the last step of the control consisting three steps in that period and there were absolutely some changes in the texts of the programs. S/He said that he formed the text from the statements of Atatürk completely instead of writing it himself in order to tell the subject in the frame s/he her/himself drew. And thus the military representatives who wanted to change the text and found it radical could not touch it as it was completely taken from the statements of Atatürk. This strategy s/he developed against the censure is only one of the many examples related to the documentary programs made in TRT.²⁶²

A producer stated in the interview that a documentary program s/he made related to the railways before 1976 had an understanding against the policies of the Nationalist Front government related to railways, and so s/he was warned orally by the administrative official of that period. S/He said that in that period he was appointed to one of the radio stations, in another city, in order to “increase [his/her] knowledge and experience” and s/he had this resolution cancelled legally. S/He added that after the cancellation of this resolution, s/he was appointed to another radio station, in another city, and s/he could return to his/her own task after his general demurer. S/He has the justifications of resolution related to this issue.

²⁶² The examples related to this issue can be met after the 12th September Military Coup. The examples can be found in the related sub-title.

It was met in a source related to TRT²⁶³ that some parts of the documentary program named as *From Mediterranean to Taurus Mountains* which had been missing since the middle of 1976 (the period of NF) were found in the material cupboard of TV Foreign Broadcasts Team on June 1977. The producer stated in the interview that the subject of the program was related to industrialization and the transformation of Çukurova. S/He also said that s/he did not know that the film was found and s/he heard about it for the first time. This is also an example for the way the films get lost and the broken relation between the producers and the institutional mechanism.

The examples related to the effects of governmental power can be duplicated. However, it is clear that governments have influenced the programs' subjects, production process, control and preservation. In addition, all these instances give us clues about how institutional policies of TRT were shaped after the military memorandum in 1971, even before autonomous status of TRT had abolished.

One of my interviewee said that because of the financial difficulties in the first years of TRT, the producers whose programs were not liked were not given permission to make programs for three months as a punishment. S/He thinks that this application assured the producers use carefully the films brought from abroad with difficulties. And as a result of that producers showed more solidarity and worked together not to make mistake while making programs. We can deduce from this example and the technical impossibilities in the trainings how the financial difficulties experienced in the first years of TRT affected the way TRT produced the programs. While the financial difficulties limit the technical possibilities, they increase the dialogue among the staff in the sense that they support the collective working.

²⁶³ Serpil Akıllıoğlu, and et al., Dünden Bugüne Radyo-Televizyon (N. P.: Ajans-Türk Matbaacılık Sanayii A. Ş, 1990) 49.

Consequently, it is noticed that political and economic structures had affected the policies of TRT in 1970s. Nonetheless, it is also seen people worked for TRT had developed counter strategies against the obstacles.

4. 2. The Directorate of “Atatürk and His Age” and the Establishment of DDP

As it was mentioned before, it is difficult to achieve archival records about many subjects in TRT. It has been stated in the beginning of this part, because of the obligation that the documents are kept for a definite time, the resolution document containing the foundation date of the department could not be found in the directorate.

A directorate with the name of *Atatürk and His Age* was founded in 1977 for a comprehensive documentary program serial which would be made for the 100. anniversary of the birth of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In this directorate, Mehmet Ege worked as the director of the department and a producer; Münip Senyücel worked as a producer; Şahika İzmen and Fikret Özkaya worked as assistants of producer, and Fahrettin Polat worked as a photographer. The films were shot by Egemen Baykal. Two other personnel worked as office staff.

This documentary program project was planned in a way which contained a period of 100 hundreds years, and which was formed around 4 historical processes and consisted of 70 parts:

1. From Administrative Reform to First Constitutional Monarchy (1839-1876) (*Tanzimat'tan 1. Meşrutiyet'e*)
2. From First Constitutional Monarchy to Second Constitutional Monarchy (1876-1908)

3. From Second Constitutional Monarchy to Republic (1908-1923)
4. From Republic to the death of Atatürk (1923-1938).

DDP was founded in 1980 in the period when Doğan Kasaroğlu was the General Director. One of the interviewee stated that such a practice was applied since working under a directorate instead of the Television Department would lessen the bureaucratic processes. In this way it was also guaranteed for the team not to be assigned other duties by the institution during this period. The number of the staff was increased with the appointment of new directors to the department. Therefore, the department producing documentaries in public service broadcasting in Turkey was founded by coincidence. The effects of this unplanned implementation will also echo in the institutional policies.

The interviewees stated that there were many sources made use of in the research made for *Atatürk and His Age* project, such as the libraries of Süleymaniye, İstanbul Municipality, Boğaziçi, National Atatürk, the Library of Turkish Revolution History Institution (TRHI- under the Faculty of Language and History-Geography), the libraries and archives of the ambassadorships and consulships in Turkey, personal libraries and archives (such as Velid Ebu Ziya who was Atatürk's friend, Turgut Cansever), the newspapers of Tercüman, Ulus, Hürriyet and Cumhuriyet. Within the scope of this study 15 000 documents were photographed and stored. The process of photographing was made from photographs, engravings or illustrations. A comprehensive study was made to search for and store the documents all over Turkey. Some historical documents were photographed and filmed for the first time through this study. For example, one of the interviewees stated that, the Reform Decree, which is in the Prime Ministry State Archives today, was in the Beyazıt Library in that period was taken from its sealed box and copied to a film. This study is still talked about between the DDP

staffs and the staffs who were working for TRT in 1980s since it brings in DDP separate photograph and film archives from main broadcast archives of the TRT. Besides it was remembered as a comprehensive research made in TRT.

At the end of 1st historical period, and 21st part, of *Atatürk and His Age* project, some disagreements were experienced in the broadcast and control of the program. In the period of Macit Akman who was the resigned major general appointed as the general director to the TRT after 12th September 1980, this project was ended in 1983. In the activity report in 1983 it is said that “the resolution of the committee is necessary before the serial is broadcast”.²⁶⁴ Again in that period, *Until 19th May 1919 (19 Mayıs 1919’a Kadar)* made by DDP was listed as a program which could not be broadcast, a first part of the program *Towards the Republic (Cumhuriyet’e Doğru)* was cancelled and the second part of it was broadcast after some changes.²⁶⁵ Macit Akman says that “sometimes some people outside the institution can be consulted and should be consulted about the programs made”²⁶⁶ as an answer to the criticism made against him about the control. However, as he himself states, in the 31st article of the law with the number of 2954 it is stated that “The broadcasts of radio and television can not be controlled by anyone or any institution outside the Turkish Radio and Television Corporation before it is broadcast”²⁶⁷.

21 parts, which were made within the scope of the project of Atatürk and His Age, was broadcast with the name of From the Reform to the

²⁶⁴ TRT, 1983 yılı Faaliyet ve Mali Bünnye Raporu (Ankara: TRT, n.d.) 31.

²⁶⁵ TRT, 1983 yılı Faaliyet ve Mali Bünnye Raporu 31, 32.

²⁶⁶ Macit Akman, TRT’de 3 Yıl 2 Ay, Bir Devrin Perde Arkası (İstanbul: Hürriyet Ofset, 1989) 18.

²⁶⁷ Akman 17-18. There are very few exceptions in the law. For example, Turkish Armed Forces can control programs, which are about the Turkish Armed Forces.

Constitutional Monarchy in 1990.²⁶⁸ However, this is not the only example of the program broadcast after the years of it was produced. It was often mentioned by interviewees that with the changing governments, and military interventions some of the programs produced in the institution were stopped and some could only be broadcast later.

4. 3. The Policies of the Directorate of Documentary Programs between the Years 1980-1990

In the period of Macit Akman (1981-1984), the effects of the fact that TRT was stated with its duty to further “national culture” in the 1980 Constitution were echoed in the documentary programs and also DDP. A producer stated in the interview that s/he was asked to omit the words such as Greek and Byzantine from the text in the control of the program s/he made in 1983. S/He said that s/he wiped the sounds where these words were pronounced instead of omitting the sentences. In this way the text sounded like “culture of ..., understanding of art of ...” Because of this broken expression in the text, this censorship made against the culture which was not national became evident.

In one of the interviews, when asked if the “circular of language” affected the programs s/he made or not, a producer who worked for DDP in 1980s answered in this way:

Of course, these controls were made in my programs, and some words and statements were omitted from the text. However, the important point here is not which words are used or are not used. It is necessary to think as a linguist. Words bring subjects to mind. In fact, what are banned are not words but the subjects. Why are always memorial days programs²⁶⁹ made in DDP? Why have

²⁶⁸ In the light of the interviews, this information was accessed from the domestic documentary lists of the Department of Broadcast Archives.

²⁶⁹ Memorial programs are made within the context of direction programs. The information about direction programs can be found under the sub-title of The Proposal, Production, Control, Broadcast, and Budget of Documentary Programs.

we made programs about art and archaeology after 1980? Did you think about that? Why did we make programs focusing on the problems in 1970s? How many programs could be made focusing on problems after 1980?

This interview led me to look for an approach in terms of the quality of the programs made and broadcast after 1980, and the question whether it is possible to look at the definition of documentary program in terms of “voicing the problems”.²⁷⁰

According to the domestic documentary programs of the Department of Broadcast Archives, the programs made between 1980 and 1990 are in the table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: The Number of Domestic Documentary Programs Broadcast between the Years 1980-1990

According to the Year of Broadcast	Directorate of Documentary Programs (DDP)	Other Directorates	Unknown (Directorates)
1980	2	50	1
1981	3	46	2
1982	0	34	0
1983	1	50	2
1984	0	39	0
1985	17	84	1
1986	30	52	0
1987	42	65	0
1988	17	87	0
1989	16	108	0
1990 ²⁷¹	29	195	11

In 1981 two programs on The 100th Year March and a documentary program entitled *The Republic* were produced in DDP.²⁷² In 1982 the studies on the project of *Atatürk and His Age* continued.²⁷³

²⁷⁰ Related discussion can be found at the conclusion of this study.

²⁷¹ The broadcast year of some programs is 1900 in the list. These programs were produced in 1990s and as the date was not known specifically, they were included in 1990.

²⁷² TRT, 1981 yılı Faaliyet ve Bünnye Raporu (Ankara: TRT, n.d.) 28.

According to the source titled *1984-1988 TRT*, in DDP five documentary programs were made in 1984, 40 programs were made in 1985, 69 programs were made in 1986, 58 programs were made in 1987.²⁷⁴ This information is not compatible with the table above. One reason of this state can be the fact that some programs were made as a serial, in other words containing more than one part. Namely, if one program in Table 4.3 contains three parts, it can be stated as three documentary programs in the written documents. Another factor is that the tables are formed according to the broadcast years. In other words, a program made in 1983 can be broadcast in 1990 (such as the program *From Reform to the Constitutional Monarchy (Tanzimattan Meşrutiyete)* which was broadcast years after its production). Also the information in the activity reports of the institution is not compatible with the information in the tables. Because production years were stated in the activity reports instead of broadcast years. Furthermore, the information in the activity reports is not compatible with the information in the book *1984-1988 TRT* which is a source of the institution. In *The Report of Activity and Financial Structure in 1984*, the programs produced in DDP are *His (Atatürk's) Guests, What did They Say About Atatürk?, Atatürk Says That, Cyprus 1, 2, 23rd April*²⁷⁵, *İnönü*²⁷⁶. It is stated that the production of the programs *The Crimean Khanate (Kırım), Çanakkale 1915, Our Assemblies* and *From the Oration (Nutuk'tan)*²⁷⁷ still continue.²⁷⁸ The number of these programs is seven unlike the number stated in *1984-1988 TRT*, which states it as five.

²⁷³ TRT, *1982 yılı Faaliyet ve Bünnye Raporu* (Ankara: TRT, n.d.) 29. The information about the studies made on documentary programs in 1983 can be found in the section of The Directorate of Atatürk and His Age and the Establishment of Directorate of Documentary Programs.

²⁷⁴ TRT, *1984-1988 TRT*, ed. Mustafa Temur (Ankara: TRT Genel Sekreterlik, 1988) 75.

²⁷⁵ Opening day of Grand National Assembly of Turkey in 1920.

²⁷⁶ First Prime Minister of TR and commanders of Turkish Independent War.

²⁷⁷ From the Atatürk's oration.

²⁷⁸ TRT, *1984 yılı Faaliyet ve Mali Bünnye Raporu* (Ankara: TRT, n.d.) 41.

From the above mentioned information it can be said that there is a contradiction among the information given in the institutional sources related to the programs produced. As it will be discussed later there is no accordance between the studies of the different units in the institution. This condition leads to a disorder while reaching the institutional information. It also signifies there is a need for institutional policies regarding the institutional records and information. The other inference is that the subjects of the programs at the beginning of the 1980s were generally focused on the Turkish Independence War, and the early period of the Republic.

A point which attracts attention in Table 4.3 is that the number of the programs broadcast which were produced by both DDP and other departments between 1980-1984 (the period of Macit Akman) is fewer when compared to that between 1985 and 1990. Both the difficulty created by control mechanism and the low number of personnel can be influential on this state.

Also the reason of the fact that although a department such as DDP was established, the number of the broadcast documentary programs was more than that in DDP can be searched in the fact that the establishment of this department was coincidental. That no training was given related to the specialization in the production of documentary programs and DDP was established coincidentally according to a project legitimizes the fact that TRT has no specific policies from the establishment of TRT related to documentary programs. The fact that although there has been only one DDP in TRT, which is in Ankara since its establishment, documentary programs have been produced in other units in Ankara TV Department, in İzmir and İstanbul Televisions. It makes the existence of this department and the production of documentary programs by other departments controversial. The possibility that this state can be related to the fact that the documentary

programs are seen just as content in TRT will be discussed in the parts titled DDP and Documentary Programs in the Institutional Sources, The Quality of Documentary and Documentary Program from the Viewpoint of the Interviewees. However, what a person I interviewed told me about this subject is interesting:

Don't look for such policies belonging to the periods, because these policies change according to the governments and general directors. The General Directors appoint a director to the departments. The business of these directors is the relation with the administration other than departments and the programs made. The important thing is that whether the general director has policies. Generally they do not have policies belonging to every department.

As it will be stated in the conclusion part, this opinion is compatible with the necessity that the institution must develop policies independent of persons (such as general director, director) in the context of public broadcasting. I can summarize the point I diverge from the opinion of the person I interviewed as follows: although persons do not develop specific policies for specific departments, the policies arising from the interaction among the existing powers of government, military, economy and law, persons and groups lead to the creation of policies belonging to the periods.

Muhsin Mete was appointed to the directorship of DDP after the director of the department Mehmet Ege was removed from the office at the end of 1984. Mete had been the director until 1991. Programs about the portraits were made in 1985. Nine Portrait programs were made on persons such as *Mehmet Akif Ersoy, Orhan Veli Kanık, Yahya Kemal Beyatlı, Nurettin Topçu, Refik Halit Karay*. Some studies made on art and history such as *Yesterday-Today (Dün-Bugün), National Palaces (Milli Saraylar), The Architecture of the Seljuk and Stone Decorations (Selçuklu Mimarisi ve Taş Süslemeler)*. The program *From the Oration* still continued. Also some films related to GAP were shot.²⁷⁹ In 1986

²⁷⁹ TRT, 1985 yılı Faaliyet ve Mali Bünye Raporu (Ankara: TRT, 1987) 38.

the programs related to GAP continued and memorial days programs were made on *Independence March* (related to its approval), *Ömer Bedrettin Uşaklı*, *Fuat Köprülü* and *Peyami Safa*. In addition, studies on the projects titled *Painting in İslam (İslam'da Resim)*, *From Canton to Tango (Kanto'dan Tango'ya)* were started.²⁸⁰ According to 1987 activity report, 32 programs were made in that year. *The Portraits from Our Art (Sanatımızdan Portreler)* (such as Yusuf Ziya Ortaç, Ahmet Rasim, Nurullah Ataç), *Our Tombs (Türbelerimiz)*, and *It is Beyoğlu* were some of them.²⁸¹ In 1988 activity report it is stated that²⁸² 12 programs were made in 1988 in DDP. Some programs titles are *N. Fazıl Kısakürek*, *Kazım Karabekir*, *Mimar Sinan*, *145 day in Pleone*, *Ceramics of Hittite*.

The increases and decreases in the number of the programs vary according to the approval or disapproval of the program proposal numbers, the changes in the number of the staff, and the increases and decreases in the duration of the programs according to the subject matters.

Bayrakçeken states in her study²⁸³ that the documentary programs made in TRT between 1980 and 1990 contained subjects telling about the biographies of the artists, the history of the country, Ottoman and Independence War, the nature and culture of the country. From the list made by the Department of Broadcast Archives, we can make some additions to the subject matters of the documentary programs broadcast. These subject matters contain main figures in Turkish Republic History (such as Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, İsmet İnönü and so on), various biographies (İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu, Kenan Evren Documentaries, Nejat Eczacıbaşı and Bedrettin Dalan documentaries

²⁸⁰ TRT, 1986 yılı Faaliyet ve Mali Bünye Raporu (Ankara: TRT, n.d.) 32, 33.

²⁸¹ TRT, 1987 yılı Faaliyet ve Mali Bünye Raporu (Ankara: TRT, 1988) 36, 42.

²⁸² TRT, 1988 yılı Faaliyet ve Mali Bünye Raporu (Ankara: TRT, 1989) 33, 40.

²⁸³ Gökçe Bayrakçeken, "Belgesel Sinema ve Türk Belgesel Filmciliğinin Gelişimi ve Yapısı Üzerine Sosyolojik Bir İnceleme," diss. , Hacettepe U, 1997, 104.

from the serial *Those At the Top-Doruktakiler*, and so on), memorial days (*Nineth September the Voice of Justice-Dokuz Eylül Hakkın Sesi, Çanakkale can not be Passed-Çanakkale Geçilmez*)²⁸⁴ and presentation (*Janissary Band of Musicians-Mehteran*). There is no difference between subject matters of the documentary programs made and broadcast in TRT and those in DDP.

As one of my interviewees stated, subjects of art and archaeology became widespread among the subjects of programs. Also, as it was seen in the first years of DDP, the memorial day programs related to specific persons and historical events continued.²⁸⁵ The effect of the policies related to the national culture is seen on the subjects and the production processes of the programs. However, while the history of republic and social issues were told in the programs of 1970s, apart from the programs about the history of republic the programs related to Turk-Islam Civilization and figures were seen in 1980s.

4. 4. The Policies of DDP between the Years 1990-1999

It has been stated in the 3rd Chapter that most of interviewees said that some of the programs in TRT broadcast archives got lost after the private television channels were established in 1990, and they saw these lost materials on private channels. Some of the interviewees stated that they saw some of the visual materials, which got lost or which still existed in DDP archives (which could have been copied) in the programs and broadcasts of private television channels. They stated that these mentioned documentaries were not stated as the source of these productions, and in the credits of these programs even it was not mentioned to make use of TRT archives.

²⁸⁴ The subjects of the programs are about Turkish Independence War.

²⁸⁵ The debate over the instruction programs is under the subtitles related to both the years 2000s and the production of the program.

It is seen in Education Plan in 1995 that training was planned on Dramatization in Documentary Programs. Those who would participate in this two day course demanded by Ankara TV Directorate were stated as producers and assistant producers.²⁸⁶ The subject of the education is “To inform about the place and necessity of dramatization in documentary programs, its contribution to the production and the documentary programs which do not require drama”.²⁸⁷ It is interesting that the subject contained “the documentary programs which do not require drama”; because, in the source titled 1984-1988 TRT which was published by the institution it is stated that some studies were made with the aim to make the documentary programs produced after 1984 “get rid of the monotonous visions which bore the viewers and which are based on a hollow expression style, and gain an expression style which is lively and moving and which is based on the vision, and with the aim to integrate the element of drama into these programs”²⁸⁸. The policies about documentary programs and the trainings of the producers making documentary programs in the institution will be discussed later in the study. However, at this point it can be said that the institution does not have consistent policies to support the dramatic or non-dramatic elements in documentary programs.

²⁸⁶ The discussion that the participants are in different positions in the education programs to be given on documentaries in 2000s is under the title of “The Trainings for the Personnel of DDP within the Institution after 1999, and the Effects of Personnel and Education Policies of the Institution on DDP and Documentary Programs”.

²⁸⁷ TRT, 1995 Eğitim Planı (Ankara: TRT, 1995) 22, 41. Quotation is taken from 41. There is no information related to the trainings DDP demanded or the documentaries directly in the annual education reports of 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1988, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1997 which were possible to access in the institution and which were prepared by TRT Education Department. The trainings after 2000 can be found under the related title.

²⁸⁸ TRT, 1984-1988 TRT 75.

The booklet "From Script to Screen: Documentaries"²⁸⁹, which was published in 1993 and which was one of the publications of TRT Publication, was also a BBC publication. In other words, in 1990s a training on producing documentary programs was given in BBC style.

In TRT Establishment and Function Regulation in 1995, the duties of DDP are listed in the following way:²⁹⁰

1. To make the pre-researches of the proposals related to programs in its field require, and to evaluate the program proposals,
2. To produce the programs which are in the application instruction and which are also given as duty,
3. To control the programs in terms of the broadcast principles, institution regulation, quality, aesthetic, program standards and its accordance with budget before and during the production,
4. To provide every kind of documentary materials and offer them to the use of related units when necessary,
5. To arrange the expenses of the program according to its budget,
6. To arrange the flow of the work and division of labour of the directorate services, and to take necessary measures for the service to be given without any trouble,
7. To carry out other duties to be given by the Directorate of Program.

In the TRT Establishment and Function Regulation with the date of 1999, which is still in force²⁹¹, the only article, which was amended, is the 6th one: To arrange the expenses of the directorate according to its budget.

²⁸⁹ Gordon Croton, Senaryodan Ekran: Belgesel Programlar (TRT, Ankara, 1993). Original is Gordon Croton, From Script to Screen: documentaries (Borehamwood: BBC Television Training, 1986). The writer of the booklet was the chairman of BBC Education Television.

²⁹⁰ TRT, Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu Kuruluş ve Görev Yönetmeliği (Ankara: TRT, 1995) 183.

The only article, which is different from the duties of The Directorate of Child and Youth Programs and The Directorate of Music Programs, is the 4th article, namely the one that is on providing documentary materials. Although this statement tells about a simple difference, it is important in terms of stating the institutional difference of the Directorate of Documentary Programs from other departments producing documentaries such as Education and Culture Programs Directorate in TRT.²⁹²

4. 4. 1. The Policies Related to the Documentary Programs in DDP between the Years 1990-1999

In spite of the increase in the number of the TRT television channels after 1989, according to the table 4.4 below, formed from the list of domestic documentary programs of the Department of Broadcast Archives, there was no important increase in the number of the programs broadcast from 1989 to 1999. Even very little increase and decrease were recorded according to the years. This state strengthens the claim that the production within the institution was not ready for the sudden increase in the number of the channels in TRT.²⁹³

²⁹¹ TRT Establishment and Function Regulation and the Additional Regulation (*Türkiye Radyo ve Televizyon Kurumu Kuruluş ve Görev Yönetmeliği ve Ek Yönetmelik*) with the date of 1999 and no. 23585., from the TRT institutional portal.

²⁹² The discussion about the issue can be found in this chapter in the section of The Function of DDP to Provide Documentary Materials, DDP's Photograph and Film Archives.

²⁹³ On the base of the directorates, the activity reports belonging to 1990s which are necessary to look at the number of programs produced, not broadcast, can not be attained in the institution. These reports which can be exist in the library of the institution, General Secretary and the Directorate of Publication and Broadcast could not be found.

Table 4.4: The Number of Domestic Documentary Programs Broadcast between the Years 1990-2000

According to the Year of Broadcast	Directorate of Documentary Programs (DDP)	Other Directorates	Unknown (Directorates)
1990	29	195	11
1991	25	65	1
1992	16	48	0
1993	28	61	0
1994	27	55	1
1995	25	44	2
1996	22	49	1
1997	29	26	0
1998	21	52	1
1999	42	101	1
2000	51	121	1

Another possible reasons why there was no increase, as mentioned, in the number of the domestic documentary programs broadcast between 1989 and 1999 could be a decrease in the rate of the production²⁹⁴ of documentary programs after 1989 or the repetition of the same programs were.

Of the programs produced in DDP, the programs were broadcast such as *The Police in its 144th Anniversary*, *The Portraits from Our Science and Art (Bilim ve Sanatımızdan Portreler)*, *The 70th year of the Press (Basın Yayınının 70. Yılı)* in 1990, *Blue Mosque (Mavi Cami)* in 1992, *Supreme Court in its 125th Year (125. Yılında Yargıtay)*, *Man and Woman from Adam and Eve to Today (Adem ile Havva'dan Günümüze Erkek ve Kadın)* in 1993, *Slow Ships (Aheste Gemiler)* in 1994, *The Firsts in Our Cinema History (Sinema Tarihimizin İlkleri)* in 1995, *Let's Sing Our 10th Year March (10. Yıl Marşını Söyleyelim)* in 1996, *The Fading Sun in Mediterranean (Akdeniz'de Solan Güneş)* in 1997, *Akçakale Inn (Akçakale Mağarası)*, *He [Atatürk] did not Die* in 1998, *the Republic Towards the 21st Century (21. Yüzyıla Girerken Cumhuriyet)*, *Adnan Öztrak* in 1999. No difference is seen among the programs between 1980 and 1990 in terms of

²⁹⁴ That there is no rate of production or broadcast related to the documentaries in any source of TRT has been mentioned before. This issue is discussed under title of DDP and Documentary Programs in the Institutional Sources in detail.

their subjects. They are mostly on memorial days, biographies, history of Republic, and art. The interviewees stated that after the private channels were opened, the subject matters of the program proposals and control of the programs were become more flexible. This view supports the idea that TRT underwent a change in terms of program subjects and contents in order to compete with the private channels. Moreover, some interviewees stated that after the strict control of 1980 military coup was reduced, the pressure on the subjects of the programs was also reduced.

Some of the interviewees stated that although the producers got more freedom to choose their subjects after the private channels were opened, the approval of the subjects was dependent on the personal effort of the producers. For example, while the subject of one of the interviewees offered had been one of the subjects seen as a taboo and disapproved in TRT until then, s/he managed to get an approval for this very subject in 1990s by offering it again and again in different times and talking with the department director. However, this interviewee stated that while the director approved the production of the program, s/he could not promise its broadcast if it was not compatible with the foreign policies of the country. Although there was diversity in the subjects of programs offered, there was no such freedom about whether these subjects come up into the picture. As one of my interviewees said, the broadcast of a documentary program depends on its nationalist character (not being contrary to the politics of the nation-state) rather than how much it reflects the reality.

4. 5. The Policies of DDP between the Years 1999-2005

Mustafa Karakaya was the director in DDP between 1991 and 2001. Within the scope of the restructuring efforts, which were begun in 1999 in TRT, Mihriban Tanık was appointed as the director in DDP in 2001. Tanık was the

director until 2004. After Şenol Demiröz was appointed as the general director in 2004, Mehmet Akif Erbaş was appointed to this position and he is still in this position.

One of the interviewees from DDP who was in the official position in restructuring period stated in the interview that:

During the restructuring works, there was no work aiming at all the departments one by one. There are works planned to be done in the organizational scheme of TRT in general, but this could not become possible as the necessary law amendment was not made. These changes were not brought by the restructuring efforts. We began to organize weekly meetings. At the meetings we broach subjects for the discussion after a brief section to inform the participants of the general agenda of the week. In the beginning the number of the participants was high. It began to decrease later. We aimed at an atmosphere where everyone could participate, not meetings where only officials would speak. We wanted to make common decisions and to discuss our works together. We organized the days to watch documentary programs regularly. We tried to establish the system of supervision. In other words, we aimed to create an atmosphere where the experienced producers would support the inexperienced personnel and be consultants for their works. This system worked in some projects and did not work in some others. There had been some other works done on the portraits in previous periods. We also did portrait works. This time we wanted to make programs on the persons who were still alive and whose works we wanted to reach to the future. After we had made these programs, Vedat Günyol, Kazancı Bedih and Gani Turanlı died. It is seen that how important to have made programs on these persons.

What this interviewee told us can be seen as important steps in terms of department's following institutionalized policies. Some of the interviewees stated that some meetings were organized in periods except for this period; however the periodic meetings were organized just in this period. Also both the consultation system and watching documentary films regularly in personnel group can be seen as positive steps in terms of developing the dialogue among the colleagues. However, one of the interviewees said that s/he does not support the unity created in credits and program formats within the scope of the project of portraits. S/He thinks that this limits the creativity. In my opinion, the fact that rooted institutional policies could not

be followed in the department until 2000s increase the resistance to the change.

According to the annual activity reports, studies were done on documentary programs, which contained 415 parts and which were on 57 different topics and 17 of them were instruction programs in 2002. Studies were continued on 321 parts and which were about 69 different subjects in DDP in 2003. Of these parts, 136 parts were completed and broadcast in that year. 13 instruction programs were made.²⁹⁵ In 2004 some studies were done on 591 parts, which were about 140 different subjects. Of these, 11 programs (56 parts) were the ones of which production had continued since the previous year. 13 instruction programs were made.²⁹⁶ In 2005, some works were done on programs containing 499 parts, which were about 55 different subjects. 30 of these programs were the ones whose production had continued since the previous year. The number of the instruction programs made was 23.²⁹⁷ That the number of the producers increased from 22 to 31 was influential on the increase of the programs from 2003 to 2005. Although there is similarity among the subjects of the instruction programs made every year, they are made again and again. For example in 1990s the program Malazgirt Victory which was made by 5 different directors in 5 different years in DDP tells about the importance of this war and Turk's making Anatolia their home.²⁹⁸ The program having the same subject takes place again among the instruction programs in the 2004 Activity Report. The list of instruction programs made by DDP in 2004²⁹⁹ can enable us to have some idea about the

²⁹⁵ TRT, 2003 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu (Ankara: TRT, n.d) 165.

²⁹⁶ TRT, 2004 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu (Ankara: TRT, n.d) 175, 176.

²⁹⁷ The activity report of 2005 has not been published in the institution yet. The information related to the activities in 2005 has been got from the official of DDP.

²⁹⁸ From the domestic documentary program lists of the Department of Broadcast Archives.

²⁹⁹ TRT, 2004 Faaliyet Raporu 176.

quality of these programs. Instruction programs generally function to remind memorial days. As it will also be stated in the conclusion chapter of the study, they jog the memory of people to remind the national identity.

1. Anniversary of Television
2. The Approval of Turkish National Anthem by GNAT
3. Çanakkale Naval Victory and Wars
4. Newroz Celebrations
5. The Opening of GNAT
6. 39th Anniversary of the Foundation of TRT
7. The First Cyprus Peacekeeping Operation
8. The Second Cyprus Peacekeeping Operation
9. The Arrival of Atatürk in Kastamonu and Hat Revolution
10. Malazgirt Victory
11. Memorial Day for Atatürk
12. The Declaration of North Cyprus Turkish Republic
13. The Arrival of Atatürk in Ankara

The interviewees pointed out that the list of instruction programs is prepared every year and the directorate or producers are generally informed of these programs just before they are broadcast. They stated that because of this time limitation and the same subjects chosen again and again every year, several producers make a program from the programs exist on the same subject in the broadcast archives. One of the interviewees said that the days and persons in these instruction programs can be remembered in the news programs. Also s/he stated that if less instruction programs will be given, some preparations can be made for making different kind of programs and similar programs which nobody watch will not produced every year.

Different subjects can be seen in the programs made in 2000s. Subjects related to the religious groups can be met in the programs *Antakya [City] The Church Bell, The Azan, The Hazzan (Antakya Çan, Ezan Hazzan)*, and *Hacı Bektaş Veli and Cem Ceremonies*³⁰⁰, and a subject related to the migrants can be seen in the program *Gökçeada*.³⁰¹ With the programs of which shots continued for a long time in the project of documentary serial *The Wild Life of Anatolia (Anadolu'nun Yaban Hayatı)*³⁰², a new approach began for TRT documentaries related to the nature. In the *Years, Roads, Faces (Yıllar, Yollar, Yüzler)* serial on the portraits of which production continued in 2002 and which was broadcast in 2004, 25 portraits were studied. Among these portraits there are some names such as philosopher-author Ionna Kuçuradi, journalist-author Hıfzı Topuz, actor Müşvik Kenter.³⁰³ Among the programs of which proposals were given in 2004 and which will be broadcast in 2006³⁰⁴ there are some different subjects. For example, there are some programs such as *Women for Women (Kadınlar için Kadınlar)*, *The Life on the Border (Sınırda Yaşam)*, *The Exile of Osmanoğlu (Osmanoğlu'nun Sürgünü)* which was made by interviewing with the members of the dynasty after the exile of the Ottoman Dynasty for the first time for a documentary program in TRT.

The producers have different approaches related to the possibility that programs can be made on different subjects in 2000s. For example, while some of the producers said that no programs had been made on the problems of Turkey yet, some stated that there had been some studies on

³⁰⁰ About the Bektashi Order, heterodox Islam.

³⁰¹ TRT, 2003 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu 178, 180, 186.

³⁰² Within this project, documentary program *Children of the Steppe (Bozkırın Çocukları)* which is about the Anatolian Wild Sheep was completed in 130 shot-days. See, TRT, 2003 Yılı Faaliyet Raporu 187.

³⁰³ TRT, 2003 Faaliyet Raporu (Ankara: TRT, n.d.) 189-190.

³⁰⁴ In the light of the information given about 2005 year activity report and from the interviews.

different subjects in 1990s and they continued in the period of Yücel Yener. Some also said that Yener had made some mistakes related to the administration, but debate over restructuring TRT began in his period for the first time and it was an important step for TRT and its programs. Some others pointed out that if TRT does not go beyond the conservative line of JDP, can not intervene in the subjects studied. This situation strengthens the view that both the governments in that period and the general directors are influential on the production of programs.

According to the Table 4.5 below, there was an increase in the number of the documentary programs broadcast in both directorate and other units of TRT³⁰⁵ and broadcast from 1999 to 2005. It is seen that by the increase in the number of producers after 2002 the number of program broadcast increased as well. However, program broadcast in other directorates is still more than the DDP. So, as it will be discussed in the following of the study, documentary programs are still produced in the other directorates and even they are more in number than DDP's. For that reason, the presence of DDP, a definite unit producing documentaries, is arguable and controversial.

Table 4.5: The Number of Domestic Documentary Programs Broadcast between the Years 1999-2005

According to the Year of Broadcast	Directorate of Documentary Programs (DDP)	Other Directorates	Unknown (Directorates)
1999	42	101	1
2000	51	121	1
2001	58	116	0
2002	68	105	1
2003	80	95	2
2004	146	103	0
2005	130	181	3

³⁰⁵ There is a slight decrease in the number of programs broadcast in 2001, 2002, 2003 which were produced in TRT except for DDP.

4. 5. 1. The Trainings of the Personnel of DDP within the Institution related to Documentary after 1999, and the Effects of Personnel and Training Policies of the Institution on DDP and Documentary Programs

The training seminars, courses are organized and announced by the Department of Education and they are sometimes made by the demands of the directorates. There are seminars on various subjects which are organized by the Department of Education and in which personnel of the department participate; for example, the seminars related to the consciousness to belong to the institution, the earthquake, the budgeting of the program.³⁰⁶

In the first years of TRT, no training was given related to becoming specialized in documentary programs. There have been some training mentioned in this study so far. We know that since 2000, six trainings have been made with the Turkish and foreign specialists working independently, in the academy and private production companies on Documentary Cinema (2000, educator is Sha Arın), Documentary Film (2000), Expression Languages of Documentary (2001, educator is Sha Arın), Modern Applications in Documentaries (2001, educator is Tomas Dillen), Documentary Cinema and New Approaches (2003, 2004, educator is Eniz Rıza).³⁰⁷

Those who participated in these seminars were not just the DDP personnel. The personnel of Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir TV Directorates, the General Secretary, the Department of News also participated in them. This makes it difficult to consider the DDP as a separate unit. As it has been stated in the part titled The Policies of DDP between 1980 and 1990, although there is department such as DDP, documentary programs are produced in many

³⁰⁶ TRT, 2003 Faaliyet Raporu (Ankara: TRT, n.d.) 199-200.

³⁰⁷ From the documents given by the official from TRT Education Department.

units in TRT. This state requires the questioning of why DDP exists as a separate department or why documentary programs are produced in other departments. The fact that no training has been given related to becoming specialized in documentary programs since the establishment of TRT legitimizes the production of this kind of program in every department. However, as it is stated in Chapter 2, the approach of Reith about the necessity that the quality of programs must be high in public broadcasting requires becoming specialized in the production of programs. Furthermore, while staffing the new personnel, there is no distinction such as the producers of music programs or the producers of documentary programs. The exams aim at employing just the “producers”. Both the producers and other personnel in other positions are appointed after they are given the basic training (such as the training on television technique, the stages of the production of programs) within the institution. This leads to the result that the personnel who are not trained on documentary programs sufficiently (neither before entering the institution nor during the basic training in the institution) become competent by training themselves and gaining experience in years.

The interviewees have different approaches towards the profile of the personnel who will work in TRT. While one of the interviewees thinks that the personnel to work for TRT must be selected from the graduates of the Faculty of Communication, another interviewee states that the basic education related to the area of communication is already given in the institution and so there is a need for people who have been specialized in different fields such as economy and music. One of the interviewees said that

TRT holds an examination for the producer vacancies. But, it is not announced that for which field producers will be taken and so an agriculture engineer becomes a music producer. A person who has trained on drama begins to work for the institution as a producer and after being given the basic training he is appointed to a vacant position in Child Programs.

As it will be discussed later, documentary programs are seen just as content in the institution. Documentary programs are not mentioned as a particular type in the general broadcasting plans and production and application instructions. On the other hand, the institutional policies related to recruiting and training of the personnel lead to this situation.

The training within the institution related to documentary mentioned above is not just for producers and assistant producers. Specialists, the studio and film production staffs, directors, correspondents, the staff of production and broadcasting, butafor, translators, and chiefs also participated in these training programs. Although this state contributes to the specialization of the personnel working in the field of broadcasting, some of the producers I interviewed criticise the participation of personnel, who do not have the status to work in production, to these seminars. The situation that except for the staff working in production, the staffs in different units other than production unit are made to work as staff of production was also criticised in the Report of Presidency State Control Committee.³⁰⁸ However, according to the numbers in the same report, while the total number of producers and assistant producers is 356, there are 383 directors, vice-directors and department directors, 70 department chiefs and vice-chiefs in the institution where 7996 staffs work as from 2002. This point indicates to the fact that the staffs are dense in bureaucratic positions rather than positions of program production in the institution responsible for public broadcasting. As the planned programs can not be produced by the very few producers in the institution, the staffs outside the production unit is used in production. It is necessary to make an examination with general announcement for the staff to be taken for the position of producers, and such an exam has not been

³⁰⁸ TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, Türkiye Radyo-Televizyon Kurumunun Eylem Ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesine İlişkin Rapor Özeti (Ankara: TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, 2004) , 20-05-2005, www.cankaya.gov.tr/tr_html/DDK/trt.htm

made since 1998.³⁰⁹ As from 2005, 31 producers, 11 directors and 14 production and broadcasting staff members work in DDP. The producers need assistant producers. And there is need for institutional policies regarding the recruitment and training of the personnel for DDP.

4. 6. The Proposal, Production, Control, Broadcast, and Budget of Documentary Programs

Although the production of documentary programs in TRT has stages such as preparation of proposals, control, before broadcast and broadcasting all of these stages undergo many bureaucratic steps and processes.

The subjects which will be given the priority in the programs are stated in the General Broadcasting Plans. For example, in the 1981 plan the subjects to be given priority in programs were 1- Kemalism 2- The Disabled because of the International Year of the Disabled 3- Increasing the trust of the citizens on themselves and national self 4- Anarchy and Terror. In addition, there was a plan related to the production of programs about famous people, special days and weeks, National and Religious Festivals.³¹⁰ The interviewees stated that although the prior subjects are stated in the general broadcasting plan, the persons give the program proposals they want; because, the programs containing prior subjects are given as instruction programs when seen necessary. Here, it can be seen clearly that there are no institutional policies implemented by the coordination of both the producers and the corporation regarding the subjects to be examined.

³⁰⁹ TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulunun 2001, 2002 ve 2003 Yılları Eylem ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesine İlişkin Rapor Özeti

³¹⁰ TRT, 1981 Genel Yayın Planı (Ankara: TRT, n. d.) 77.

The program proposals the producers prepare are offered to the commission of proposal in specific periods, which are announced. After evaluating the projects, the commission of proposal can accept or refuse the proposals or find it suitable to produce the program according to definite conditions. The producers stated that there had been no commission to evaluate the projects until the period of Yücel Yener. They said that in previous periods the projects had been approved or declined from bottom to the top, namely from the department directors to the general director. In other words, a project disapproved by the department director could not be sent to the upper ranks for evaluation. Therefore, it could not find a chance for a general evaluation. In this sense, evaluation of a project by a commission brings a democratic approach to the evaluation of the project proposals.

There are options in the Evaluate Form of Program Proposals such as “suitable for production” or “suitable conditionally”.³¹¹ The reasons why they are rejected can be that their budgets are so high, they are not suitable for their aims or they are not found adequate in terms of content. Also that there are similar products is stated among the reasons to refuse. However, as it has been mentioned before, the instruction programs about the same subject are made again and again. As for the acceptance conditionally, an amendment can be asked to be made to the budget, content, broadcast period, number of the parts or/and duration of the program proposed. A producer whose program proposal is approved with some conditions or is disapproved can apply the commission again. His/her project proposal can be evaluated again, and after this evaluation it can be approved or disapproved. Although there are some criteria used to evaluate the program proposals, the producers stated that a program proposal, which is not accepted in a period, can be accepted in another period. The factors such as the change of the commission members and the sensitivity of the

³¹¹ Evaluate Form of Program Proposal (*Program Öneri Değerlendirme Formu*), from TRT portal.

administrative structure of the period to the subject told can be influential on this state. One of the interviewees told me about this subject as follows: The reasons why a project proposal is disapproved are not so clear; the reasons of this disapproval are not open to discussion. However, a producer who had participated in the commission stated that some of the proposals had not been prepared carefully and it was natural for these projects to be disapproved. S/He said that for example that expenses needed for the project are not stated clearly and just a general budget is stated can be a reason for disapproval. Furthermore, interviewers also stated that their program proposals were disapproved by the committee as it is mentioned that programs with historical or any other subject will be supported in that term. And they are not informed about that policy (if actually there is any institutional policy about that) before they prepare their proposals.

The duty to make the instruction programs is given to the producers whose proposals have not been accepted, who have not proposed new program or whose knowledge and experience is proper to make that program. Instruction programs can be about special days, important events and people. In my opinion, these programs the producers are made to produce on the same subjects again and again leads to boredom among the producers. While talking about these programs, they are mentioned as “order” or “duty” programs.

The programs, which are accepted, can pass to the production stage when the allocations are assigned. The producers told me that they frustrated by the hierarchical bureaucratic processes in the program production stage and a program must be submitted for sign hundreds of times. For example, if an authority who must sign the documents is not in the institution at that moment, it is necessary to wait for other signatures as well. The bureaucratic process for the proposal and production of the programs tires the producers

out so much that one of interviewees said that “we work for TRT despite TRT”.

Some of the interviewees stated that some difficulties are experienced on issues such as arranging cameras at the stage of shooting. The team for shooting for the documentary and drama programs is provided by the Location Filming Service.³¹² Interviewing with one of the officials s/he states as follows:

The lists of shooting are prepared according to the monthly demands of program directorates after they are informed of how many days the shooting team and equipment will be needed. In the preparation of these lists, Location Filming Service is also take the initiative; because, the team and equipment are limited, as it is necessary for drama programs to be broadcast periodically [as it has continuity], the existing means should be used according to this. The film crew is not specialized in only one field of drama or documentary programs; it gives service in both of the fields. If it is told before the shooting lists are prepared, with whom the directors and the film crew want to work is taken into consideration as it is aimed to increase the productivity through harmonious working in this way. The crew and equipment assigned for the documentary programs outside the city can be assigned according to the needs of other programs for this team and equipment. Location Filming Service consisting of 75 staff members and one of them is female cameraperson.

In this situation, at the stage of production the allocation of the equipments gains importance according to both the will of the directorate and the programs produced and given priority in the institution (dramas are given priority because of their continuity).

Another interviewee stated that the fact that the number of the female cameraperson is very low is a negative factor for the documentary programs. Because the documentary programs are produced with the films made in different regions of Turkey and in rural areas the male cameraperson can affect the women’s ease negatively. Therefore, there is a need for women to work as cameraperson in the production of documentary

³¹² According to the information given by interviewee, there are also filming services of Department of News and Studio Camera Service for the films shot in studio.

programs. There are women working as producer in DDP and TRT.³¹³ However, what the person said on the lack of female cameraperson is important in terms of pointing out the fact that the figures affecting the process of program production are not limited to the producers; gender roles are also very significant in every phase of production.

Apart from this, some difficulties arising from the technical infrastructure of TRT affect the production process. For example, when I was in the directorate, I observed that most of producers had some problems in arranging time for montage. Some of the producers stated in the interviews that the low number of the montage settings decrease the montage time. This state affects the quality of the programs in a negative way.

Some of the producers said that most of the producers of documentary programs working in TRT produced documentaries in “The Department of Foreign Productions and Sales” (*Dış Alımlar ve Satımlar Müdürlüğü*) in 1990s. As this unit was not under the Directorate of Television, the mechanisms of control and production were carried out through two stages instead of three. The interviewees stated that this situation seemed attractive for most of the producers. This was such that as there a lot of producers in this department in 1998, it was decided that the producers would be transferred to the production units. This condition also explains why the rate of broadcast documentaries produced by DDP increased 100 % from 1998 to 1999 (according to the table 4.4). In addition, it is one of the examples how institutional policies are shaped by coincidence. As it is seen, the personal policies of DDP could be shaped by coincidence and without planning.

One of the interviewees stated that nepotism in the appointment of the staff after the removal of the autonomy of TRT affected not only the appointment of the general directors. According to her/him, this situation was the same

³¹³ The percentage of female personnel working for TRT is 26 in 2004. TRT, 2004 Faaliyet Raporu 281.

for those controllers; they had to do what the party in power wanted; instead of a commission consisting of specialists who control the programs in their own fields (such as controllers of music, drama, documentary programs), these people control the programs according to the demands of the governments.

According to Bülent Çaplı, the fact there are a lot of stages for the control of programs in TRT and the producers do not have the right to object to any resolution during the control leads to the result that the producers do not choose any original subjects while giving new proposals. Therefore, the producers have developed “an auto censorship mechanism which will make them side with tested-approved ideas”.³¹⁴

The budget of the directorate is determined according to the budget allotted to the the general budget of TRT. In this sense, the portion of the general budget of TRT is important in terms of the determination of the budgets of all departments. However, the interviewees said that while sometimes the programs requiring large budget are allotted budget, the budget allotted to the programs requiring smaller budgets can be cut. This situation leads the producers to find sponsors or joint productions outside the institution. In the Activity Report of 2004³¹⁵, the programs to be made by DDP and the joint productions to be made with European Broadcast Union³¹⁶ are seen. One of the producers stated on the subject of the allocation of budget and cameras that both the request of the producers and what they have done so far are influential in the allocation of the budget and equipment by saying “if you do not want, they do not give; you will work and produce something, then

³¹⁴ Bülent Çaplı, “TRT ve Kamu Hizmeti Yayıncılığı,” *Türkiye’de Gazetecilik*, ed. Doğan Tılıç (Ankara: ÇGD Yayınları, 2003) 305.

³¹⁵ TRT, *2004 Faaliyet Raporu* 181, 182.

³¹⁶ English acronym is EBU.

you will want".³¹⁷ As a result, both the effect of economic structure on the budget of TRT and the effect of the institution in the sense that it will decide on the budget it will allot to the directorate are influential on the programs produced. However, except for the impact of economic structure and institution, actors have also an influence on fixing the budget.

The broadcast hours, which the documentary programs will be, broadcast is determined by the Directorate of Program Planning under the Ankara Television Department. In general, the track opened for these programs take places in the track of 30 minutes. This situation leads to the approval of the broadcast format for documentaries which will take less than 30 minutes in TRT. However, there are also documentary programs which take 40 and 50 minutes. The documentary programs are broadcast in TRT-1-Family, TRT-2-Culture and Art, TRT-4-Education, TRT-GAP, TRT-Türk (Eurasia) and TRT-İnt (International).³¹⁸

Interviewees said that most of the producers were disturbed by the situation that the documentary programs were generally broadcast between 19.30 and 20.00 till 2003. It was stated that as the news programs were broadcast after these documentary programs, the programs were cut if broadcast schedule is being behind time. After some negotiation made with the Directorate of Broadcast Planning, the programs began to be broadcast in a later hour.³¹⁹ So, from this case it is seen that even in the broadcast hour of programs the staff can be influential.

³¹⁷ The situation that some of producers do not give any project proposals and they make very few programs for a long time leads to the reaction of other producers.

³¹⁸ Themes of the TRT channels can be found in TRT, 2005 Genel Yayın Planı (Ankara: TRT, n.d.) 12-15.

³¹⁹ This hour is 22.30 during the week in TRT-2, its repetition is on 01.25 and 07.25 the following day. However, the hours when the documentaries are broadcast in different channels of TRT change in the flow of weekly television programs given to the Directorate of Press, Public Relations and Protocol.

Another producer said that after the sale of programs began to foreign countries, the programs began to be made in formats including 3-4 different durations and with international standards. It has been stated in Chapter 3 that the sale of programs outside the institution and the marketing of the productions of the institution began in 1980s. This situation points out the fact that the process of the commercialization of TRT has had an effect on the formats of documentary programs too.

4. 7. The Function of DDP to Provide Documentary Materials, DDP's Photograph and Film Archives

There are one film and one photograph archives of DDP which have begun to be formed during the archive studies made in the project *Atatürk and His Age*. The film archive began to be transformed by the Department of Broadcast Archives to the digital betacam cassettes, digital media in 2002 and it was completed in 2003.³²⁰ However, the photograph archive which is consisted of 24 000 photographs can not be transformed to the digital media as from 2005. Officials from the DDP the Department of Broadcast Archives stated in the interviews that necessary studies related to this issue have begun. The fact that the negatives of many photographs which have the quality of historical document have not been transformed to the numerical environment so far is a great loss not only for TRT archives but also in terms of documental studies in Turkey. The shots of photographs continue in DDP every year with the aim of advertisement and archive. There is only one person responsible for carrying out this duty since 1980. There is no other officer working as a photographer to carry out this duty for the archive except for him in the department. The fourth article of the duties of DDP in TRT Foundation and Duty Regulation³²¹ is "to provide and preserve every

³²⁰ TRT, 2002 Faaliyet Raporu (Ankara: TRT, n.d) 119. ; TRT, 2003 Faaliyet Raporu 167.

kind of documentary materials and offer them to the use of related units when necessary". However, there is no vacation for personnel related to this issue and there is no work to provide "documentary materials", audio-visual materials with the quality of documents except for the film and photograph shots made for the documentary programs. Some of the interviewees stated that such documentary materials can be found in the archives of the news and it is not necessary for DDP to carry out such a work. However, to provide and preserve a material which does not have a quality of news at that time but which will be able to have a quality of document in the future is not within the scope of duties of the Directorate of the News Archives³²². On this issue one of the interviewees stated that:

The film show the day when Ulus Post Office was opened by Atatürk was recorded in 1920s. However, we do not make such documentation today. We could record the taking down of this historical building in different time intervals. When I talked with the administrators of that time, they did not consider it important.

While the number of photographs and documents which were photographed between 1977 and 1983 for the project of *Atatürk and His Age* was 15 000, it has increased to 24 000 in the following 23 years. Most of the producers I interviewed stated that the film materials recorded and collected for *Atatürk and His Age* is of great importance in terms of both TRT archive and the documentation and archive studies made in Turkey. They stated that these documents and films are used in many historical works done in the institution. When compared to the quality of the research made for *Atatürk and His Age* in the period of its establishment, such an archive and document research is not made today. There is no separate working group or staff to document and collect documents. In my opinion, this state is not compatible with the duty regulation of DDP. Because, the documentation

³²¹ See, Current TRT Regulation with the date of 1999 and no. 23585, TRT Establishment and Function Regulation and the Additional Regulation, from the TRT portal.

³²² Current TRT Regulation with the date of 1999 and no. 23585.

processes carried out for the projects made every year in DDP are also carried out in other departments producing documentary programs. However, the characteristic, which distinguishes DDP from other departments in the regulation, is its duty to provide and preserve documentary materials.

4. 8. DDP and Documentary Programs in the Institutional Sources

DDP is under the Ankara Television Directorate in the institutional structure. There is no link which includes any information related to DDP within TRT Institutional Structure Scheme in the official website of TRT. Also there is no information related to which directorate or department it belongs to. While there was no detailed information related to the departments in the activity reports in 1980s, it is possible to find detailed information related to the activities of DDP and departments in reports prepared in 2000s.

The information that the programs made or broadcast are the documentary programs and the information related to the production and application instructions sometimes take place in the lists of weekly television programs informing the press. Sometimes these programs take place among the educational and cultural programs and no division is made in terms of type.

In the annual broadcasting plans published by the Broadcast Planning Coordination and Evaluation Department in TRT, the target rates of television programs are determined according to the target groups (children, youth, women, and so on) or types (education, culture, drama, music, entertainment, news, sports and so on). Documentary has not taken as a

category.³²³ The documentary programs are included in the target rates of a category according to which category they are included in terms of content in the light of the information given by the Broadcast Planning Coordination and Evaluation Department.³²⁴ In other words, if the documentary program conveys an educational subject, it is included in the educational programs; if it includes a cultural subject, it is included in cultural programs. While a documentary program to be made on industry takes place in the targeted rates of educational programs, a documentary program to be made on the kinds of flowers is evaluated within the scope of cultural programs. Namely, the documentary programs are accepted as content, not as a type, category. This state is valid also for the “Annual Television Production and Application Instructions” published by the Television Department. Furthermore, we can see the documentary programs among the program categories the individuals watch or want to watch in “Public Opinion Research on Television Broadcasts of TRT in 2004”³²⁵.

What one of the officials said on the documentary programs and the fact that the identity of television channels is determined by the type of programs is interesting: “Why are you studying the documentary programs? Drama can change the identity of a channel. Therefore, drama is seen as a type in the institution”. The fact that the target rate of the dramas in the main channel of TRT, namely TRT-1, is 46,5 % in 2005³²⁶ shows that the identity of TRT is determined by dramas. In other words, the genres of programs are given importance if they determine the identity of the channel.

³²³ See Annual General Broadcasting Plans of TRT. These plans have been published since 1972. Annual General Broadcasting Plans from 2002 to 2005 can be found in the official website of TRT.

³²⁴ From the interview with one of the officials of Directorate of TRT Broadcast Planning Coordination and Evaluation Department.

³²⁵ TRT, 2004 Televizyon Yayınları Kamuoyu Araştırması (Ankara: TRT, n.d) 55, 86.

³²⁶ TRT, 2005 Genel Yayın Planı 87.

The main formats have been classified by TRT Department of Broadcast Archives as non-fiction, drama, drawing/animation, entertainment-show, music-ballet-dance and those which are interactive. The documentary programs are included in the category of those which are non-fictional in terms of format. Other programs which are non-fictional are the programs such as bulletin, magazine, discussion/interview, teletext, participation through telephone, sports, news. In terms of content, the programs which are not fictional (also cited as informative), can be put in the categories related to news, life philosophies, general non-fiction, art and media, human, science, life, transportation and communication; they can also be included in every sub-genres of the categories related to sports, leisure/hobby, docudrama in fiction, entertainment, music-ballet-dance, interactive programs (games) and practical knowledge. In other words, this department accepts the documentary programs as non-fiction in terms of format and programs that can be studied under different topics in terms of content.

There is no common standpoint about whether a documentary program is a format or content in the units of TRT. This state results from both the widespread acceptance of the documentaries as content in the institution and the fact that not only one program format is accepted in all the units of TRT. It has been attempted to adopt ESCORT (EBU System of Classification of Radio and Television Programs), program classifying system of EBU, since 1980s.³²⁷ However, the state that this format or any other format has not been accepted by all the units of TRT yet leads to confusion. For example, while the Broadcast Planning, Coordination and Evaluation Department of TRT does not accepted documentary program as a type while determining the targeted rates of programs in the general broadcasting plans, the Program Planning Directorate needs these rates for the research

³²⁷ Cankaya, Türk Televizyonunun Program Yapısı 8. ; From the interview with official of directorate of TRT Broadcast Planning Coordination and Evaluation Department.

related to the program evaluation. Moreover, although programs made with the narrators such as “From the Oration” which began to be broadcast periodically in 1985 and *With İlber Ortaylı (İlber Ortaylı İle)* in 2003 are included in the conference/presentation (sub-category of non-fiction), according to the format of the Department of Broadcast Archives, they are also in the lists of the same department consisting of domestic documentary programs. In other words, there is disagreement not only among the units but also among the classifications made within the same unit.

There had been no definition related to the documentary programs until the 1989 Annual General Broadcasting Plan. The definition of “Documentary Programs” in the plans between 1989 and 2005 is like this: “the programs which take their subjects and materials from the real events and nature, and which tell the event in its natural environment or course or in arrangements formed similar to it in selected places”³²⁸. In this plans there is such a definition of “Dramatic Documentaries”³²⁹: the productions which tell about the real events which have happened or are happening, and which are made based on the documents and making use of the technique of drama. In this sense, the documentary programs are examined under two categories in TRT. However, as it has been stated above, in DDP the programs in the style of conference/presentation are also produced. In other words, there is no definition or study according to the categorization of documentary programs in DDP. This is not just a state, which points out the place of documentary programs in the institution. It also shows that TRT has no program standard and in this sense it has not been institutionalized yet.

³²⁸ TRT, 2004 Genel Yayın Planı (Ankara: TRT, n. d.) 164.

³²⁹ TRT, 2004 Genel Yayın Planı 165.

4. 9. The Quality of Documentary and Documentary Program from the Viewpoint of the Interviewees

Under this subtitle, from the similar and opposite views of the TRT's and DDP's documentary program producers on the documentary programs produced in the institution and the quality of documentary programs in general, I have tried to deduce how the interviewees define the quality of the programs they have produced. In this way it has been aimed at contributing to the debate over the documentary programs produced in TRT and the definition of documentary programs.

None of the interviewees distinguished the documentary programs from documentaries as the programs produced within the scope of television broadcasting or made to be broadcast in television. One of the producers I interviewed stated that s/he divided the documentaries into two as documentary and documentary program. The criterion s/he used in this division was sufficiency of the research made while producing the documentary. S/He said that a program, which informed about the subjects without making any detailed research is the documentary program and the documentary is a film, which requires a historical and complete research, based on the documents certainly and broadcast after examining all the sides and aspects of the subject in an impartial way. The criticism s/he made at this point was directed at the state that the superficial programs made were called documentary. According to her/him, if a film is worthless more than the raw material it has used (if it does not give information and document as much as that raw material), it has been made for no use, it is not a documentary. S/He sees the impartiality as the compatibility of documentary with the historical unity and documents, and the broadcast of the documents related to the subject without any censorship. According to

her/him, therefore to be able to make a documentary film is nearly impossible and it has a nationalistic character.

Some other producers also stated that the most basic characteristic of documentary is that it is dependent on making a good research. Moreover one of the producers defined documentary as “conveying the confirmed information”. These views help us to explain widespread acceptance of the documentary programs as content and its identification with “transmission of information” in TRT. Also the narration based on the text and voice over which are used very often in TRT documentaries can be explained through the view that documentary is seen as a transmission of information. In my opinion, the fact that the program text tries to tell everything rather than the vision, the witness, the documents and people in documentaries will tell about themselves in documentaries also results from the mission given to the documentaries “to conveying information and the research made”.

Another interviewee said that most of the programs which are made in private television channels in Turkey and which are called documentary are “the news magazines”. S/he said that s/he was not against the production of these programs but s/he thought that it was wrong to call them documentary programs. According to her/him, a documentary program must examine the subjects in depth and detail. The programs of Mehmet Ali Birand are the “news magazine” programs and the programs of Tayfun Talipoğlu are “tour-advertisement programs”. There are some people who think that the program named *Let's Travel and See (Gezelim Görelim)* which has been made in TRT for years and which is not called as documentary even by its producer is a documentary program. What this person said is based on the view that a documentary has a detailed research and content. However, it is interesting in terms of claiming that every type of program which witness can not be a documentary program because of the

characteristic of documentary programs “to witness”. The reality shows which only witness have the characteristic of “peeping and pornography”, and they are not documentary programs. Because these programs are the productions, which are not based on, research and which examines a subject superficially.

According to another interviewee, a documentary program related to “present” should not be made. Because, “present” is the time to collect documents. According to her/him, for that reason that DDP does not carry out the duty to collect documents of the present day is a great loss. Also a producer of documentary can not make documentaries on every kind of subject. Just as the researchers and academics get specialized in specific fields, the producers of documentaries also become competent in specific subjects. According to her/him, a documentary is not a spin doctor, poetical text, narration of tragedy, art of speech or arabesque. If the event itself addresses the deep feelings of the people, the documentary also affects the people by a complete narration of the event. In this sense the interviewee claims that in the works in which no detailed research are made the viewers are tried to be affected by strengthening the dramatic narration and thus the documentary program becomes an infotainment. Also the view that a documentary should not be made on “present” brings a historical approach to the documentary.

One of the producers expresses that when a documentary program produced in TRT is broadcast in private channels, its rating is higher. According to her/him, that the dynamic narration of the private channels increases their ratings and it also increases the ratings of the documentaries broadcast in these channels. In other words, the reason why the ratings of the documentaries made and broadcast in TRT are low is related to the ratings of TRT. Also s/he thinks that the viewers of the documentaries

follow documentary program channels such as *National Geographic* and *Discovery Channel*, and they watch a TRT's documentary programs only if they see programs by chance. So, the rating policies of documentaries can be evaluated by not only their viewing figures but also with the ratings of the channel.

Another producer said that the documentaries of TRT are more professional than the domestic documentaries broadcast in private channels. Because, the people who produce documentary programs in TRT have been professionalized on documentary program production for years and the programs get professionalized as a result of experience. Another interviewee criticized the documentary programs of TRT as follows:

Do you know why the documentaries of TRT resemble each other? It is because of the laziness. In the period when TRT was a single television channel, there were very few producers who tried to develop themselves. Everybody looked at each other's work and do the similar ones.

S/he stated that after the private channels began their broadcast, the producers in TRT entered the atmosphere of competition, which led to a positive change in the documentaries of TRT.

As it has been stated above, the interviewees do not draw any distinction between documentary and documentary made in television. The distinction they draw is generally between the documentary programs made and broadcast in TRT and private channels. There is a criticism claiming that the programs which are made by Turkish producers, broadcast in Turkish Private Television Channels and which are called documentary do not fit the nature of documentary and they are not a result of detailed research.

The documentary programs are criticized in terms of making or not making a detailed research. In other words, the documentaries are seen as narration of content and information not only by the sources of the institution but also

by most of the producers. As it has been stated before, evaluating the documentaries as a type, category which can have specific methods, methodology and cinematography is in the secondary order. However, there is also a criticism claiming that a producer of documentaries should get specialized in content, but its cinematography making it visual and its methods exposing its viewpoint are again in the secondary order. There are different approaches related to the positive and negative aspects of the documentaries of TRT and the production of documentary programs in TRT. That an interviewee said that a documentary program can not be made on “present” is interesting in terms of stating what kind of a historical approach can be adopted. Also, the fact that what determines the broadcast of the documentary, namely according to my interviewee what affects the conveying of the true and complete information, points out the necessity for the documentaries to have a nationalistic character is meaningful. It is remarkable at the point that it tells about the relationship between public broadcasting and the nation, citizen, country, as it has been stated in Chapter 2, namely the nation-state.

4. 10. Institutional Mechanism and Existence of DDP

Today DDP is serving in the Blue Building in TRT Oran Site. The number of personnel working for the DDP varies from two to seven and there are two or one computers in each office. As far as I observed in the institution, the secretaries and administrators can use an office by themselves. However, even the producers who will provide the continuity of the productions in the institution work in crowded rooms with very few computers, which affects the conditions of production negatively.

The working hours of TRT personnel change according to their positions. For example, while staff of the news programs work in night and day shifts,

it is different for DDP. The civil servants work in during the working hours during the week and the personnel working in the production of programs can work overtime during the week and at the weekends in DDP. The responsibility of the personnel working in the production of the programs is to complete the programs on time. While fixing the definite working hours for personnel working for program production is impossible, it makes difficult to measure and evaluate the attendance status and conforming to the work plan of these personnel. The difficulties in the working conditions of the producers also affect their attendance status negatively.

The works which began with seven personnel in DDP in 1980 continued with 62 personnel consisting of one director, one assistant director, 22 producers, nine directors, one assistant producer, four specialists, seven studio film personnel, 19 production broadcast personnel, one assistant production personnel, two correspondents, one official and five temporary personnel with insurance in 2003.³³⁰ This number became 82 by the increase in the number of producers, directors, specialists, production broadcast personnel and the addition of personnel such as announcer, engineer, butafor in 2005.³³¹ As it has been stated before, the increase in the number of producers also leads to the increase in the number of programs. However, there are personnel that are not related to the production in the department. In fact, the reason of this situation can be sought in the fact that TRT has not developed policies related to the specialized personnel while selecting personnel (a production and broadcasting personnel working in a field can work in the production of another type of program which require a very different specialization). Another reason is that there is always a mobility of personnel in TRT. It is natural that the personnel that are not specialized in that area but work in that department in spite of this can affect the quality of

³³⁰ TRT, 2003 Faaliyet Raporu 165.

³³¹ The information related to the activities in 2005 has been got from one of the officials of DDP.

programs. However, as it has been mentioned before, the insufficient number of producers makes it necessary for the different personnel to work in order to be able to produce programs. As it has been stated before again, if an exam with a general announcement, which has not been made since 1998, is made for the personnel to work in production, it will affect the program production in a positive way.

The reasons such as the production of documentary programs outside DDP in different departments like Foreign Production and Sale Directorate and The Directorate of GAP Broadcasts, the changes in the acceptance of the documentary programs as content or format in different units of TRT and the production of programs like conference in DDP lead to the question why there is a department like DDP in the institution (or why other departments produce documentary programs). Another problem is the one related to the question if a documentary program is content or format, or is it anything more than the content?

There are trainings and courses before service and within the institution, which teach the basic facilities of the institution, broadcasting principles and cinematography in TRT. However, there is no training related to the production of documentary programs and it is possible to become competent only through experience. Therefore, some of the producers working in DDP state that documentary program can also be made in different units of the institution. One of the interviewees expressed that the directorate is useful in terms of reducing the bureaucratic processes. Besides, one of the interviewees stated that as the documentary programs are evaluated under the title of education and culture programs, they should be produced in the Directorate of Education and Culture. Some of the producers say that they find it wrong for the personnel working in other departments to produce documentary programs. Because, the producers

producing programs in those departments do not have the sufficient experience as they do not produce documentaries continually. They think that there are many programs, which are not suitable for the quality of a documentary among the programs called documentary in those departments.

As a result of these discussions, it is clear that both the institutional sources, applications and the views of the producers on this issue diversify. By the evaluation of the importance of production of documentaries in the public broadcasting in terms of TRT, the attitude TRT will take can put an end to this confusion and can bring some advantages. In my opinion, a step can be taken towards increasing the evaluation and quality of programs through the development of specific policies related to documentary programs by the institution, the trainings given related to specialization and the acceptance of only one format among and within the units. This situation will affect the production of the programs directly. The debate over the existence of DDP and the documentary programs made in this unit also takes us to another result. Restructuring TRT in the context of public broadcasting will be possible not only through the changes in the scheme of organization but also through reorganization of the relationships within and among the directorates.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Based on the aforementioned discussions and findings outlined in chapters, the analysis of the policies of Directorate of Documentary Programs has three main conclusions. First one is that the policies of DDP are shaped not only by economic or political structures but also by human agencies/actors. The second one is about the methods and methodology of the media research. Except for the discussions held in the fields of the communication, history, and politics there is a need to design media research by using methods of ethnography and interpretative analysis to improve media studies, especially those that carried out in Turkey. The third one is that the most of the policies of DDP have common features with the policies and the conception of public broadcasting of the TRT. In other words the policies of DDP are in harmony with the policies and the notion of public broadcasting in Turkey to a large extent.³³² Through the findings of this study, we can enlarge upon conclusions as follows.

Paul Kriwaczek's, Head and Stirling's, and many others' approaches to the broadcasting mentioned in the first, second and third chapter of the study focused on the political institutions', political, economic and technological impacts on broadcasting. They maintained that countries' economic and

³³² It was argued that DDP has specific characteristics which separate it from the other departments of the institution such as the type of program produced, duties set out in the regulation, personnel policies and etc. Hence, there are some differences between the general policies of TRT and the DDP. For example, while TRT's broadcast archives have not been paid attention till 2000 seriously, archives and related studies were the main concern of the DDP in its establishment. Moreover, exploring the particularity of the policies of DDP offers us to notice the features of public broadcasting notion in Turkey in depth.

political structures and geographical, cultural, and historical aspects also influenced the field of broadcasting. The findings in the chapters of the study demonstrate these effects. For example, in the second chapter, the national character of public broadcasting, the relationship between public broadcasting and nation-state was mentioned. Similarly, in the third chapter, the policies of TRT in the field of public broadcasting and how these policies were shaped over a historical period were elaborated on. However, our findings in the chapters regarding TRT and DDP show that actors have also played important roles in these processes. For example, the intervention of political parties and state bodies on the policies of TRT when TRT had the status of autonomous public corporation between the years 1964-1972 are mentioned; then the general director Adnan Öztrak's resistance against such interventions is also stated. That is to say, the effects of other factors on the policies except for political and economic structures were cited. As such, while structures are influential on broadcasting in this study and in particular on public broadcasting in Turkey, actors are also instrumental in this area with the strategies they develop. However, here this is not a claim completely based on a structural argument. As it was mentioned in the first chapter, Whitney and Ettema assert that political-economic perspective dominates the media studies and individual level analysis is ignored. At this juncture, I claim that while analyzing the policies of one unit (directorate and specific field) in public broadcasting, micro level analysis³³³ enabled us to recognize the role of individuals in the policies of DDP. While the role of structural issues is discussed in the study, it is also asserted that there is the role of individual in shaping these policies. Thus, this study does not only emphasize the structure, but also the agency in the analysis of the policies of DDP and the conclusions achieved.

³³³ As it was mentioned before, while the policies of TRT is mostly illustrated in the macro level, focusing on DDP makes available a micro level analysis by the help of theoretical and methodological approach taken individual into consideration.

We may provide a detailed explanation regarding our first conclusion by mentioning the governmental, military, cultural, lawful, and economic policies and the policies and practices resulting from the interaction between people and groups acting on the policies of DDP and the role of the actors by the strategies they developed during the formation of these policies.³³⁴

It was mentioned that between 1968 and 1980, before DDP's establishment in 1980, documentaries were produced in TRT. It was also stated that the Military Memorandum had influence on documentaries' subjects and scripts after 1971. We see that in the face of these restrictions, producers developed resistance strategies by writing texts, which are formed by the speeches of Atatürk in order to avoid intervention in their texts. Likewise, it is observed that in this period when TRT was suffering from economic distress, producers worked together to develop mistake-avoidance strategies in order to prevent the three-month ban on producers whose programs were not approved of. In addition, it is seen that there are actors who realize governmental power and who develop counter-strategies against the existing structure. It is discussed that İsmail Cem considered historical documentaries important when he was the general director by the claim that historical consciousness does not exist in society for instance. Considering historical documentaries important is a policy that emerges as a result of his personal attitude.

We had mentioned the importance given to national culture in DDP after the year 1980 by way of the military coup and a legal regulation regarding TRT. Again during this period we observe that resistance strategies against censorship on texts were practiced, whereby producers, rather than changing the words in the text, did not pronounce the censored words. That is to say, in spite of the policies of military and governmental power

³³⁴ More specifically, the analysis of the policies of TRT was mentioned at the end of the Chapter 3.

influences on a topic such as cultural power, it is the actors who play roles in the way their choice of topic is played out. Furthermore, there are differences in the policies produced by actors in the execution of lawful power regarding the given time periods. Even though providing documentary material has been mentioned in the duties of the DDP, in the TRT Establishment and Function Regulation and the Additional Regulation, there are periodic differences in practice. For example, we had mentioned before that while there have been personal endeavours among DDP staff towards making document archives containing photographs and film after 1980, archiving and document-gathering in the following periods were limited to those required for programs produced.

There had been mention of TRT's commercialization and penetration of the market owing to the neo-liberal economical policies of the Motherland Party and also the emergence of private television channels in 1990s. This effect was influential in the participation of documentaries to the competition TRT experienced with private channels. Furthermore, it is stated that the influence of military power on the institution was reduced after 1990. Therefore it was possible to find program topics other than the Turkish-Islamic Synthesis, which was predominant in the 1980s. However at this point it is still possible to notice the influence of those persons who produced the programs. For example, topics such as women or the exchange of Greek and Turkish communities after the Treaty of Lausanne are those suggested by the program producers themselves.

In the period between 1999 and 2005, DDP's restructuring efforts and the influence of the JDP government on TRT were noted. As a result of the decrease in the share of electricity income in the budget of TRT, the budgets of all departments had to be reduced. However, DDP's producers have been developing the coping strategy of being involved in joint productions during

this period and found sponsorships by themselves to overcome these economic obstacles. In spite of the fact that programs that do not conflict with state power, in particular with the policies of governments and military, we see that untouched program subjects until this period in public broadcasting, such as ethnic or religious groups, can be produced. Thus, producers make it possible to produce productions outside the framework of the dominant culture.

There are many examples that can be noted concerning the policies related to the institutional mechanism, production process of the programs and the role of actors. For example, it is emphasized that there is no specialization in the personal recruitment, and essential trainings related to the documentary program production sphere in TRT. Hence, producers' improvement in their occupational capacities depends on their personal efforts. In addition, the policies such as arranging montage settings, changes in the time of programs' broadcast schedule show the initiative of the individuals and groups.

We may expand our second conclusion. We suggest that methods of ethnography and interpretative analysis have to be included into the media research in the fields of communication, history, and politics in order to bring a new methodological approach to media research. Rather than dealing with the production processes of messages (programs) transmitted by television in research conducted on television studies in Turkey, the focus is on the relationship of broadcasting with historical, political, and economic circumstances or how the audience perceives the messages transmitted through television.³³⁵ In very few resources where we can find information about the program production processes of Turkish televisions, the observations regarding this process or interviews with staff are included.

³³⁵ The examples of sources can be found in Chapter 3.

The studies are based on the observations of those researchers who have worked in those television channels, such as the studies of Mahmut Tali Öngören³³⁶, Erol Mutlu³³⁷, or Bülent Çaplı³³⁸. Interviews with staff are based on questionnaires, as in the study of A. Filiz Susar³³⁹. However, in media, more specifically in television studies conducted in abroad there are some studies available in which field research is conducted, the methods of ethnography such as observation, interview, taking field notes were applied and interpretative analysis is presented³⁴⁰. The television research carried out in Turkey generally ignores to conduct field research, methods of ethnography and interpretative understanding. At this point, it is important to remember Giddens' critique of Interpretative Schools of Thought. This approach, according to him, does not contribute to the comprehension of the problems regarding institutional transformation and history. At this point, in the light of the findings of this study, we asserted that research conducted about television in Turkey on the basis of institutional and historical transformation overlook the interpretative approach. And by help of conducting the field research, applying methods of ethnography, and interpretative analysis holistic approach can be improved to comprehend how the field of broadcasting and the production processes in the field of broadcasting are shaped and make analysis on the individual level. Moreover, the use of interpretative and historical comparative methods as a whole in media studies will help us in the analysis of our subject matter from a different point of view. It is, as Neuman says, the common feature of

³³⁶ Öngören, İletişim Notları.

³³⁷ Erol Mutlu, Televizyonda Program Yapımı (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi, 1995).

³³⁸ Çaplı, "TRT ve Kamu Hizmeti Yayıncılığı".

³³⁹ Susar, Türkiye'de Belgesel Sinemacılar.

³⁴⁰ Jeremy Tunstall, ed. , Media Sociology, A Reader, (Urbana: University of Illinois Pres, 1970). ; B. J. Bullert, Public Television: Politics and the Battle Over Documentary Film (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997).

the interpretative and historical comparative approaches are that both try “to see through the eyes of those being studied”³⁴¹.

In my opinion, conducting field research can have another contribution to the media studies made in Turkey, apart from the fact that they provide an opportunity to look from the side of the production, perspective of the producers and audience. Even in an institution like TRT, which has been involved in television broadcasting for the longest time period in Turkey, the archive tradition has not developed yet. Therefore, it is not possible to have access to institutional resources about many subjects and even it is not possible to be sure that there are any retroactive records were kept.³⁴² In my opinion, even a few years after this study is made, it may not be possible to have an access to the information and institutional resources used in this study. At this point, field research can also enable us to explore and record media history.

The last assertion and conclusion of the study is the most of the policies of DDP are in accordance with the policies and the notion of public broadcasting in Turkey. The public service broadcasting practices and the structures of the broadcasting corporations in different countries show differences. However, that these corporations can become the public service broadcasters, not state-run broadcasters, lies in the fact that they have autonomous and impartial structures.

TRT was defined to have an autonomous status legally with the laws, rules and regulations it was dependent on. Although the institution got an autonomous status again after the amendment made to the 133rd article of the Constitution, the fact that it had no autonomy in either administrative or

³⁴¹ Neumann 375.

³⁴² Too many examples about the issue can be found in Chapter 4.

financial terms has been attempted to be explained in the study so far. We can not say that the institution is the one which has no commercial aim within the frame Reith states in terms of finance. A part of its source of income is comprised of the advertisement revenue and therefore it must compete with private televisions and develop policies according to the ratings. Also, amendments are made related to the revenues of the institution together with the changes in the governments. In this sense, the financial autonomy of the institution can only become possible after making it possible to remove the authority of the governments to make amendments to the law of TRT revenues as it is stated by the News-Union (*Haber-Sen*).³⁴³

Although the budget of DDP is determined according to the budget of TRT, it has been stated that the producers of programs develop strategies to increase the budget allotted to their programs. However, after 1980, the change experienced in the field of public broadcasting required the public broadcasting institutions to get restructured. But, the fact that TRT still does not undergoing such a change can be explained with the fact that it does not penetrating a market completely. We can say that instead of penetrating the market, TRT adopts broadcasting policies compatible with the institutions which are influential on its budget. We can support this assumption, depending on the change documentary programs undergo in other public broadcasting corporations. It is such that we have stated that the cut made in the budgets of documentaries in ABC and BBC and the competition with the private channels affect the style of the documentaries. However, this state is not valid for TRT. In other words, documentary does not have an inclination towards the formats focusing on entertainment such as docusoap and infotainment just as we see in the examples abroad. This is a favourable condition for the documentaries in TRT in terms of the missions assigned to

³⁴³ "Haber-Sen," Basın Yayın ve İletişim Emekçileri Sendikası HABER-SEN'in İletişim Şurası'na Sunduğu Rapor, 16. Oct. 2005. , [Haber-Sen Official Website](http://www.habersen.org.tr/modules.php?name=Downloads&d_op=getit&lid=3), online, http://www.habersen.org.tr/modules.php?name=Downloads&d_op=getit&lid=3

the documentaries. However, this state results from the fact that TRT documentaries are under the effect of other characteristics of TRT, in the public broadcasting tradition of Turkey. In other words, like the policies of governments and military power, which have been made the legal arrangements in the field of broadcasting, directed the cultural policies, and approved the budget of TRT have been influential. It is not unexpected that the various governments determining the budget of TRT are influential in the policies of TRT and these effects are seen in programs (produced by DDP). Also, the autonomy of RTSC, which is the influential on the selection of administrative organs of TRT, has been discussed before and it has been stated that it is also under the influence of various state organs. Thus, the effect of state power is seen on the TRT and the documentaries produced in the DDP. For example, the instruction programs produced by the DDP generally functions to remind the identity which has created by the nation state as Benedict Anderson states in his book *Imagined Communities*³⁴⁴.

The condition that the program standards shall be high in public broadcasting seen necessary by Reith again, can not be realized as a result of the fact that the number of the producers, infrastructure and technical equipments has not increased when compared with the increase in the number of channels in TRT. The fact that the number of the staff increases in administrative units more than production units³⁴⁵ is one of the factors which affect both the quality and the number of the programs (which is also valid for DDP) and strengthen the claims related to the nepotism in staff appointment. That the purchase of programs produced outside the institution entails the large expenditure. It is also an indicator of the fact that producers could not specialized in the programs within the institution or

³⁴⁴ Benedict Anderson, "Memory and Forgetting." *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 1991) 187-206.

³⁴⁵ TC Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Denetleme Kurulu, Türkiye Radyo-Televizyon Kurumunun Eylem Ve İşlemlerinin Araştırılıp Denetlenmesine İlişkin Rapor Özeti.

they are low in number compared to administrative staff or sometimes the producers outside the institution are granted privileges. The factors affecting the quality of programs in DDP are strengthened by the factors such that there is no specialization in the staffing (such as documentary producers) and personnel training. In addition, the political pressures on the content and style of the programs unfavourably affect the quality of the programs.

However, it is not possible to say that TRT has public broadcasting policies for servicing the public and the whole nation. For example, as it has been stated in Chapter 4, there is no reason why historical documentaries are supported in some periods and natural documentaries are supported in some other periods. These policies are not determined in respect of the need and interest of the public. There is a need for longitudinal public opinion research in order to set the principles of public service broadcasting in Turkey.

Consequently, the condition of TRT is incompatible with the understanding of the public service broadcasting to some extent and the autonomous characteristic of the institution. It has also no institutionalised policies in the field of public broadcasting. This state also affects the policies of the units in TRT in the sense of public broadcasting. In other words, the institutionalisation of DDP policies can only be possible if TRT gets restructured and develops policies in the field of public broadcasting on the basis of the units.

In spite of all these unfavourable conditions, TRT is one of the institutions which could produce documentaries without any interruption for a long time in Turkey. The documentary program producers in DDP can work at ease in terms of budget and time when compared to those in the private sector. The public broadcasting and documentary programs, which were

taken with the focus on development in 1960s, are not taken with this mission anymore in Turkey. DDP was established by coincidence, and the public broadcasting policies of DDP have been shaped under the effects of above-mentioned policies in different time periods. The first aforementioned assertion of this thesis also supports this claim that individuals show initiative especially on the policies concerning institutional mechanism. Hence, it is also not possible to argue that the DDP has improved policies towards the public interest. In this sense, there is a need for institutionalised policies³⁴⁶ for DDP and documentary programs to be made for the benefit of the public in Turkey.

³⁴⁶ There is a lack of institutionalized policies in many areas in DDP and TRT. Many examples about this issue can be found in Chapter 4. For example, there is no definite (documentary) program classification in the institution and ambiguity in the duties of the unit such as providing archives materials.

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APPENDIX

TRT's General Directors Service Periods

Şenol DEMİRÖZ	12 January 2004 - 1 August 2005
Yücel YENER	18 July 1997 - 24 March 2003
Tayfun AKGÜNER	16 July 1993 - 9 September 1996
Kerim Aydın ERDEM	10 July 1989 - 10 July 1993
Cem DUNA	29 March 1988 - 26 April 1989
Tunca TOSKAY	28 March 1984 - 28 March 1988
Macit AKMAN	23 January 1981 - 27 March 1984
Doğan KASAROĞLU	14 December 1979 - 20 January 1981
Cengiz TAŞER	02 May 1978 - 14 November 1979
Şaban KARATAŞ	19 January 1976 - 22 June 1977
Nevzat YALÇINTAŞ	17 May 1975 - 24 November 1975
İsmail CEM	15 February 1974 -16 May 1975/ 20 April 1978
Musa ÖĞÜN	02 August 1971 - 30 August 1973
Adnan ÖZTRAK	04 May 1964 - 02 June 1971