

THE UNIONIZATION (PROBLEMS) CONCEIVED BY JOURNALISTS IN THE
POST-1980 MEDIASCAPE IN TURKEY

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ABSTRACT

THE UNIONIZATION (PROBLEMS) CONCEIVED BY JOURNALISTS IN THE POST-1980 MEDIASCAPE IN TURKEY

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The 1980s as a decade is characterized by the proliferation of new information and communication technologies as well as the expansion of US-led economic policy following the economic depression of the 1970s. Deregulation, privatization and the withdrawal of the state from many areas due to the disintegration of the welfare state model were all common all around the world. All these significant changes affected the structure of the labour market, the work organization and the framework for the employment relationship. As with any industry in the world, the organisation of the media has dramatically changed since the 1980s, the most important being the alteration of media ownership patterns. Indeed, in Turkey, the traditional media proprietors who were also journalists themselves replaced big trustees. This followed by journalists giving priority to the interests of the media proprietors'. Thus, the media became a hegemonic tool and journalists accepted working under the ideological pressure with the belief that they could not be successful unless they played the game according the rules. It was with these changes that the deunionization has emerged. Bosses aimed at decreasing the power of the union at the workplace and pulverize workers' reaction. This study presents the results of a field study consisting of a survey of 285 journalists among which there are unionised as well as non-unionised members and in-depth interviews with 35 journalists who occupy posts such as editors, chief editors or managers. The study reveals that most journalists choose not to become a member of a union due to the fear of losing their jobs. Factors such as the structure of the media, the employment legislation and the organisation of the unions are also important in understanding the journalists' conception of unionization. Furthermore, the lack of class consciousness among journalists also causes denunionization in the media sector. Today, most journalists believe that they belong to the elite class of the society just like the media proprietors. Therefore, it becomes inevitable for them to represent their bosses' class and act according to the media group's expectations and business interests.

Keywords: Union, unionisation, class, journalist, structural transformation of the media sector.

ÖZ

1980 SONRASI TÜRKİYE MEDYA ORTAMINDA GAZETECİLERİN SENDİKA ALGISI

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Yüksek Lisans, Medya ve Kültürel Çalışmalar ABD

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Yeni iletişim ve enformasyon teknolojilerinin kullanılmaya başlanması ve 1970'lerde tüm dünyada yaşanan ekonomik krizin ardından yeni iktisat politikalarının ABD'den başlayarak küresel boyutta yayılmasının on yılı olarak anılan 1980'li yıllar, yeni bir dönemin başlangıcını işaret etmektedir. Refah devletinin çökmesi ve ardından kapitalizmin alternatifsiz bir dünya düzeni konumuna gelmesiyle birlikte devletin küçülmesi, özelleştirme ve pazarın egemenliği gibi unsurlar tüm dünyada ön plana çıkmıştır. Bütün bu değişimler emek pazarının yapısını, işin örgütlenme biçimini ve çalışanlar arasındaki ilişkiyi de etkilemiştir. Kapitalizmin kendini yeniden yapılandığı bu süreçte diğer sektörlerin yanı sıra medya sektöründe de değişiklikler yaşanmıştır. O günlere dek süregelen geleneksel medya sahipliği yerini büyük sermaye gruplarına bırakmıştır. Mülkiyet yapısındaki bu değişimin sonucunda gazetecilik, grup çıkarları ve güç odakları ile bağlantılı, toplumsal sorumluluktan yoksun, uzmanlaşmış ve kişisel pazarlıkların yapıldığı bir meslek haline gelmiştir. Medya sektöründe yaşanan yapısal dönüşüm gazetecilerin sahip oldukları hakları koruma, talep ettikleri hakları elde etme ve sendikal örgütlenme konularında gösterdikleri tavra ilişkin bir tartışmayı da beraberinde getirmiştir. Dolayısıyla bu çalışmada gazetecilerin sendikal örgütlenme pratiğini nasıl algıladıkları tartışılmaktadır. Bu çalışma, 150 sendikalı, 135 sendikasız olmak üzere ulusal medyada çalışan 285 gazeteciye uygulanan anket çalışması ile farklı statü ve kurumlardaki 35 gazeteci ile derinlemesine mülakatı kapsayan alan araştırmasının sonuçlarını sunmaktadır. Mevcut yasaların, sektörün genel yapısının, gazetecilerin örgütlenme korkularının yanı sıra gazetecilerin sınıfsal algıları ve sosyo-ekonomik statülerinin de sendikasızlaşma sürecinde etkili olduğu bu çalışmanın temel sonuçları arasındadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sendika, sendikalaşma, sınıf, gazeteci, medya sektörünün yapısal dönüşümü.

*To
My Mother Nahide, My Father Sadık
and
My Sister Berna*

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TABLE 1: PROPERTIES OF INTERVIEWEES

JOURNALIST	SEX	OCCUPATIONAL POSITION	INSTITUTION	DATE OF INTERVIEW
A	F	Columnist (Former president of TGS)	Newspaper	June 6, 2008
B	M	Editor-in-chief	Newspaper	June 1, 2005
C	M	Reporter	Television	July 1, 2008
D	M	Columnist and former editor-in-chief	Newspaper	June 6, 2008
E	F	Reporter	Television	June 20, 2008
F	M	Producer	Independent	June 10, 2008
G	M	Fired journalist	Newspaper	June 10, 2008
H	M	Columnist	Newspaper	May 15, 2005
I	M	Editor	Newspaper	June 11, 2008
J	M	Fired journalist	Newspaper	October 20, 2005
K	M	Former editor-in-chief	Newspaper	June 11, 2008
L	M	Fired journalist	Television	June 9, 2008
M	M	Founder of the union	-	June 13, 2008
N	M	Reporter	Television	July 25, 2008
O	M	Reporter	Public television	July 25, 2008
P	M	Fired journalist	Newspaper	June 1, 2008
R	M	Reporter	Newspaper	June 10, 2008
S	M	Editor-in-chief	Television	June 12, 2008
T	M	Editor	Internet	June 10, 2008
U	M	Law adviser	Television	June 13, 2008
V	M	Fired journalist	Newspaper	June 10, 2008
Y	M	Information manager	Newspaper	June 14, 2008
Z	M	A member of executive board	Television	June 26, 2008
X	M	Former press adviser	Union	June 26, 2008

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The subject matter of this study is the conception of unionization among journalists in the post-1980s mediascape in Turkey. More specifically, this study focuses on the effects of structural transformation of the media (changes in the ownership system, professionalization, mobilization of labor power, the disappearing of cooperation with the increase in individualism, etc.) on the conception of unions and unionization among journalists in Turkey. The 1980s is considered as a turning point in this study because these years, as a decade, are characterized by the proliferation of new information and communication technologies as well as the expansion of US-led economic policy following the economic depression of the 1970s. Deregulation, privatization and the withdrawal of the state from many areas due to the disintegration of the welfare state model were all common around the world. All these significant changes affected the structure of the labor market, class relations, work organization and framework of employment relationship. In addition, employees became more business-oriented.

From the Second World War to the mid-1970s, capitalism had a stable growth. In this period, the Fordist/Taylorist industry relations in the organization of the labor force, capital accumulation model and applications of welfare state emerged. With the economic depression in the 1970s, unions acknowledged a crisis. The crisis of capitalism in the 1970s turned into the crisis of unions. In line with these new developments in the

economy, other phenomena such as liberalization, globalization and flexible production were also influential in the process. With the acceleration of restructuring, capitalism became a dominant system. The changes in the nature of work and employment are also the results of these years. This in turn, professional practices and new career models with low job security gave rise to increase individual responsibility instead of unions in managing careers and knowledge based power in the industry.

In the new system, based on neo-liberal political economy, two basic elements emerged: Money markets and the media (Kaya, 1999). In the media industry, both the structure of the sector and patterns of unionization changed. In parallel with many countries, transformation of the media (privatization, deregulation, monopolization) also emerged in Turkey.

In the 1950s, the media started to be industrialized. Indeed it came out a profitable outlet within the dominant relations of production. After the 1980s, it was already a hegemonic tool which has a synergy with industry, finance and other sectors. Following this transformation, the journalism which depends on the relation between the “adept” and the “apprentice” makes a step towards professional journalism that rely on owners’ profit and suffered from a lack of social responsibility (Kaya, 1999; Kejanlıoğlu, 2004; Adaklı 2006). The process of professionalization also affects the contents and goals of the media and causes fundamental changes in the responsibilities of journalists and the nature of the media which becomes more interested in hearing its own authoritative voice echo in the public sphere than in producing an active and critical public. In fact the idea of journalism as a cultural practice has undergone significant changes related to shifting notions of work, including technological advancements in the workplace and predicament of a volatile market economy as media interests merged with the politics of mass society (Hardt, 1998:189-192). Most journalists, working for large organizations, often do not know clearly who the directors are and have no contact with the top managers or large shareholders. The relationship has become remote, indirect and impersonal. As a result of these changes, the relation among journalists changed and unionization lost its importance. Individual negotiations became important instead of collective bargaining.

Accordingly, an argument concerning the attitudes of journalists to protect their vested rights got acceleration. It is clearly seen that means of employment of journalists and related media workers became increasingly diversified. Indeed, many journalists are not engaged as employees under various national laws and organizations.

In the media industry, like other industries, the process of deunionization started to accelerate in the early 1990s. Journalists did not see themselves as representatives of the working class and were not categorized as class-conscious workers or members of a specific estate. Instead, journalists were regarded as belonging to and representing the media owners rather than being part of a mind worker (Hardt, 1998:195). On the other hand, some journalists who see themselves as brain workers think that if they participated to the union, they would lose all trace of their professional status and also their job. In this context, this study considers journalists as brain workers who produce news, in other words, cultural commodities. Therefore this study is based on the critical political economy and emphasizes the changing nature of the media ownership and the end product of a preferred cultural construction of journalists. It also attempts to reveal the absence of a labor perspective by tracing the treatment of neoliberal policies and explore theoretical and historical conditions underlying the conception of journalism as a profession.

This study can be structured in two ways: It is on the one hand concerned with an empirical study, and on the other, is a contribution to the working class studies. Despite the difficulties that it presents, the second has been given more weight because a large number of studies about the media industry have failed to pay enough attention to the labor and class. Since working process is mostly anonymous and is not seen in the product, working history of media organizations displays the relation between different media workers and professional practices with certain reality representations in a definite historical moment in the society. Similarly, it aims to analyze the beliefs and values of media historians and their role in the reconstruction of these types of struggles. It can be argued that providing social and economic awareness relating to the collective life of journalists is neglected at a certain stage of corporate media development to understand

the importance of labor in the media history. When we look at the studies on labor history, we observe a lack of interest in media workers in Turkey.

Marxian concepts of “class in itself” and “class for itself” were applied as metaphors in this study which aims to show subjective and objective conceptions of journalists about the union. Therefore, that objective and subjective class status of the journalists affect their conception about unionization is one of the main problems of this study. A severe polarization such as “bourgeoisie-proletariat” in the traditional literature is not the starting point for this study and the class concept is given a meaning through “dynamic” analysis. Taking the relation of a class in a capitalist social formation with other segments of the society (Dobb, 1992:15) the basis, in other words taking the “historical” positions in the production relations, it is deemed that these positions include transitivity at certain level, and it is necessary to consider capital types such as social, cultural, symbolic capital other than money capital of Bourdieu in addition to this transitivity.

Therefore, this thesis aims to dwell upon deunionization process within a historical framework and theoretical labor issues. The problem about relationship between journalism and union is only discussed in limited studies¹ in Turkey. All of these studies discuss problems of the journalists’ union and reviews deunionized media industry. Differing from these studies, the hypothesis of this study is that journalists do/can not unionize because not only do they fear of being dismissed but also a mind labor perspective is absent. Therefore, this study focuses on how journalists (either Union

¹ The books are as follows: *Gazeteci: Türkiye’de Basın Çalışanları Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (Journalist: A Study on Press Workers in Turkey) written by M.Kemal Öke (1994), *Tekelci Medyada Örgütsüz Gazeteci* (The Deunionized Journalist in the Monopoly Media) written by Atilla Özsever (2004) and *Türkiye’de Gazetecilik ve Gazeteciler* (Journalism and Journalists in Turkey) written by Abdülrezzak Altun. And there are also essays or chapters about this issue. It is important not to overlook the thesis written in Turkey on the issue. Some of these are: *Türk Basınında TGS* (TGS in Turkish Press - 1992), *Gazetecilerin Örgütlenmesi* (Unionization of Journalists - 1993), *Türk Yazılı Basınında Örgütlenme: Basın Sendikalarının Karşılaştığı Sorunlar ve Çözüm Yolları* (Unionization in Turkish Press: The Problems and Solutions of Press’s Unions - 1996), *Basın Sektöründe Sendikacılık ve TGS* (Unionism in the Press Sector and TGS - 2000), *Türk Basın Sendikacılığı İçin Bir Örnek: Fransız Basın Sendikacılığı* (An Example for Press Unionism of Turkey: Press Unionism of France - 2000), *Türkiye’de Basın Çalışanlarının Sorunları ve Sendikanın Rolü* (The Problems of Press Workers in Turkey and Role of the Union - 2003) and *Ulusal Medyada Haber Üretim Sürecinde Çalışan Gazetecilerin Ekonomik ve Sosyal Statüsü Üzerine Bir Alan Araştırması* (A Field Study on Economic and Social Status of Journalists Working in Production Process of News in National Media - 2004).

members or not) conceive the unions. Another purpose of this study is to enclose the deunionization process in the context of the changing nature of the media. This study attempts to contribute to a critical understanding of journalism as a profession and the ways the union is perceived among the journalists.

In this context, the main research question of this study is “Why the journalists do not/can not unionize despite of the bad and unsecured working conditions caused by neoliberal politics?” Therefore, this study will seek to evaluate the meanings attached to the union by the journalists.

In order to achieve the above-mentioned goals, this study is organized as follows: Chapter 2 offers brief information about the political economy of the media and discusses journalism as a profession that embraces the concerns of the working class, the status of journalists, structural transformation of the media and journalistic practices to help provide answers about unionization perceptions of journalists. This chapter ends with a reconceptualization of the media labor force and the union movement in the post-1980.

Chapter 3 discusses three main topics: The transformation of the press into the media in Turkey (Kaya, 1999); the quality of media industry, journalists’ status and the unionization processes. Media sector has become a gun for the owners and this goal affects journalistic practices and also journalists’ unionization process (Sönmez, 2003). Therefore, in this chapter, it will be shown that the media industry is not profitable. Chapter 3 also presents a review of Turkey’s press history in order to have a clearer picture the post-1980s era.

Chapter 4 presents the results of a field study on the conception of union and unionization process among the journalists in the post-1980s mediascape in Turkey. This thesis consists of quantitative and qualitative data obtained by conducting questionnaire and in-depth interviews. The questionnaire including both open-ended and close-ended questions is applied to 150 unionized and 135 non-unionized journalists working at news centers of television, newspaper and news agencies in Istanbul and Ankara. The

journalists subjected to the law number 212 and law number 4857 (former 1475) were taken as the random sample in this study. The questionnaire was applied to journalists by using different techniques. Most of them were answered one-to-one and face to face. The questionnaire was left to some of the journalists who could not answer due to their busy agenda and they were collected later. It was applied to some of them (50 journalists) via e-mail.

In-depth interview is another method used in this study. 32 people from a wide employment spectrum such as reporters, editors, editors-in-chief, law advisers, union representatives, journalists dismissed from their jobs for being member of a labor union, columnists, and academicians were interviewed in depth. These semi-structured interviews were conducted in Istanbul and in Ankara. The main questions of interviews were determined in advance but they were not asked in a fixed order. Additional questions were sometimes added during the interview and also some titles were excluded. Chapter 4 ends with a review of the methodology which is followed by an analysis of the results emanating from the questionnaires. The final chapter of the thesis presents a discussion of the subject within a theoretical framework, combining information gathered from the results of the field work.

CHAPTER 2

THE LABOR FORCE IN THE MEDIA INDUSTRY FROM A CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY APPROACH

The media industry, producing and distributing cultural products that are interrelated with economy, politics and culture, has been under the domination of the general functional rules of goods and services market from the 1980s. Therefore, the media sector that enlarges the product/production by the new possibilities of industrial technology and developing communication technologies has happened to be the main producer, seller and distributor of cultural products and services. These institutions are organized as the other industrial enterprises of different sectors. Consequently, products such as news, films and TV programs became commodities with have market value and produced by paid labor.

As Braverman (1974)², reconstructing a critical theory of management ideologies from the chronicles of organizational and technological changes, suggests that industrialization gradually destroyed craft as a unity of mental and manual labor which led to a significant degradation of labor. The resulting labor process theories seem applicable to journalism history, since they may offer useful insights about how technological changes, in particular, have affected the class experience of newswriters (Im, 1997:33). In other words, the structural transformation of the media which is in synergic relation with

² *Labor and Monopoly Capitalism* (1974), written by Harry Braverman, is one of the pioneer studies on labour process theory. In this book, he focuses on the managerial control over the labour process.

different sectors mostly affects the way journalism is practiced and as a consequence, the journalist. In addition, technological innovations have also an important role in this process. Indeed, these innovations have allowed management to tighten control over the labor process, while workers gradually have lost skills and the scope of discretion in daily job executions.

When journalists have started to move from the street into more sheltered offices inside media palaces and when journalism has become a full-time job of some magnitude, the qualifications of journalists have also started to change. Thus, the inevitable question emerged: Who shall be considered a journalist?

This condition also affects how the journalist positions her/himself in the business and consequently their relation with the unions organized in the media sector. Division of labor in such firms is complex and highly developed. Journalists' employment conditions are now much closer to those of factory workers or routine non-manual workers in any industry (Christian, 1980:262). Professionalization also affects the media contents and changes the responsibilities of journalists who are interested in giving a place to authoritative voice than in producing the news for an active and critical public. Hence culture as a part of material production involves "control of the means of intellectual production". A professional model with its emphasis on individual competition and autonomy helps foster the anti-union curve of most professional newswriters/journalists as demonstrated by the deficiency of unionization. As a result, it is necessary to examine how professionalism in the newsroom is related to unionization of journalists. The idea of newswriters as members of the working class cannot be seen acceptable at the first stage. Since "contradictory class locations" (coined by Wright) of journalists who are managers and reporters makes determination of class difficult. Thus, different class perspective is also necessary to discuss the journalists' class positions and their approaches to the union.

Consequently, this chapter deals with discussion on journalism that involves the concerns of a working class debates, the status of journalists, structural transformation of media

and journalistic practices to help provide answers about conception of unionization among the journalists. All these issues shall be examined in the light of critical political economy of media.

2.1. The Political Economy of the Media

The social position of mass media drew the attention of especially American scholars with the institutionalization of the newspaper from the 19th century and cinema, radio and then television from the 20th century.

The studies in this field have also increased in accordance with the new investments that are related with the synergic relation of mass media with other sectors and media's widespread affect.

Behavioral Anglo-American approach focused on researching the affects of mass media on individuals and groups.³ The studies based on critical approach focus, theoretically, on either structuring meaning and consumption or economic organization of media industries and production. Murdock sunders structuralism relying on media studies:

- Emphasizing on the political structure: These media studies give importance to signification, representation and texts. So these studies focus on consumption process.
- Emphasizing on the economic structure: These media studies give importance to structure of the media market, structures and dynamics of private sector (1980).

Although the affect and the role of the media in social communication process do not constitute the direct subject of this study, *pseudo culture* (coined by Adorno), is examined to understand how the profession has changed and how the media has focused on forming a “pseudo culture” by taking hold of the production processes of the capital.

³ For further information about dominant paradigm in mass media studies please see Gitlin, 1978. In addition, see Alemdar&Kaya, 1983 to get information about main approaches to mass communication.

As Garnham (1990:28) states, under monopoly capitalism the superstructure becomes precisely industrialized; it is invaded by the base and the base/superstructure distinction breaks down via collapse into the base.

For this reason, it can be said that the emphasis of the Frankfurt School on culture industry conceptualization and the process of commodification⁴ of the culture via this concept bring light to political economy approach.

In the first part of the 20th century, Frankfurt School theorists, such as Adorno and Horkheimer, used the term *culture industry* to refer to the reproduction of the dominant ideology through the media.⁵

According to Adorno and Horkheimer, cultural industry produces the products that consumers need, but its main aim is to arise unnecessary necessities for consumers. Therefore it doesn't make room for critical thinking; on the contrary, it serves the consumer what is ready. That is why the products of cultural industry are indistinguishable and they are not authentic.

The claim of how culture itself happened to be an industry and cultural products becoming commodities is the source of cultural industry concept. According to Adorno, culture helps people to suppose that they live in a society that suits them; relieves and narcotizes them. And this helps the economic determination of existence. This is why Adorno opposes that culture, and underestimates that kind of productions by defining it as cultural industry. Adorno underlines that cultural industry has not occurred naturally

⁴ Commodification refers to the process of turning use values into exchange values, of transforming products whose value is determined by their ability to meet individual and social needs into products whose value is set by what they can bring in the market place. For more details about commodification, please see Capital Vol.1 (1990). Moreover, Mosco examines the commodification in his book, *The Political Economy of Communication*. He argues that commodification is the entry point form which to begin rethinking the political economy of communication. Please see, Mosco, 1996.

⁵ Adorno and Horkheimer replaced the term, mass culture, with culture industry in order to exclude from the outset the interpretation agreeable to its advocates: that it is a matter of something like a culture that spontaneously from the masses themselves, the contemporary form of popular art (Adorno, 1975:12). For the more about the culture industry, please see the book, *Dialectic of Enlightenment* written by Adorno and Horkheimer in 1974.

from the mass and it is not a new contemporary version of popular art. He emphasizes that cultural products are transformed, standardized as commodities that are produced by profit impulse (2003).

The emphasis on cultural industry of Frankfurt School clearly shows us that media productions are mere commodities. Therefore specifically after the transformation of the property system, the meaning of journalism and production process has also changed.

Hence Garnham, an important scholar of political economy, highlights the product itself while looking at the economic relationships. He focuses on both the structure of production and the consumption of symbolic content. He accuses cultural studies of giving much more importance to consumption, leisure time and everyday practices than working and institutions. According to him, it is necessary that the relation between cultural factor and the economic structure be established and also this relation can be possible with *cultural materialism*. Garnham states that escaping from traps of theories which are not social and historical, mass communication tools are reestablished with tradition of historical materialism. He asserts that reductionism either economic or ideological confuses us (Erdoğan & Alemdar, 2002: 436-441).

In the media industry, journalists work for the media owners, and the latter regard their papers much as the proprietors of great retail stores regard their shops. They provide what they suppose the public to want (Saunders & Wilson, 2001:38). The mass media can create an aura which makes the audience seem to experience a non-existent reality.

Sholle underlines an important point that according to Adorno, ideology is a domination system which is intensive and inevitable and fiction is basic for the cultural industry (1999:280). Ideology is a store of signs belonging to the rationality of a class' domination. The dominant ideas are nothing more than the ideal expression of the dominant material relations expressed as ideas which cause one of the class to be the ruling class (Mattelart, 1979:117). According to Adorno, it is precisely in such an intellectualization of culture that its powerlessness is already confirmed: the real life of

people is over to blind existence, blind changing relations. As already stated above, he characterized the industrialized culture with the term *pseudo-culture*. The atomized contents of *pseudo-culture* is the answer to lives of atomized individuals; those who are no longer capable of self-formation and who have already surrendered by the overwhelming power of the collective (1993:16). The stratum of middle class white collar workers is the model of *pseudo culture* and its effect on the real lower classes can obviously be proved with as little confidence as can the standardization of consciousness in general.

Babe notes that Adorno did not claim that “conditions of production” spontaneously determined people’s thoughts had consciousness; rather he turned to the “cultural industries” as means whereby hegemonic groups impose “useful” values and perceptions in the minds of the laboring populace (1995:74). Adorno qualified the effect of industry on people’s consciousness:

Although the culture industry undeniably speculates on the conscious and unconscious state of the million towards which it is directed, the masses are not primary, but secondary, they are not an object of calculation; an appendage of the machinery. The customer is not king, as the culture industry would like to have us believe, not its subject but its object. The very word mass media, specially honed for the culture industry, already shift the accent onto harmless terrain. Neither is it a question of primary concern for the masses nor of the techniques of communication as such, but of the spirit which sufflates them, their master’s voice. The culture industry misuses its concern for the masses in order to duplicate, reinforce and strengthen their mentality, which it presumes is given and unchangeable. How this mentality might be changed is excluded throughout. The masses are not the measure but the ideology of the culture industry even though the culture industry itself could scarcely exist without adapting to the masses (1975:12).

The media shapes and structures the public opinion and conscious. Therefore, the media has a significant effect on creating a *pseudo-culture*. All ideology appears upside in the media productions. This can be understood with the passage below written by Marx and Engels in *German Ideology*:

Consciousness can never be anything else than conscious existence, and the existence of men is their actual life-process. If in all ideology men and their circumstances appear upside down as in *camera obscura* this

phenomenon arises just as much from their historical life-process as the incision of objects on the retina does from their physical life-process (1974:47).

Concentration and conglomeration have serious implications for media content and media audiences. Audiences are constructed primarily as consumers rather than citizens who have a right to be informed.

In *Grundrisse*, Marx writes, “Without production there is no consumption; but also without consumption there is no production” (1993:40). According to Marx, unless a product is consumed, a product does not become a real product. And also consumption without an object is not consumption. Because of this, production does not mean anything unless its objects consume. So both consumptive production and also productive consumption are underlined to explain the relationship between consumption and production. In other words, production determines the character, end and role of the consumption; similarly, production is shaped by consumption. Not only the object is the result of the production but also pattern of consumption is the result of one. Hence, Marx states that production produces consumption,

- by determining the manner of consumption,
- by creating the material for it,
- by creating products and also need of consumer.

As mentioned above, production also produces needs for consumer. In the first tome of *Capital* Marx seeks to define commodity. If the person produces one object for himself, he manufactures only production and it does not produce a commodity (1990). On the other hand, if the production is manufactured for the human needs, it becomes a commodity. And this commodity satisfies any kind of human needs. This is what Marx calls *use value*. Marx states that use value is only realized in use or in consumption. When we think about use values of media products, we also have to think about these products contents (Marx, 1963).

In conclusion, all of these show that, as Marx points out in *Capital*, there is not an identical relation between production, consumption, exchange and distribution. In spite of distinctions, there is a unity between them. Especially, production and consumption has a dialectic relationship. Thus, they determine each other's structure and nature. As Garnham states that analyzing production process is vital to understand the relationship between power relation in culture and dominant structure. In that case, it is possible to say that media studies should privilege both consumption and production (2001).

In media studies, cultural studies is related with representation, reproducing dominant class' discourse, consumption and reception; while, political economy approach is related with dynamics of capitalist economy and power relationship.⁶ Golding and Murdock underline that both cultural studies and political economy approach are necessary for analyzing the media. Thus, they assert the third approach called "the critical political economy". This approach has a trivet: production, consumption and also texts. They characterize this approach as follows:

(...) cultural forms are mechanisms regulating public discourse. Two perspectives came out in this process: First one is related with the serious of discourses. The second one is related with discourses in texts. (...) Critical political economy focuses on how significant cultural forms of the economical dynamics of production configure public discourse (1991).

At the end of the 1960s, Baran and Sweezy overviewed the capitalist mode of production by the mediation of Marxist point of view. After this process, political economy started to take a place in the area of social sciences. Differentiating itself from the classical theory of economy, this approach relies on the terms of class and value. While free enterprise, individualism and freedom of choice are predicated on markets by liberal political economists, critical political economists focus on production and ownership. According to the Marxist theory, while social inequality means, basically, class inequalities, history becomes the history of the class struggles. The frame of this analysis states that ruling way of thinking has a determining role:

⁶ Political economy and cultural studies have criticized each other for a long time. Supporters of political economy asserts that cultural studies move away from Marxist perspective and with new intellectual tendency become close to pluralism whereas cultural studies asserts that political economy is outdated by the events because of its reductionist tendency.

The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it... In so far, therefore, as they rule as a class and determine the extent and compass of an epoch, it is self-evident that they ... among other things ... regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age; thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch (Marx and Engels, 1974:64).

According to this passage, not only the means of production but also the production and distribution of ideas is concentrated in the hands of the capitalist owners and therefore, it is seen that ideological domination plays an important role in maintaining class inequalities.

The role of mass media has been understood by the Marxist approach as the one that maintains the *status quo* of class dominance, whereas freedom of speech is seen as the role of media by the liberal pluralists or non-Marxists, while pluralists see the media as an organizational system with a fairly certain degree of autonomy. It assumes a tier of management that allows a great deal of latitude to media professionals in their representations. The Marxist view of media is one of class domination. Opinions and views are fought within the dominance of certain classes, control is held by the capitalist and media professionals are influenced and affected by the dominant culture. The media represents the ideology of the dominant class and the audience is unable to perceive the ideological influence of the dominant class via the media. The materialist stance is a central feature of Marxist theory; social being determines consciousness. Class determines ideology and the dominant ideology in society is the ideology of dominant class. Clearly, mass media has ideological power. In Marxist media analysis the media institutions are locked into and act with the institutions that dominate society. The media represents the opinions of institutions as the only perspective.

Since the 1970s, Golding and Murdock have made a major contribution to the political economy of media and communication.⁷ A political economy of mass communication

⁷ *For a Political Economy of Mass Communication* (1973) is their earlier study. With this essay, they underlined that media is a commercial and industrial organization producing and also distributing

attempts to shift attention away from the conception of the mass media as ideological apparatuses of the state and sees them first as economic entities with both a direct economic role as creator of surplus value through commodity production and exchange and an indirect role, through advertising, in the creation of surplus value within other sectors of commodity production (1973, 30). The critical political economy sustains that media practices are defined by economic infrastructure but this relation is not basic prolongation from Orthodox Marxism. According to this approach, which accepts relative autonomy of the media, economy is the determining factor (Tılıç, 1998:48). Therefore, political economy of mass communication provides that media is an industrial and commercial organization which produces and distributes merchandises but it is not disregarded that media has a big role in spreading economic and political thoughts ideologically. Golding and Murdock state that according to political economy of communication, cultural production has a limited effect on cultural consumption; relates present representations with material reality of these representations' production and consumption and applies to cultural consumption to display relation between material and cultural inequality (1997:61). The basic characteristics of this approach emphasized by Mosco are that political economy,

1. analyzes social changes and historical transformation.
2. analyzes hall of the social relations setting economical, political, social and cultural areas.
3. depends on moral philosophy related with social values and moral principles (1996).

Garnham argued for a political economy of mass communication, suggesting that in order to understand the structure of culture, its production, consumption and reproduction and the role of mass media in that process, it is necessary to confront some of central questions of political economy in general, the problem of productive and nonproductive

commodity. In addition to the production and distribution process, the political economy of media looks the ideological role of these commodities. Together with Golding and Murdoch, Smythe, Schiller, Murdock, Parenti, Schudson, Chomski, Garnham, Mosco and Wasko make researches on this issue. Since the 1970s American Marxist political economy of the media has evolved from the work of Dallas Smythe and Herbert Schiller, and, later, Vincent Masco and Janet Wasko in particular; concerns about a class analysis also appeared in the writings of Armand Mattelart.

labor, the relation between the private and public sectors and the role of state in capitalist accumulation (Quoted in Hardt, 1998:48).

According to fundamentalist tradition, the media and its messages are determined by the economic base of the organization in which they are produced. Therefore, any commercial media organizations must submit to the influence of the advertisers in programming while political and state institutions sponsored media tend toward middle ground material. Ideology is seen as subordinate to the economic base. The ownership and control of the media constitutes its basic structure. Economics is criticized as a simplistic theory which does not take diversity into consideration. In Marxist terms, the mass media is the tool by which ruling class disseminates information and ideas to society without allowing opposition or alternative opinions.

The concentration of property is the major reason of homogeneous media products. This leads to a situation whereby a political and social control is exercised on media owners. Therefore, whereas some opinions and images are permitted access to circulation, some others are not. This process is not a coincidental process. In this context, if cultural images and their circulation are the visual expressions of ideological processes, these are not easily conceptualized outside capitalist social structure. Therefore an insight into critical political economy will show how the capital is closely linked to culture (Cakmur, 1998:141-145).

Although the critical political economy approach places questions of economic exploitation and class relations to the center of their analyses of communication and media, it does not ignore the cultural processes. To understand the basic framework of the critical political economy approach, it will be useful to look at media industry, production process and journalism have undergone.

2.2. Transformation of the Media in the Globalization Process

From the 1980s, a new economic and political era termed neo-liberalism was inaugurated in the USA and the United Kingdom by the governments of Reagan and Thatcher⁸. What is the main cause of neo-liberalism? Three crisis of capitalism gave rise to this policy: The first crisis occurred with the concentration of capital after the end of the 19th century. During the second crisis, experienced between 1914 and 1945, the capitalist system encountered coercion. During the third crisis, started in the 1970s, the government pulled back from public services and as a result, not only the political sphere but also the social sphere was increasingly owned by the market forces (Dursun, 2001:87). With this breaking point, the government revised its methods of intervention. In the capitalist system, government and markets support each other since markets do not have self-regulation, they require intervention of governments.

Privatization was supported with the emergence of deregulation policies, first in the USA and in Europe in the 1980s. The media experienced the deregulation since the 1970s as a result of an increase in private broadcasting and a decline in the monopoly of public service broadcasting in Western Europe. In Britain, the debate about media organization has been twofold. One side calls for the media to be free of regulation other than the law of the land. The other side praises the British broadcasting system and declares it to be the best in the world (Curran&Seaton, 2003:411). According to the approach defending deregulation, government/State is the main obstacle in front of development and democracy. Von Hayek, a proponent of this approach, defends the neo-liberalism on the public sphere, and maintains that the arising power of the government in economic and social spheres has brought the end of democracy and freedom (Isıklı, 2003:44). Mosco makes a significant point by stating that deregulation as seen as a political movement is the way of self-reshaping to government's potential class struggle (1996).

⁸ Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets and free trade. Please see for more information about neoliberalism Harvey, 2005; Aguilar&Herod, 2006; Johnston & Filho, 2008

2.2.1. Changes in Media Ownership System

Like any industry, the organization of the media has dramatically changed since the 1980s, the most important being the alteration of media ownership patterns. By opening up the media market to transnational ownership, foreign investments and cross-media mergers in local markets, the formerly quite stable news companies started to shift towards what became an industry-wide buzzword in the 1990s: convergence. Deuze summarizes the institutional characteristics of convergence as follows: companies developing partnerships with other media organizations, journalistic or non-journalistic, to provide, promote, repurpose, or exchange news and the introduction of cross-media marketing and management projects (2008:7). The process of accumulation of media properties, while always a staple of media business practices, accelerated in the 1990s, resulting in a market where there are more media outlets owned by a smaller number of companies (Bagdikian, 2004). This institutional trend has been supercharged by increased worldwide government deregulation on the one hand, and the rapid diffusion of digital media technologies on the other. The liberalization of national and global markets by governments during the second half of the 20th century has had particular consequences for countries with a history of dual media systems, where commercial operators (mainly in broadcasting) worked side by side with government-protected public service stations (Deuze, 2008:7).

The traditional media proprietors who were also journalists themselves replaced with big trustees. The ownership of the means of production has become progressively less dispersed and increasingly concentrated in the hands of a relatively few large corporations. Under the corporate system, ownership passed out of the hands of individual capitalists and their immediate family and into the hands of a more broadly – based group of investors, although quite often the original founders held on to a sizable proportion of the shares (Murdock, 1977:19). Global media conglomerates such as Bertelsmann or Time Warner own and also control an important number of media companies in the old and new media sector.

Bagdikian begins his book entitled *The New Media Monopoly*, with the complex question of who owns any given media outlet. At the time of his research, all major US media sources were owned by 50 companies. Ironically, Bagdikian predicted that if media mergers were to continue at the then-current rate, the 50 company figure would drastically drop; his prophecy was correct, and today only five companies⁹ control most of the media outlets. The companies that control the media, therefore, have a vested interest in two things: ensuring that the family company is never negatively reported on, and finding ways to plant positive news items about the family company. Bagdikian details several examples in which journalists were fired and stories held simply because the subject was in some way injurious or potentially injurious to the family company (2004).

Unlike the old style owner-entrepreneurs who had actively intervened in the routine running of their enterprises, the new shareholder proprietors tended to be “absentee owners”. In addition, as Murdock underlined that whereas the old-style press magnates saw their newspapers as mouthpieces for their pet ideas and political convictions, modern owners confine themselves to taking general decisions about resource allocation and market strategy and leave their editors to translate them into journalistic practice (1980:41). They simply took their share of the profits in the form of interest and left the business of supervising production to paid professional managers. Marx was one of the first commentators to draw attention to this development, noting that:

Stock companies in general have an increasing tendency to separate this work of management from the ownership of capital... the mere manager who has no title whatever to the capital performs all the functions pertaining to the functioning capitalist... and the capitalist disappears as superfluous from the production process (Quoted in Murdock, 1977:19).

According to Marx, as well as directing the basic economic activities of society, the property-owning class also controls cultural production and regulates the ideas and images which follow through the major channels of public communications. Furthermore, they use this control to ensure that these messages publicize and endorse their accounts

⁹ Bagdikian characterizes these companies as “the big five”.

and justifications of the existing social arrangements. As a result, their ideas became the “ruling ideas of the epoch” and dominated the mental horizons of subordinate groups who consequently came to view the prevailing distribution of wealth and power and their lowly position within it as natural and inevitable. For Marx, control over communications rested fairly and squarely in the hands of society’s dominant property owners and played an important role in maintaining their privileges and their power. As he saw it, ownership, control and class power were inextricably tied together (Murdock, 1977:16).

According to liberal theorists who assume that the editorial independence is possible to achieve, the ownership and the control must be separated. Thus, it is held that the owners have lost their control on the production process. Managerial revolution has separated ownership and control in such industries as the media. The owners still had a monopoly of allocative control. The managers simply put policies into practice. Marx acknowledged that the division of roles could lead to a divergence of interests as managers and creative personnel began to develop priorities which clashed with the aims and interests of the owners (Murdock, 1977:20).

Bottomore, opponent of *managerial revolution*¹⁰ thesis, states that there is a close connection between the owners and the managers of industry in three respects:

In the first place, the managers are very often owners, in the sense that they have substantial shareholdings in their companies; and although shareholding may be quite widely dispersed this only make it easier for a small number of shareholders to control the policies of the company. Secondly even when managers are not important shareholders in their companies, they are usually wealthy men; as C.Wright Mills points out in *The Power Elite*, the chief executives and the very rich are not two distinct and clearly segregated groups. They are both very much mixed up in the corporate world of property and privilege... Thirdly, the recruitments of managers are predominantly from the upper strata of society. In the USA, according to Mills, ‘the top executives of 1950 are not country boys who made good in city’, nor are they immigrants or even sons of immigrants; these urban, white, Protestant Americans were born into families of the upper and middle upper classes. Their father was mainly entrepreneurs (1964:80).

¹⁰ James Burnham supplements the approach which asserts that manager elites get the power by using the tool of proprietors with his book *Managerial Revolution* (1960).

The progressive splitting of share ownership did not fragment the power accruing to ownership but they collected control in the hands of the managers. Professional managers have to worry about profits just as much as the traditional tycoon. Even if they are subjectively interested not in profits but in the growth of the firm and the power and prestige which this brings them, profits are still essential to secure this growth (Murdock, 1977:26).

The case of the middle and lower levels of management is rarely different, for the social area of recruitment is not very much wider, and since most of the managers at these levels aim to reach the higher executive positions, the same social attitudes and they seek to establish the same connections as those at the top. According to Bottomore, it can be clearly seen that the top managers and the owners of property are so intimately connected as to form, in the main, a single group:

As they climb the management ladder so they acquire more substantial property interests. In all this there is little to suggest an imminent “managerial revolution”, or to give verisimilitude to Burnhams’s sketch of the managerial ideology. The managers, especially the top managers, form an important functional group in industrial societies; they are elite in the sense that they have high prestige and take important economic decisions, and that they are increasingly aware of their position as a functional group (and this awareness is fostered by the development of systematic studies and training in management), but they are not independent of the upper class of property owners, and they are not becoming a new “ruling class” (1964:81-82).

The inevitable consequences of being subsumed by a bigger company is the fear of downsizing, loss of editorial control over the creative process, and homogenization across the older and newly acquired titles among the journalists (Deuze, 2008:7). All these followed by journalists giving priority to the interests of the media proprietors. Thus, the media became a hegemonic tool and journalists accepted working under the ideological pressure with the belief that they could not be successful unless they played the game according to the rules.¹¹

¹¹ The conflict between newswriters and media management has never disappeared; it has taken new forms, however, with the changing structure of American society. The belief in progress has given way to

To describe the media as cultural industries it is required to point out that the demonstrable reality that symbolic forms are in general produced, distributed, and consumed in the form of commodities and under conditions of capitalist market competition and exchange (Garnham, 2000:39). Therefore, media workers have to sell their labor not only to survive but also to increase the capital's investment. This system will generate a relatively consistent pattern of action on the part of both capitals and workers in response to the steering of the price system (Garnham, 2000:43).

Theoretical discussion proceeded above is necessary in order to discuss the perception of unionization among journalists and see what kind of ground that media sector lies on. However in order to find an answer to the main question of the discussion, it is inevitable to look at how the journalism is defined; how it is located as a profession in the sector, what is the ownership structure of media sector and how this sector is transformed.

2.2.2. Journalism: A craft or a profession?

After characterizing the media sector by concentration, conglomeration and hyper commercialism, the journalistic works are shaped and structured as an ideological apparatus of the authority and ruling class. The rapid growth has meant significant changes in the structure of the labor market and in the organization of work within and outside the framework of the employment relationship emerged. Following these changes, journalist has moved from news persons to news seller; an editor-centered, personnel structure to corporatism; focused on advances in technology; increased competition, diversification and advertising as a means to profit (Hardt, 1990; Deuze, 2008).

With changing the meaning of journalism, one of the points gaining importance makes reference to the profession of columnist. In a more correct expression, while news played

faith in production, which rests more than ever on the abilities of the workforce –including the professionalization of journalists- at a time when the media industry has consistently gained economic and political ground with the emergence of an information society (Hardt, 1998:189).

the second fiddle in the new structure that the media has moved in 1980s, the columnists came into prominence. The ideological mortar required by this structure started to be formed by the columnists. Bali explains this situation as follows:

Since technological renewal requires great capital, the hybrid figure being the mixture of traditional journalist-boss left its place to the business men being a newspaper owner and being of industrial and commercial investments and considering the journalism as a business. In this new period, the number of columnists increased since editors were concerned about filling the newspaper columns and addressing to the readers from each part (2002:20).

Consideration of journalists' own perspective on ethical issues inevitably raises questions about potential conflicts between journalists as seekers of truth and as servants of the market; between journalists as citizens and as employees; and between journalists as professionals and as workers. Such questions are central to discussions about what—indeed, *who*—journalism is *for* (Harcup, 2002:101).

The organization of news work follows certain rules contributing to the effective management of information overload. Different news genres have established conventions and deadline structures, newsroom hierarchies tend to be based on seniority and status, and the majority of news is prescheduled (Deuze, 2008:15).

Journalists and media workers are increasingly being employed in atypical and contingent employment relationships: casual employment, use of contract work and the rise of the use of triangular, ambiguous and disguised employment. Mostly, they endure long hours with low wages and a lack of security.

According to the survey conducted on the changing nature of work in the news media in 38 countries, by the International Federation of Journalists (IFJ), in countries where many journalists were employed on short-term rolling contract, respondents commented that

journalists felt pressured to stick to softer, more commercial stories because they did not want to jeopardize their chances of contract renewal.¹²

The crucial point underlined by Elliot is that while journalists had many of the appearances of being professionals, including a measure of respectability, middle class status and individualism, in reality they were employees whose interests were subordinate to those of organization which hired them (Bromley, 1997:322). Therefore, perceptions among journalists about their occupation clearly changed. By the 1990s, journalism started to be conceptualized as a profession instead of a craft. Journalism is seen as a profession which has ethical codes and so journalist must have a code of a conduct which guarantees their integrity and their trustworthiness. But in real, journalists have to guarantee the proprietors' or ruling class' integrity.

Hardt underlines that journalism rose in opposition during the years of the labor movement and possibly underwent significant ideological changes in their approach to journalism that may have consequences of the contemporary status of the profession.

As it stands now, journalism history's approach to the position of newswriters also reinforces the division of labor between intellectual and manual work. In the process by which journalism was transformed from a craft orientation among printers/editors to a division of labor between printers and journalists, for instance, the positioning of educated labor interests against owners became an important aspect in the struggle for control over issues of content and versions of truth. More specifically, the physical and ideological separation of journalists and interest created conditions of the workplace that enhanced the mechanism of managerial control over the labor force by acknowledging specific forms of knowledge and technological expertise. Thus journalists, with their designation as a professional labor force appear isolated from the organization of printers and press operators and their particular interests (1990:360).

¹² International Federation of Journalists (IFJ) conducted a survey entitled *The Changing Nature of Work* in 2006. This global survey is a case study of atypical work in the media industry. It covers about 49 per cent of members covered by IFJ affiliates. It represents about 25 per cent of all journalists. For the results of survey please visit <http://www.ifj.org/assets/docs/068/112/3fbf944-95ebe70.pdf>.

Although journalists, much like other professionals in the media industries, like to think of themselves as autonomous and creative individuals, in fact most of the work at news outlets is based on a set of routine, standardized activities. Deuze notes that Lance Bennett suggests journalists confront three separate sources of incentives to standardize their work habits: Firstly, routine cooperation with and pressures from news sources, such as public relations officials, spokespeople for organizations, celebrities, and politicians; secondly the work routines and pressures within news organizations that especially newcomers learn about by having to adapt themselves to mostly unwritten rules and conventions about the 'house style' way of doing things; finally, daily information sharing and working relations with fellow reporters, which in the case of certain beats results in journalists moving as a pack from event to event, encountering their competitor-colleagues at the same places, covering the same issues (2008: 14).

Deuze summarizes the key characteristics of this professional self-definition as a number of discursively constructed ideal-typical values. Journalists feel that these values give legitimacy and credibility to what they do. The concepts, values and elements said to be part of journalism's ideology in the available literature can be categorized into five ideal-typical traits or values. Like Colleagues such as Golding, Elliott, Merritt, Kovach and Rosenstiel, Deuze describes these as follows:

- Public service: journalists render a public service (as watchdogs or 'newshounds', active collectors and disseminators of information);
- Objectivity: journalists are impartial, neutral, objective, fair and (thus) credible;
- Autonomy: journalists must be autonomous, free and independent in their work;
- Immediacy: journalists have a sense of immediacy, actuality and speed (inherent in the concept of 'news');
- Ethics: journalists have a sense of ethics, validity and legitimacy (2005: 446-447).

In the particular context of journalism as a profession, ideology can be seen as a system of beliefs and a characteristic of a particular group, including the general process of the production of meanings and ideas within the group. Ideology has also been identified as an instrument in the hands of journalists and editors to naturalize the structure of the

news organization or media corporation one works for (Soloski, 1990). Deuze states that especially when faced with public criticism, journalists apply ideological values to legitimate or self-police the recurring self similar selection and description of events and views in their media (2005:446).

Bromley argues that ongoing convergence of technologies undermines the basic skills and standards of journalism and fosters so-called 'multi-skilling' in newsrooms, which he sees as the result of economic pressures which cut back on resources while increasing workloads (Deuze, 2008:5).

As the number of media outlets and sources of information increases, journalists tend to spend more of their time at their desks than in the past. This can contribute to newsroom socialization on the one hand – as reporters spend more time with each other indoors – as well as it facilitates telecommuting and other flexible work practices for 'wired' correspondents and freelancers on the road. With wireless internet-enabled laptops, high speed telecommunications networks, and other portable communications devices, many employees today can work almost anywhere at least some of the time (Deuze, 2008:15). Professionalism and hierarchical relations enshroud the fear of job losing. Garnham states that Adorno and Horkheimer did not pass over this fact:

Under the private culture monopoly it is a fact that tyranny leaves the body free and directs its attack at the soul". The ruler no longer says, "You must think as I do, or die". He says, "You are free not to think as I do, your life, your property, everything shall remain yours, but from this day on you are a stranger among us". Not to conform means to be rendered powerless, economically and therefore, spiritually – to be 'self employed'. When the outsider is excluded from the concern, he can only too easily be accused of incompetence. Whereas today in material production the mechanism of supply and demand is disintegrating in the superstructure it still operates as a check in the ruler's favour (Quoted in Garnham, 1990:65).

As Sennett underlines that in the working life, the traditional career progressing step by step through the corridors of one or two institutions has vanished. In addition, the deployment of a single set of skills through the course of a working life becomes impossible. He says that "No long term" might be the most tangible motto of this change

(1998:22). Because of this change, the qualities of good work do not mean the qualities of good character owing to the global market and also using the new technology as a distinguishing feature of capitalism. Actually the transformation of journalism profession is not only peculiar to this sector; it proceeds as an overall transformation of general labor.

2.3. Reconceptualization of Media Labor Force in Capitalist Relations of Production

Capitalism steadily grew from the 2nd World War to the mid of 1970`s. New liberal politics that were applied after the crisis of the 1970s increased the speed of globalization and rivalry. The model based on social agreement and regulated capitalism started to be abandoned. Fordist accumulation regime is replaced by post-fordist accumulation regime.¹³ New flexibility caused looseness of protective regulations of unions at some countries. Regression of unions started (Celik, 2006:31)¹⁴. In the 20th century, the transformation of capitalism also gave rise to the transformation of class and class relations. The reasons for these changes may be summarized as follows:

- Technological changes,
- The emergence of giant corporations,
- Organized labor
- The rise of the service industry (Öngen, 1996:99).

The changing relations of the labor and the capital was an inevitable process right after the domination of labor by absolute capital following the way production methods and labor force productivity changed.

¹³ Fordism involves mass production of consumer durables which are made on moving assembly line techniques operated with the semi-skilled labor of the mass worker. The dynamics of Fordism is closely related to the form and function of the Keynesian welfare state, which in turn has important implications for the dynamic of Fordism. Post-Fordism can be defined as a flexible production process based on flexible systems and an appropriately flexible workforce. It is based on the dominance of a flexible and permanently innovative pattern of accumulation (Jessop, 2001).

¹⁴ Actually Taft-Hartly Act, a United States federal law restricted the activities and power of labor unions in 1947. Therefore, this act was seen the first act as a means of demobilizing the labor movement labor movement (Johnston&Filho, 2008:45).

It is known that there is a production of surplus value at the roots of capitalist production system that abstracts and alienates the workers from labor process. Nevertheless the process of technical division of labor is also effective in the increase of alienation that abstracts the worker from labor process. The changes in the labor process of last century cause unskilled labor force and it results in either the division of labor or the change of compound.

With the change in the capitalist class system, especially with the mechanization as one of the main factors of this change process, the qualities of the worker who survives by selling her/his labor have also changed and s/he has started to lose his/her abilities and skills.

The levels between expert workers that qualifies manufacture are replaced by the tendency of lowering and equalization of every kind of work done by the users to automatic factory, the differences that is created superficially between workers is replaced by natural differences such as age and gender (Marx, 1993:432).

Flexible employment ways such as partial agreement, lower contracts or temporary employment are not only the tools of reducing labor costs, but also they are rendering difficult and atomizing the labor force at the point of production without being a part of administrative struggle (Özügürlü, 2005:51). The dependence relation as a result of unskilled and worthless labor is effective not because it eradicates empirically the consciousness of working class, it is effective because it abandons or weakens the will of fighting back against the domination of the capital.

One of the most important characteristics of flexible production is that it atomizes the system of regime and it makes the work harder for the worker. Atomization means to carry the employment ways out of production environment. Hardening the work for the worker means to make only one worker responsible of the functionality of a big machine park and it also increases workload of the worker. This process also has an ideological dimension. The structure that is defined as “total quality management” (TQM)¹⁵ is

¹⁵ TQM is management strategy which aims to evaluate and improve the quality of manufactured goods. For further information see Powell, 1995.

aiming to make the worker mentally focus on the problems of production environment. Consequently working class physically loses its internal communication opportunities, ideologically develops a passive character in her/himself by recreating the capitalist production system (Belek, 2007:6). This new type of labor is defined as a labor that is not intensively placed, not dominated by the homogeneous and uniformed working conditions, but it is immensely specialized, isolated, flexible and atomized.

While bourgeoisie disorders employment, increases unemployment and decreases salaries by different strategies, the reactions of working class against bourgeoisie are insufficient. The gap existing is filled by bourgeoisie politics, and that results in empowering the politics against unions. Here the problem is about redistribution of social sources between social classes. Insufficiency of the politics of working class is reinforcing the defeat (Şenkal, 1999:2002).

It is important to look at how the working class is defined, what the main factors of the construction of working class consciousness are, and what place could be attributed to the journalist among the working class.

2.3.1. Journalists: Which Part of the Society Do They Belong to?

Debates on working class focus on two main approaches. First one is the Marxist approach that analyzes the class in relations of production and exploitation. The other one is the Weberian approach that characterizes the class as a result of social activity or market phenomenon.

In the Marxist class theory the main axis of class relations is based on material production system. Classes are not the elements of technical division of labor in social production system or of authority relations. According to Marx, capitalist society comprises of two main classes, namely the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. The dividing line between these two classes is the private ownership. At the one side of this division

there exists a class that owns the means of production; at the other side of it there exists a class that doesn't own them, and sells their labor force (Öngen, 1996).

There are four main approaches among Marxist writers about defining the working class. One of these approaches tends to limit the working class solely to the productive labor. The most important representative of this approach is Poulantzas. The second approach claims that such a limited definition of the working class does not match with the tendency of the new proletariat of today's labor process; white collars that do lower level, routine works should also be considered working class. Braverman and Wright come forward in this approach. The third approach evaluates office workers, white collars and administrative workers as 'new middle class'. Callinicos and Carchedi are from this group. The fourth approach that Mandel and Friedman represent sees all waged people as working class (Öngen: 1996, 193).

Poulantzas sees the classes as the subjects in the struggle. According to him, class concept cannot be separated from the class struggle and establishment of the classes cannot be reduced to the only economic structure or economic struggle. Poulantzas, limiting the working class with productive labor, makes the distinction between working class and middle-class strata that he calls new petit bourgeoisies based on the distinction between productive labor and unproductive labor. Therefore because white collars belong to unproductive labor, they can't be considered as working class. As Poulantzas bases these interpretations of his on Marx's statement: 'every productive worker is a paid worker but this doesn't mean that every paid one is a worker', and this is criticized. According to such criticisms Poulantzas misinterprets Marx (Wood, 1992: Öngen, 1996; Callinicos&Herman, 1994). In these criticisms, Marx's definition of labor as physical activity has been opposed and all kinds of labor force that are used while producing the products have been considered as collective labor according to their role in prospering the capital. Since it is not possible for the capital to take the profit in hand without the contribution of unproductive labor, unproductive labor forces should also be considered as working class.

Among such approaches who oppose Poulantzas's limited definition of the working class, the name that comes forward is Braverman. He tries to disprove the theses that claimed the elevation of middle class because of some paid workers' existence and used this as a proof of proletariat's disappearance on ideological and class levels. Braverman constitutes his basic thesis by considering classes as means of materialistic conditions of the proletariat. According to him the appearance of white collars as a new sector cannot be denied but a big part of the white collars has become to be unskilled workers so that it happens to be a part of labor class (Ongen, 1996: 196). Because of that, Braverman expresses that the process of becoming a proletariat still continues and office workers as a big part of white collars are also a part of working class.

Wright's conception of class is derived from Marxian and Weberian class analyses. Wright gives the analytical priority to the class structure not to the class struggle (Özügürü, 2005:41). Wright, like Braverman, opposes to the description of the working class with only productive labor. According to him, productive workers and non-productive workers are exploited. Because both of them produce labor that is wrenched and the compensation of which is not paid. The only difference between productive labor and non-productive labor is that non-paid labor-time is arrested as surplus value in productive labor; while, labor compensation of which is not paid reduces the cost of capitalist arresting the surplus value produced in other places in non-productive labor. A separation that will cause interest differences mainly between non-productive and productive labor cannot be mentioned in capitalist relations of production (Quoted in Callinicos&Herman, 1994:28-29). Wright characterizes the discrimination between productive and non-productive labor as the two different dimension of the labor efficiency. Therefore, the discrimination between intellectual and manual labor shows the division in the class in accordance with the thought of the author. The role of labor in its process is more important than the concrete forms of the labor according to Wright, who bases the proletarianization on isolation fact being one of the control tools. He states that the labor force being deprived of control has been proletarianized. At this point, the discrimination of mental and manual labor has no significance (Quoted in Öngen, 1996:194-195).

Property lies on the basis of the Weberian class analysis.¹⁶ Owning a property or not are the main categories of all class positions. However, there are different class positions in these categories. Class positions can vary according to the type of property yielding and the type of services to be presented to the market. For this reason, Weber states that property owner and disposed separate among them. The ones rendering service without having property are separated as per the type of the service and how they use things they have earned with these services (Weber, 1987:178).

The class situation may be restricted in its effects to the generation of essentially similar reactions that is, within Weberian terminology, 'mass actions.'

For example, the murmuring of the workers known in ancient oriental ethics: the moral disapproval of the worker's conduct, which in its practical significance was probably equivalent to an increasingly typical phenomenon of precisely the latest industrial development, namely, the 'slow down' (the deliberate limiting of work effort) of laborers by virtue of tacit agreement. The degree in which 'communal action' and possibly 'societal action,' emerges from the mass actions, of the members of a class is linked to general cultural conditions, especially to those of an intellectual sort. It is also linked to the extent of the contrasts that have already evolved, and is especially linked to the transparency of the connections between the causes and the consequences of the 'class situation' (Weber, 1987:179).

Giddens, one of the new intellectuals supporting Weberian perspectives, opposes the claim that the way towards the automation of desk job encourages the proletarianization. According to the author, automation of desk job causes the decrease in the demand of being mostly routine worker. Moreover, it causes demands to appear increasing the need of mostly high-educated and qualified personnel.

¹⁶ In Weberian terminology, classes are not communities; they merely represent possible and frequent, bases for communal action. According to this approach, class can be when a number of people have in common a specific causal component of their life chances, in so far as; this component is represented exclusively-by -economic- interests in the possession of goods and opportunities for income, and is represented under the conditions of the commodity or labour market. The factor that creates 'class' is unambiguously economic interest, and indeed, only those interests involved in the existence of the 'market' (Weber, 1987:177).

The white collar industry is less developed than the blue collars almost everywhere in the world in terms of organization and class integration. In recent years, although some radical orientations have been observed in this field, it is a fact that white collars cannot create the traditions seen in the blue collars (Callinicos&Herman, 1994). A general tendency among intellectuals supporting new Weberian perspectives showing the difference between white collars and blue collars is to define white collars as a separate social class. This social class is called the “new middle class”.

Differences between white collars not showing a homogenous integrity are not regarded much by the Weberian approaches. Because, the basic point as per these approaches is that the differences between white collar and blue collar rather than differences in white collars. In spite of this, Marxist authors show the proletarianization processes emphasizing the differences among white collars. There is a conflict between Weberian authors and Marxist authors, the former giving class value to the differences like white collar and blue collar; mental and manual, and brain and hand starting from the categories such as status, income level, profession. At this point, it is not possible to mention a consensus among Marxist authors. The reason of it is their conflicts about the scope of the working class.

Many of the authors contributing to class studies find the least common denominator that the workers can transform social subjects in the struggle namely a class for themselves orienting from economic relations to political and ideological relations such as party, union, cooperative and association.

Class definitions of Weberians starting from the criteria such as status, income and profession and therefore rejecting the bipolar thesis of Marx based on proletarian and bourgeoisie means that they identified superficial appearances with the class. According to Callinicos, emphasizing status can make people deal with their life styles and consumption patterns as the degree of obsession. Therefore, a class definition concentrating on the consumption will cause the belief that working class and middle class socialize and most probably class conflicts vanish. Similar consumption patterns

can be useful for hiding quite different positions within the general power and privilege relations in the society. Identification of working class with the professions using blue collar workers ensures to reach the conclusion that working class will disappear in the developed capitalist countries. The concept identifying class position with income level causes claims that life standards generally rising eliminate the class militancy (Callinicos&Herman, 1994:9-10).

Marx, seeing the difference between objective and subjective positions of the classes, emphasizes that being a member of a class shows an objective belonging. In other words, Marx does not consider the class position adequate for the formation of the classes. Because according to him unless similar attitude and beliefs develop arising from a common life style of common belonging feeling in the class members, it is not possible to talk about class awareness. The most important thing for Marx is that members of the class should be aware of their own objective and contradictory situations and antagonistic relations with other classes and therefore they have a class awareness and integration of certain political awareness to protect their interests. This is possible with political struggle. Masses organize only within the struggle and they rise to class position for themselves (Marx and Engels, 1968). Andrew also underlines an important point that in the *German Ideology*, Marx and Engels write that the separate individuals form a class only insofar as they have to carry on a common battle against another class; otherwise they are on hostile terms with each other as competitors. According to him, this formulation suggests that individual proletarians only constitute a proletariat or a working class on condition that they are organized in trade unions and political parties (1983:581). In other words, according to Marx, the class joining within the context of common interest feeling depending on the social conditions and collective action experiences of the members of the class sharing the common positions in the production process is the class being the “class for itself”.¹⁷ Marx expresses that class struggle does not only

¹⁷ Andrew quotes a significant point from *The Poverty of Philosophy* that Marx writes “Economic conditions had first transformed the mass of the people of the country into workers. The combination of capital has created for this mass a common situation, common interests. This mass is thus already a class as against capital, but not yet for itself. In the struggle..., this mass becomes united, and constitutes itself as a class for itself. The interests it defends become class interests. But the struggle of class against class is a political struggle” (1983:579-580).

depend on the objective existence of the class it also depends on the members' being aware of the interests of the class. Therefore, considering class situations not within himself and for himself as the separate stages of the class formation or elements completing each other but considering them as the faces being affiliated to each other of the class appearance seems true in terms of the class conception (1995). Andrew defines the class' subjective and objective position and consciousness as follows:

The in itself/for itself dichotomy may well represent a serious barrier to working class self-definition and to the formation of an effective politics of labor. A class in itself is constituted by the economic structure prior to political and cultural engagements rather than constituting itself in partisan combination and combat. As distinct from the self-definition of a class against capital, a class in itself is defined by a vanguard, armed with the science to grasp objective processes, which then define class consciousness on the basis of its understanding of the objective (but never specified) interests of the workers. The "for itself" is imputed to workers by intellectuals rather than emerging in the course of the workers' struggle against capital (1983:584).

In short, Weber considered -in contrast with Marx's emphasizing economic reason- all social relations as the power relations or dominance relations. The class is related to economic life for Weber, the class is of the political function as per Marxism. While Marxist theory defines the classes in accordance with their positions in the production relations, Weber says that market relations are determinant. It shows that while the criteria used by Marxist theory is whether the individual has means of production or not, Weberian approach the class is analyzed as per the criteria such as education, income determining the position of the individual in the market conditions. According to the Weberian approach, the individuals being in contradictory positions in terms of production means property can be in the same class due to income and education (Belek, 2007:69).

In addition to approaches describing the class as a relation relating to the production means there are approaches identifying it with ideology and conscious. According to Thompson, production relations do not determine the class consciousness mechanically. For this reason, Thompson defines the class being subject to the class consciousness and

culture (Wood, 2008:97). Class consciousness being a concept relating with Marxism is the result of the process of workers being aware that they have been isolated from the property of means of production and the structure of capitalist production process based on the exploitation collectively. Class consciousness also underlies the class struggle coming into being in various organizational forms at the same time. While describing class struggle, work place dynamics and production relations and community in material conditions and a common comprehension relating to the economic positions in the society are of importance.

The concept “hegemony” of Gramsci has an important place in the formation of class consciousness. Gramsci uses this concept to exceed the reductionism of the wrong consciousness in the conventional definition of the ideology. Hegemony established by the dominant class overlaps the class structure causing replacement of the class consciousness. According to Gramsci to form hegemony means spreading the “world view” of the dominant class part in the social life to the structure of the society as a whole and equalizing own interests with the society interests mostly and establishing moral, political and intellectual leadership. Hegemony is defined as a regulating power’s getting the persons’ he governs to agree for his own dominance. However, hegemony does not always mean gaining somebody’s consent; it sometimes operates as including the constraint meaning. Hegemony with this meaning is a wider category than the ideology, it covers ideology but it cannot be reduced to it (1986).

According to Gramsci, people are intellectuals but everyone does not function as the intellectuals in the society. The people functioning as the intellectuals in the society are divided into two types. The first one of them is the traditional intellectuals such as teachers, priests and executives carrying on doing the same thing from generation to generation and the second ones are organic intellectuals considering that they are directly connected with the institutions or the classes that they use for obtaining more control power and dominance and to organize their interests. Gramsci expresses his ideas about the organic intellectuals as follows: “capitalist entrepreneur creates industry technician

with himself, economy creates political expert, the creator of a new culture, a new judicial system with itself (Quoted in Said, 2004:22).

According to Gramsci, a very basic methodological mistake is made while examining the difference between intellectuals and non-intellectuals. Gramsci holds that a method classifying the ones being engaged in intellectual activities as intellectuals and the ones being engaged in physical activities as non-intellectuals is not valid. He emphasizes that the basic criteria is the social function of the human activity considering the fact that everyone cannot be included in the educated person category (Atılın, 2008).

Bourdieu imposes the role of establishment of the hegemony that Gramsci imposes on the traditional intellectuals to the “symbolic elites”¹⁸. When we look at the production process in media it is possible to explain the journalists being engaged in the areas such as diplomacy, parliament and mainly the journalist at the management stage, columnists with the “symbolic elites” concept of Bourdieu (1998).

Starting from this point, it can be said that journalists’ class consciousness cannot rise to the class position for themselves from the class within themselves with class perception with the terms used by Marx. The most basic reason for this situation is related with where the journalists position themselves in the production process and in the society. Therefore, it is important to interrogate the question whether the idea of class is viable in journalism history or not.

Goldthorpe, following Weber’s thoughts, suggested that the people working in the service industry consider themselves different from the proletariat due to the nature of the work they perform and the way they are gradually oriented toward the middle class values and conservative policies as they are promoted in their job. Although Callinicos opposes this view and states that the greatest support of the Labor Party in the United Kingdom is ensured from the service and public working areas (Öngen, 1996:262), it is

¹⁸ Bourdieu emphasizes the importance of symbolic capital and the symbolic violence practiced by the ones being of this capital in re-production of existing power relations and legalizing (Quoted in Durna, 2002).

observed that the ones working in the service industry, especially media employees see themselves as belonging to another class. When we look at the managers in the media sector, the situation becomes clear. Due to the fact that capital accumulation is not possible unless this role undertaken by the persons performing management and coordination on behalf of the capital owner (Ongen, 1996:199).

Social status in accordance with Weber is a grading form existing independently from class relations. Positions based on qualities such as prestige and esteem acquiring in the social life and life levels. The most important conditions determining the status is the life style, education process and profession.

Weber considers the class as the positions in the production process and status groups as the life styles in the consumption area. According to Weber status groups are social collectives being of a communal structure requiring the re-production of cultural heritage and a typical life style compared to the economic classes. Economic classes are the complete of the individuals connecting to each other with economic relations (Turner, 2001: 16).

Weber differentiates the class and status. The status indicates the position of the class in the society rather than explaining its position in the production. When it is considered in terms of journalists, status occupies a very important place. Journalists build their ideologies on the status.

The idealistic journalists who live in the real society and care about the society's problems aren't popular anymore. Indeed, there is an aim to rise with a type of journalists who have great connections with interest groups and power authorities, lack of social responsibility, far away from the spirit of occupational support and personal bargaining. The system also brought the act of making a clear and strict line between the managers-journalists and other workers/employees. The employees give pledges to protect their rights and increase their working quality while employers assure their bosses that they work in high performance. When the workers are promoted, this means that their statuses

and also their wages are changed. The idealist journalists also replaced with the star journalists. The star system of journalism, which particularly among broadcast journalists with disproportionately high incomes provides journalistic practices including the relationship among newswriters of different economic status and its effects on the organization of work (Hardt, 1990:346-365).

Schudson describes the occupational ideology of journalism as cultural knowledge that constitutes “news judgment”, rooted deeply in the communicators’ consciousness. Elliott and McMane locate journalism’s ideology in a ‘class spirit’; whereas Zelizer refers to the ‘collective knowledge’ journalists employ (Quoted in Deuze, 2005:444-445).

Yung Ho Im underlines an important point that the limitations of Braverman's notion of class are conspicuous in his discussion of control. First, it is problematic to define the working class as a homogeneous group and to present direct control as the only effective strategy available to management. It is more convincing to assume that management employs diverse strategies to deal with heterogeneous groups. Second, he seems to assume that direct control of workers through deskilling represents the most crucial imperative of management. He states as follows:

Despite some useful insights for labor historians, Braverman's contribution is considerably marred by his primary emphasis on the objective side of labor history without much attention to the consciousness and culture of workers. Consequently, his approach to class and its applicability to newswriting is somewhat problematic. Braverman admits the "self-imposed limitation to the 'objective' content of class and the omission of the 'subjective' will". But the problem is not merely the omission of one of the important factors. The subjective formation of class and work experience represents as rather crucial part of the formation of class and, therefore, may not be taken apart conceptually. Braverman separated "class in itself" (class determined from "objective" relations of production) and "class for itself" (class self-conscious of its objective position) and implies that the latter flows from the former (1997:41).¹⁹

¹⁹ According to Marx, the class in itself/for itself distinction presupposes that classes are constituted in the socioeconomic realm, prior to political or cultural engagements, and that political struggle and forms of culture and consciousness are not constitutive or definitive of class structure but rather are symptoms, expressions, perhaps even necessary effects, of the socioeconomic class structure, or relations of production (1995).

It is fact that the bosses and owners of the media today belong to elite class of the society. So, it is natural for journalists to represent dominant class in the society and care for the group's expectations, reactions and view. And journalists working in the mainstream can not be successful if they don't obey the rules and accept working under the ideological pressure, they do not have any chance at all and they leave the sector one by one as leading through by a natural process. Although owners may rarely interfere with news coverage in their newspapers, they have "the last word on how an issue will be handled" (Tuchman 1978, 169).

The production process in the media sector is not in the state of division as technical and symbolic production. Division of the labor in the media is seen in the symbolic production process. This introduces a division as expert or qualifies the journalist with the ordinary journalists among the journalists. The columnist coming from the ordinary journalist profession is in the status of expert journalists in a sense. The vertical mobility occurring in the labor process reveals a profession group being columnist and keeping the journalism. These persons are in a more privileged position than the ordinary journalists in terms of both status and income. This situation brings the agreement of the persons being in this position with different classes. So the columnists being at the position of expert are more inclined to compromise with the ones being of the property of media. So, "the expert journalists" being at this position can compromise with the dominant classes of the society.

Columnists perform such a mission now in addition to news ensuring the reproduction of the views of the dominant class in the society. Even the power of columns is bigger than news' (Adaklı, 2006:308). Said thinks that professionalization is a reason underlying this change.²⁰

²⁰ Doğan Tılıç characterizes the situation arising as a result of market mechanism's being dominant in communication area and commercializing of the journalism as the over-professionalization in his book *Utaniyorum Ama Gazeteciyim*. Therefore definitions made relating to the journalism display differences. Tılıç concretes the situation to tell the tendency of over-professionalization in Greek journalism by quoting from an interview made with a Greek journalist:

I was following the parliament some time ago. All journalists were sitting around an oval table in the press room. We had one friend working for morning newspaper and

Whether in the West or not, the threat directed to the intellectual comes the source that media and publishing house being commercialized as making the human's blood run cold or from the academy, existence or media, I see the main threat as an attitude that I call professionalization. I mean you consider the job you perform as an intellectual as a thing that you carry out between 9 o'clock and five o'clock with the concern for living (always looking at the watch with one eye and the other eye is whether you have acted in accordance with the professional behavior standards or not), not causing confusion, abiding by the paradigms or limitations accepted, making yourself as an apolitical and "objective" one thinking "no conflict" for the sake of being marketable and presentable (Said, 2004:74).

The intellectuals help national community to experience the feeling of having a common identity in the contemporary journalism. This argument of Said is the indicator that the mass media should have an important role as "being a collective organizer" for improving of the society. To perform this role, mass media is expected to be functional for the socialization, politicization of the society, in the mobilization for achieving the social and economical targets planned. This might be possible with informing and advising the public. For this reason, the journalists undertaking such a mission, especially the columnists are considered to be intellectuals (2004).

We have examined how the profession of journalism experienced changes/transformations and where they position themselves in the social class. The "over professionalism" of journalism, journalists have not considered themselves in the working class and estrange themselves from the union. Before examining the union movements of the journalist we should look at the changes and the transformations that the union organizations have gone through. The union movement in the whole working

evening newspaper. He was writing news for the morning newspaper he was working. He went to the head of the table when he finished writing and said that "I have written as a patriot up to now, I will write the same as a traitor." He was joking but it was true that he changed the ideological position when moving from one side to another side at the table. It is not very surprising that many journalists work for the left and right newspapers at the same time (Tılıç 119-120).

The journalist seems to purify from the values completely in the situation of over-professionalization. He does not have his own ideology, world view and relations with value judgment (Tılıç, 1998:118).

life shows that the union crisis being experienced in the media sector is not unique only this sector.

2.3.2. Union Movement and the Journalists' Unions

According to Marx, the associations were the first form of the organized resistance against the capitalist exploitation. The labor unions have laid a more concrete base for the class consciousness to develop and spread (Quoted in Öngen, 1996:63). The formation of the labor movement lies in the basis of the class consciousness is the last stage of the class formation (Yanardag, 2008: 152). The development of the class consciousness changed the quality of the class struggle and eased the arising of collective movement with political contents. However, this situation began to resolve with the 1970s and gained almost invisible quality with the collective movement and individualism. The increase in the variety of work conditions in recent years prevents the formation of a class identity with the cooperative experiences.

Union movement is the most evident corporate indicator of the class formation. The deunionized worker in the places where global production chain is woven with the intense and complex job work webs is the typical features of these places. The basic reason of this situation is the flexible production-management strategies. These strategies are oriented to reduce the union power in the business place and to soften the reactions of the employees and improve the management control (Senkal, 2005:200).

The development process in the non-union system has reached a number of stages.²¹ The first stage took place in a period when unemployment increased and economic crisis appeared in all around the world between the 1970s and 1980s. Many people became

²¹ Following the dominance of neoliberal policies, unions lost their unions due to the significant factor. For more details the crisis of unions, please see Sazak, 2006. Although, this book focuses on Turkey, it gives an important detail about the union movement crisis of the world. Furthermore, please see the book *Trade Unionism in Recession* (1996) for details about trade unionism in Britain. This book raises a number of fundamental questions about British trade unionism. It examines the reasons for membership loss and implications for trade union influence in the workplace.

unemployed following this crisis, and as a result, unions lost their power. The second stage is the non-union policies of the companies demanding to be successful in international competition increasing after the 1980s. The other circumstance that arose in this period is the change in the labor force structure and collective bargaining as a result of technological developments. The non-union system developed as an alternative and matured after these years. US companies are the first to adopt and to apply the non-union system. It is clear that multi-national US companies concentrated on non-union policies especially after the 1970s to avoid an increase of stress due to the international competition. The highest figure in union membership in the US was reached in the 1950s with 35% majority. Right after this best era in their life, unions started to lose members. This decrease in membership started slowly in the 1960s and accelerated in the 1970s and the 1980s. The rate of membership fell to 19% in the 1980s. The period when the fall was the fastest is between 1980 and 1984. The recession experienced in 1981 and 1982, and reduced competition power in the manufacturing industry in the USA led to a new economic and corporate structure. This situation mostly affected the industries organized under labor unions (Senkal, 1999:45).

Glasgow Media Group (GMG) makes an important point while discussing the union structure and media representation in their book *Bad News*: the distinction is now relatively meaningless – in terms of criteria such as income, status and life changes; yet it remains of use for analytic and historical reasons, and major differences in union character along this axis in the 1970s can be expected. According to GMG, a more important distinction would be between elite (vertical) and non-elite (horizontal) unions. Some unions, for example The National and Local Government Officers Association (NALGO), British trade union representing mostly local government white collar workers, have top management and low-paid workers in the same union. These vertical unions often started as organizations of professionals but have now unionized vast numbers of low-paid workers (1976:206). They underline that the historical difference between blue and white collar workers, whereby it is assumed that the white collar unions are uninterested in traditional union bargaining strategies, is now undermined by the numerical preponderance of white collar workers in the economy. Despite their

predilections for status rather than income, this means that their very size makes them inevitable targets of any income policy (1976:215).

The flexibility of the contract is the most problematic flexibility type for unions. The relation of the temporary workers with the unions is less for different reasons such as flexible working hours and lack of assurance. Another main factor causing decrease in the rates of unionization is the change and technological development in the sector structure of the production. Decreasing the share of industry in the manufacture and increasing the share of service sector is important. Since services have more disorder and informal structure than products. It is very difficult for the unions to conduct their unionization works in this environment. On the other hand, technological development reduces the employment volume in the industry by providing the increase in productivity (Senkal, 2005:202). Flexible working, extension of working hours for the workers, increasing of workload, deunionization, increasing of informal employment and depriving from all types of social security, being condemned to low wages and bad working conditions mean more exploitation.

Together with the change in the distribution of the production, varying of professions, labor force's obtaining more heterogeneous structure in industry and service production in terms of quality features make the organization activities of the unions difficult. One of the strategies that the companies apply for deunionization is the sub-contracting. Sub-contracting prevents the union organization depending on the low rate of labor protection and prevalence of the flexible employment forms in the sub-contractor companies (Senkal, 2005).

The number of union member workers in the United Kingdom decreased at the rate of 31% in 10 years between 1980s and 1990s. Total number of workers being the member of union was 13.3 million in 1979 and it dropped down to 9.9 million in 1990 (Şenkal, 2005). As these numbers show that when we look at the whole of the working life reveals that deunionization is not only specific to the media sector clearly.

Journalists unionize in order to provide issues such as free speech, ethical issues, copyright and better working conditions. Almost in every country, journalists organized under occupational associations or unions.²²

Høyer and Lauk state that journalists started to get organized like most other employees in the late 19th century. Associations appeared both on the local, the national and international level: in Germany in the 1860s-1870s, in Scandinavia in 1880s-1890s, and in the Baltic countries in the 1900s-1920s. Without strong trade unions, journalists eventually became unable to defend routine journalism from being unskilled through industrialization and the ensuing bureaucratization of editorial procedures at the end of the 19th century (2003:1).

The movement to prevent the organization of the labor starting from the end of 1970s was carried on in almost all world managements. Although organizations directed to the profession of journalism ensure acquisition in terms of permit, health security, better working conditions and subjects relating to the professional collaboration, an important part of the American journalists believe that the journalism does not need union organization and such organizations prevent the natural course of some processes. Although blue-collar worker require unionization, media professionals achieving the high education levels and being of better working conditions do not need it. They believe that it is adventurous to solve their problems by themselves with one-to-one management in contrary to collective struggle. In the USA, The Writers Guild of America, American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, National Association of Broadcast Employee and Technician, Graphic Communications International Union, Newspaper Guild, Communication Workers of America and some other unions operating in the media sector have the guarantees of Union Corporation especially at the scale of industry. It is

²² The first big federation of journalist was International Unions of Press Association (IUPA) set up in Antwerp in 1894. This association was open to everybody who was interested in journalism included owners. At the present day, International Federation of Journalists has a significant role in the media industry in the world. For more informations about unionation process of journalists related with labor problems in the world, please see the unpublished phd thesis, *Ulusal Medyada Haber Üretim Sürecinde Çalışan Gazetecilerin Ekonomik ve Sosyal Statüsü Üzerine Bir Alan Araştırması* written by Gülcan Seçkin in 2004.

necessary that workers are members of the union and pay the contribution to the union in ABC, CBS and NBC. However the number of reporter working in TV and newspaper and being the member of the union is less than 10%. The unions in the USA lose members. Various problems such as professionalism search of the journalists at the expense of quitting the membership of the union, collaboration problems in the news center, political sanctions of the unions in the media sector are experienced. Therefore, while media gives place to business world, industry, finance sector, it does not give place for the problems relating to the unions and labor practice very much (Seckin, 2004).

Great Britain saw the formation of its pioneering Newspaper Society in 1836. A National Association of Journalists with professional aims came in 1884 and founded the Institute of Journalists in 1890. A trade union – the National Union of Journalists (NUJ)²³ – emerged only in 1907. Associations in the United States did not cover both editors, journalists and to some extent also publishers like the early European associations. The American Newspaper Publisher association came into being in 1887. News workers began to organize in the 1890's and finally founded The Newspaper Guild in 1933, which eventually became an effective organization for wage negotiations (Høyer&Lauk, 2003:1). The NUJ basically represents journalists' general class situation as sellers of labor force while the Institute represents their much vaguer status position as members of a non-manual occupation with professional pretensions and also the elitist attitudes of the more privileged members of the occupation (Christian, 1980:300).²⁴

The media labor market in Britain has been significantly transformed since 1980 with an increase in freelance employment as a consequence of new labor laws and reductions in union power and membership, the rapid pace of technological change and the emergence of a large but poorly capitalized, independent production sector. Where before the 1980s,

²³ The National Union of Journalists (NUJ) is the main organization of journalists in the UK and the largest journalists' trade union in the world. They characterized themselves as a passionate campaigner for media freedom, the rights of journalists, workers' rights and for social justice at home and internationally.

²⁴ In the essay, *Occupational Ideologies and Press Commercialization*, Harry Christian examines the transformation of ethical ideologies and unionization process of journalists following the commercialization of journalism in between 1880-1970 when the mass journalism became a popular in England. For more detail about this issue, please see Christian, 1980.

there was controlled entry and a high level of staff jobs in broadcasting organizations, the onset of independent production and the end of a closed shop in television led to a profusion of new entrants willing to work within the freelance employment mode (Paterson, 2001:204). British journalists' 20th century experience has been one in which the proletarian form begins to assert itself and to impress itself upon the consciousness of these employees. Feeling the insecurities of their role as sellers of labor force and the frustrations of a controlled and mechanically organized workplace, they begin, despite their remaining privileges, to know those symptoms of dissociation which are popularly called "alienation" (Christian, 1980:269).

It can be said that the profession of journalism is the indicator that class structures have been carrying out in the United Kingdom. There are criticism about journalism's not being very open to the reporter with the worker root and becoming a more distinguished activity. It is the process starting in 1979 during the period of conservative party power and ending in 1997, collective bargaining power of the worker unions including NUJ was eliminated efficiently with the laws. In 1990s, NUJ was not recognized very much by the employers proposing individual contracts to the journalists. The union was greatly excluded from the negotiations about the wage and the authority to decide who would be the journalist was eliminated, it lost almost half of its members and most of them makes presence felt in news center or editorial office with great difficulty (Seçkin, 2004). One member of NUJ wrote as follows:

We are exactly on a par with the printer who sets our copy ... under the present economic system it must always be that employers are ... opposed to the best interests of their workpeople ... the less financial consideration is given to the workpeople the greater the dividends for the shareholders... The workers are corporate body ... when one section strikes for its rights no other section do anything that would play the employers' game. Journalists should get rid of these fatuous theories about "professional classes" and "loyalty" ... and get a correct appreciation of our actual position as workers exploited for others' private gain (Quoted in Christian, 1980:295).

In UK, Harcup states that, following the Wapping and Warrington²⁵ disputes, in the 1980s and 1990s the widespread derecognition of the NUJ was couched in the language of removing an “external influence” from the relationship between employer and employee; this led to the ending of collective bargaining for a majority of journalists, the forcing down of wage levels, the denial of union representation on disciplinary and other issues, the removal of union facilities and notice boards, and the not infrequent sacking of union activists (2002:106). Harcup notes that according to Chris Frost²⁶, the derecognition, part of a wider shifting of power from labor to capital, helped undermine the Ethics Council:

The anti-union stance of the government during the 1980s and 1990s led to a general weakening of union power and this laid a part in reducing the role of the Ethics Council. No longer did journalists have to have an NUJ card in order to work in the more prestigious jobs in television and what used to be Fleet Street. This meant that breaching the NUJ code, with the consequent risk of discipline and possible expulsion, was no longer the risk it once might have been. The union, too, was less inclined to deal harshly with members as workers became less confident of the benefits of belonging to a union (2002:106).

Christian notes that one proprietor of newspaper wrote as follow:

Journalism is a profession not a trade... we are not plumbers or copper-bottomers. We are both employers and employed, in a sense dedicated. As a proprietor I have more in common with my employees than I have with the proprietor of a garage or the owner of a chain store. Our common identity is born of the work we do. I would like to see all journalists enrolled in one professional organization. I would not call it a “union” for that is a word with a bitter history. No journalist should need to hold his employer to ransom in these enlightened days. Can we not have one journalistic organization to which all members of the craft – even proprietor – can belong? We would be affiliated to no other body. In addition to a lunatic fringe of trade union minded youngsters we would also have a large strong, influential majority of sound, reliable, respected newspapermen who would wisely govern and look after the mutual interests of both employees and employer (1980:276-277).

²⁵ Harcup’s footnote: In a precursor of the 1986 Wapping dispute, *Stockport Messenger* proprietor Eddie Shah used recently introduced anti-union legislation to defeat the print unions in 1983–84 (Dickinson, 1984).

²⁶ Chris Frost is a former newspaper journalist, but also a former president of the NUJ. He has written a book, *Media Ethics and Self-Regulation* (2000), looking at the moral dilemmas facing journalists in their day-to-day working lives and examines the self-regulatory bodies that police the various codes of practice.

The journalists in France are one of the rare worker groups being exempted from majority of income tax coming from farmer and worker families. Nicholas Sarkozy promoted this exemption after he became president. The self-employed journalists, the journalists working under national and regional contracts get low wages but they escape from high taxes. The first union of French journalists is *Syndicat National des Journalistes*. The union issuing an ethical code in 1918 explained the rules that the journalists would obey in addition to other subjects, published professional rights and responsibilities. Although union membership collapsed among journalists in the 2000s, the unions kept taking a strong role in the determination of the working conditions of the journalists and shaping it (Seckin, 2004).

Important changes occurred in the media system in Germany with the 1980s like in many other countries. Public service broadcasting was no longer the monopoly in West Germany in the middle of the 1980s. Commercial television and radio stations were established and electronic media emerged. In the 1990s, merging of East and West Germany affected the profession of journalism. Journalism is a well-organized profession in Germany. The studies conducted in the beginning of 1990s in Germany show that more than half of the journalists in this country are the members of the union (Seckin, 2004).

The diversity of managerial strategies becomes more crucial for management when an industry-wide union does not exist, because the division and heterogeneity of workers per se may function as an effective way of control over labor as well (Im, 1997:42). Elite journalists have traditionally earned twenty to fifty times as much as the lowliest penny line freelance hacks. These huge differences in pay and prestige have been found not only in acting and journalism but also in other occupations (Tunstall, 2001:16). Overwhelmingly, freelance and other atypical journalist workers were not entitled to the same benefits and rights as their standard media colleagues. Thus, journalists' unions need to recognize that means of employment of journalists and related media workers is becoming increasingly diversified. Indeed, many journalists are not engaged as employees under various national laws. Journalists' organizations need to identify

alternative strategies for empowering freelance journalists and other journalists working in atypical relationships.

In this chapter, theoretical questions of class, media structure and journalists were examined. It is aimed that these issues may produce useful insights for an understanding of the historical significance of economic, organizational, and cultural changes in the Turkish media and the conception of unionization among Turkish journalists.

CHAPTER 3

RETHINKING THE TRANSFORMATION OF TURKISH MEDIA INDUSTRY: JOURNALISTS AND THEIR UNIONIZATION PROCESS

Changes as a result of putting new right policies into practice and restructuring of capitalism following the economic crisis which experienced in 1979 affected Turkey as it affected many other countries. Therefore, the year of 1980 can be accepted as the beginning of restructuring process of capitalism in Turkey.²⁷

New right policies which were defined as neo-liberalism in the economic sphere and neo-conservative ideology in the political sphere started to be applied under the leadership of Ronald Reagan in the USA and Margaret Thatcher in the United Kingdom in the 1980s. Policies such as privatization and deregulation, market society, unlimited circulation of the capital and decrease of efficiency of the state on the economy came to the fore with Turgut Özal in Turkey. The consumption fact created with the conditions of free market did not only remain limited with the economic field but it also introduced social changes.

²⁷ For Turkey, the 1950s can be evaluated as a turning point. Since 1950 there has been a constant attempt to integrate to the world economy. Indeed, in these years transition from closed economy to free market economy emerged. But in this study, the 1980s is taken as a turning point because, as explained in Chapter 1, the 1980s as a decade is characterized by the proliferation of new information and communication technologies as well as the expansion of US-led economic policy following the economic depression of the 1970s. For more details see Çavdar, 1999; Zürcher, 2007; Boratav, 2008.

While new right policies were becoming widespread as a result of foreign expansion in the economy and the ongoing privatization, the mass communication field witnessed important changes in the context of restructuring of capitalism. One of the most important changes is the emergence of giant media monopolies. With the advent of private television networks in the 1990s, the transformation of the media was to become increasingly efficient.

The transformation beginning in the 1980s created a new media environment especially for the media workers. The changing practices of journalism and the liquidation of the union were two basic characteristics of this environment. The journalism profession performed as being subject to limited traditional ethical codes such as objectivity, neutrality hitherto started to be carried out with new ethical codes directed to free interpretations, and being a party (Adaklı, 2006). Therefore, this transformation in the period of performing the profession affected the journalists themselves because newspapers that have been traditional enterprises until the 1980s survived to major capitals and were transformed into enterprises working within a profit-making rationale. Journalists became a professional providing profit for these enterprises. This situation directly affected journalists' status and unionization practices.

To see the unionization perception of journalists better, the following issues will be examined in this chapter:

- The transition of the press to the media in Turkey (Kaya, 1999)²⁸,
- The journalists' class situation,
- The unionization processes of Turkish journalists

²⁸ Kaya says that following the unipolar new world system and the decisions of 24th of January and military intervention in 12th of September, the press transformed to a new process called "media" (1999:634).

3.1. “From press to media” in Turkey

3.1.1. Historical Development of the Turkish Press until the 1980s

The political crisis coming up after National Resistance ended with the proclamation of the Republic and hopes related with freedom of thought and speech became more pronounced. After the proclamation of the Republic, the Turkish press became freer but this freedom did not last. In addition to the proponents of freedom, there was significant number of proponents of the caliphate. Vatan, Tanin and Tevhid-i Efkâr are the leading newspapers which are proponents of caliphate.

After Şeyh Sait Riot in 1925, Act of Takrir-i Sukun implemented to silence the opponents at press. This act accepted on March 4th, 1925 expressed that:

The government is authorized to prohibit all types of organizations, provocations, inducements, attempts and publications tended to deteriorating the social order, peace and calm, safety and security of the country and reaction and riot with the approval of the president of the republic. The government can give the accused to Courts of Independence (Quoted in Topuz, 2003:147).

Due to the fact that this act granted authorization to the government, government could apply censorship to the press and also could close newspapers. In fact, after this act, newspapers such as Tevhid-i Efkâr, Son Telgraf, İstiklâl, Sebilürreşat, Aydınlık, Orak and Çekiç were started to be closed day by day.

Another pressure exercised on the press was a set of bylaws organized under the name of “The Press Law”, which granted authorization to the government to shut down newspapers. After the transition to the multiparty system, this authorization came to an end.

During the period of Bab-ı âli, the owner of a newspaper was also editorial writer and newspapers were named after the owners. During the single party period, the front page of the newspapers carried the signature of their editorial writers. Right after the multiparty system, correspondents became prominent. While important articles took up

the whole front page during the single party period, these articles shrank to one column and news for the public interest started to appear with the multiparty system. At that time, the owners of newspapers who were members of the bourgeoisie and had a strong voice in the production process of newspapers (Adaklı, 2006:106).

Hürriyet, which took very important place on journalism, started to be published on 1 May 1948. This newspaper divided its first page into two blocks. Left block belonged to İnönü's photographs and speeches while the other one belonged to Bayar's photographs and speeches. Hürriyet said that this newspaper set out with the aim of being independent and impartial.

In the 19th century because of penny press²⁹, there was a transition from political journalism to mass journalism in the West. This process came up in Turkey through the medium of Hürriyet started to be published on May 1st, 1948 and Milliyet started to be published on May 3rd, 1950 after the transition to the multiparty system (Adaklı, 2006:114).

The general election of 1950 was a turning point in Turkey. With the passage to the multiparty system and its first democratic election, the press gained access to all the opportunities that the burgeoning liberalism offered and consequently, then number of readers increased. These changes had both political and economic consequences: Liberalism now replaced a political economy with a penchant to conservatism. Democratic Party (DP) took over the government from Republican People's Party (CHP) and this shift was referred to as "the white revolution". Backed up with new laws securing the "secret vote and open count" system, this was the first democratic election in Turkish political life.

²⁹ Penny press is the representative of an important shift in contents level. For the first time, American newspaper started to reflect not only political events and national events but also local events. Not only commercial and political events started to be the subject of the newspaper but also social life itself became the subject of newspapers. Therefore, these newspapers sold with annual subscription started to be sold for 1 penny on streets, dealers and by the children shouting the banner of the newspaper. For this reason, the feeding system with the subscription and political party funds was replaced by the advertising. The first penny newspaper is New York Sun newspaper of Benjamin Day in 1833 (Adaklı, 2004).

After 27 May 1960, one could argue that the newspapers became freer than before. Between 1960 and 1971 a number of changes became visible for the newspapers: first, and most importantly, newspapers started to be read by the masses. Second, a new printing technique was introduced and major daily newspapers adopted the offset method. This new method made the newspapers published quicker, in color, and increased their quality. *Günaydın*, founded by Haldun Simavi in 1968, was a result of this change and different types of newspapers presenting different techniques became widespread (Tokgöz, 2000:32). Different publications brought together tabloid newspapers. After this change, newspaper gave an importance to circulation instead of meaning and opinion.³⁰

In 1971 a military coup d'état was launched. On March 12nd, 1971, the Chief of the General Staff and Armed Forces Commodore made a memorandum to present to the president of Republic and president of the Assembly. That memorandum expressed that civilian government had created political, economical and social disturbance. It was stated that if that government hadn't taken measures, administration would have been impounded directly (Schick and Tonak, 1990: 397). Thus, Prime Minister Süleyman Demirel resigned from the government and soon martial law was proclaimed. Freedom of speech and press were limited. Towards the late 1970s, the Army had started to plot a new military coup. On the morning of September 12th, 1980, the radio announced that commanding officers of the army impounded administration. Journalism would be also affected by these changes. The 1980s was a turning point for the relation between correspondents and columnists. As of this date, columnists became more important than correspondents because they might have started to communicate with people who provided information such as documentaries, news for them (Tılıç, 1998:104).

Until the 1980s, the family of Simavi, Karacan and Nadi came into prominence as a traditional journalist family. These families edged from journalism and left their business to investor of capital. In consequence, contents focusing on politics before the 1980s

³⁰ For further information about the history of Turkish press, see Oral, 1978; Topuz, 2003; Koloğlu, 2003.

became like advertisement and magazine and also literary style on news were deescalated. Since then press has been called as the “media”.

3.1.2. “The New Media Structure”

In Turkey, since the beginning of the 1980s, substantial changes have occurred in all aspects of life as it is the case with the most of the developing countries. What did happen in the 1980s that those years are characterized a new period? There were two basic events occurred at that time: The first one was the start of using new communication and information technologies and the second one was a decade of new political economy. As a result of that, the values such as smaller government, privatization and the sovereignty of the market became important. Capitalism turned out to be the only world order in those years when reconstructing process became clearer. And today the liberalized international market, capital and a time of investment funds exceeding the limit of national-government borders are discussed. Turkey was affected by that process and witnessed two major events: The January 24 program -the economic packet- and military coup in September 12th. This program deepened the dominance of capital and its central position. Therefore, the number of the companies which were controlled by major capital owners and savings of capital began to rise. According to Boratav (2004), the January 24 programs are not only an economic program quality but also it bears the international strategic targets and liberty of market in the country and against the external side of “international capital” via the World Bank. Another reason for the 1980s being considered as the beginning of a new period was the military coup on September 12th, 1980. The message of gaining control of administration by the military which was broadcasted from the radio in the morning of September 12th, 1980 was actually pointed out that from that time Turkey would have lived in a different way.

This process affected the mass communication as well as many other areas. According to Kaya, the most basic characteristics of this new structure is the expansion of functions of mass media very much and information and news transfer to the society being the primary function in press period has been pushed into the secondary position beside the other symbolic productions performed with these means.

Contemporary culture (symbolic productions) is produced by the media/ in the context of media on the industrial scale and in nature and/or is spread to the society via media. Culture industries emphasized by Frankfurt school before half a century gained global characteristics, moreover, media found itself a place in all consumption and production processes (1999:634).

The basic elements forming the new structure of the media sector achieving an efficient position are the changing media ownership and new journalist and journalism concept. In addition to the production process of the profession, social status of the journalists and the position where they see themselves changed. Therefore, it is very important to examine these factors to understand the new structure.

3.1.2.1. New Owners in the Media Industry

Civil-military bureaucracy having dominated in power block for a long time in the first years of republic did not want to share radio and printed press by holding in their monopoly at first. The share of this power by the Turkish bourgeoisie realized with the capital accumulation (Sönmez, 2003a:108).

The transformation of the media ownership system based on company alliances and cross ownership was the indicator of a different media organization in the world. There is a shift from the production system of talented people being engaged in small businesses to extremely technological, working on an international basis, deunionized and big businesses which gave the journalism a totally different meaning. At this new system in which media became a company in the 1980s and companies jointed the media in the 1990s, the social role of the media was left behind and companies' strategies representing the giant industry moved forward. Indeed, the family-owned media outlets were bought by larger conglomerates³¹.

³¹Sönmez says that the most efficient entry to the media sector out of Babiali is that Kozanoğlu-Çavuş group providing an important saving by the construction business of Libya in the beginning of 1982 establishing Guneş newspaper (2003a:111). For a comprehensive evaluation of the change of media ownership structure in the context of globalization, see the essay, *Türkiye'de 1980 Sonrası Medyanın Gelişimi ve İdeoloji Gereksinimi* written by Kaya (1999). Furthermore, see Tılıç, 1998; Sönmez, 2003; Adaklı, 2006.

A new management mentality that principles of company management were adopted took the place of the structure of the press institutions based on mostly technical and base production traditionally in the media period, and a new managerial concept was developed accompanying this new concept. Thus, a media planning amalgamating with editorial and being interest and profit-centered is in question (Adaklı, 2006:294). Kaya draws attention that a major institution performing an activity for profit maximization and under market conditions carries on publishing in accordance with a certain market strategy is inevitable.

Production editors appear in boards such as execution, etc. in the media organizations and are held responsible for conducting their publications in accordance with the market strategies determined by the business management to ensure operability. These kinds of new identities that the executive editors have is a justification that legitimate performing follow up work by the government on behalf of their company or in bureaucracy (1999:645).

As a result of these, the bourgeoisie representing the industry and commerce which was absolutely nothing to do with journalism rose in the sector and vertical, horizontal and cross cartels occurred. Although, the media sector in which most of the business men took into account only their personal aims seemed to have different voices, it has still lived according to the ideological alliances of the big bosses. There is a role of horizontal and vertical monopolization which supports each other in the cultural production process. While, vertical monopolization provides the opportunity of control of capital movement, horizontal monopolization sets a consumption apparatus of production in the cross promotion. Thus, with these, continuous of consumption and also profit maximization are ensured (Çakmur, 1998:140).

The ownership concentration, monopolization and commercialization experienced in the mass media brought new inquire about the media's becoming magazine. Therefore, it could be argued that monopolization of media environment in Turkey is the prototyping of media products and commoditization. The characteristics such as standardization, homogenization and merchandising in media products which occurred in magazine trends had become a dominant trend. It is observed that the promotions of the consumption

materials offered to the market for the sale are not done directly with the advertisements it is also done indirectly via different media contents. This situation implies that the priorities of the journalism have changed and, concepts such as accuracy, objectivity and balance in the news are used imprecisely (Çaplı, 2002: 96). In other words, new managers reshaped a new business and organization structure together with media sector's opening to capital sectors other than journalist owners. The scale expanded increasingly, work sharing and specialization increased. In addition to them, values of journalism profession described as a public production area started to abrade (Adaklı, 2006:292).

An important step of concentration in the media industry was taken with the establishment of private television stations in 1990.³² In 1990, Rumeli Holding's company Magic Box Incorporated, which was established in Leichtenstein leased a transponder in Germany in order to launch a television channel in Turkey. On 1 March 1990, Star 1 began broadcasting to compete with TRT and at short notice, it became a public channel. In 1992 and 1993 several commercial television channels such as Show TV, Flash TV and HBB started broadcasting. After a short time, major national newspapers entered television industry because of obtaining the profit of this sector (Çaplı, 2008). It is observed that capitalist rules being effective all along in the media environment where Internet is a rival too, has affected the principles of journalism negatively in this new competition environment (Çaplı, 2002: 94). Rising of media sector so much in a very short time led the question whether this sector was a profitable sector or not.

3.1.2.2. The Dynamics of Media Sector in terms of Working Nature and Journalists' Rights

Although there are different types of channels, their contents are almost the same. Thus, there is homogeneity in the sector partly because these channels compete for the same limited resources. Table 1 illustrates that in 2004, most revenues from advertisements in Turkey were collected by ATV, Kanal D, Show TV and Star.

³² For further information about the developments and transformation in television industry, see Çaplı, 2001; Kejanlıoğlu, 2004; Adaklı, 2006; Çaplı 2008.

Table 2. Market Share of Major Media Groups (2004)

Media Group	Rating Proportion	Newspaper Circulation	Magazine Circulation	Total Proportion
Doğan	17	39	38	38
Merkez ³³	13	22	20	17
Çukurova	18	9	3	13
Star/TMSF ³⁴	9	2	-	6
İhlas ³⁵	8	4	-	3
Others (+TRT)	35	24	39	23
Total	100	100	100	100

Resource: Open Society and Advocacy Program

The most important way of obtaining revenues for television organizations and advertisers is to keep score of the number of people that have been watching their programs. After the 1990s, ratings have dominated the sector. Thus, higher the ratings of a channel, the more advertisement it attracts. According to the Higher Council of Radio and Television (RTÜK), advertisements may constitute at most 15 percent of the total programming. The production can be presented more than 20 percent of total broadcast only for selling or renting. As a result, advertisements aired within the programs cannot last more than 6 minutes, while those between programs cannot last more than 8 minutes. A research³⁶ shows, however, that channels do not always follow this rule. Two or three corporations control the lion's share of media market in Turkey, leaving only a few crumbs to be fought over by a slew of smaller, weakened competitors. In the newspaper market in 2004, two companies (Doğan and Sabah) received 81 percent of all advertising

³³ TMSF took over the management and supervision of partnership rights of Medya Grubu (Dinç Bilgin Grubu) and Merkez Grubu (Turgay Ciner) excepting dividends on 1 April 2007. The resolution was based on a secret protocol between Bilgin and Ciner and confusing TMSF. Later, Kanal 1 being affiliated to Merkez Grubu was given back to Ciner. Turkuaz Grubu giving the highest offer in the tender on 5th December of 2007 took over Merkez Grubu in April, 2008.

³⁴ In Star TV tender that TMSF put to sale, Işıl Televizyon Yay. Tic. A.Ş. being within the structure of Doğan Grubu took over the channel by giving 306 million 500 thousand dollars.

³⁵ TGRT belonged to İhlas Media Group in 2004 but the network was purchased by Rupert Murdoch. This channel's name changed as FOX in November, 2006.

³⁶ This study was performed by the students attending to the course "Political Economy of Media" offered in ODTU Media and Cultural Studies master program in 2007. Content and time of advertisements broadcasted at prime-time on prime-time channels (ATV, SHOW TV, Kanal D, Star) were followed for one week. It was seen that the channel broadcasted the advertisements in between 35 and 52 minutes during the serials.

revenues; in the broadcasting market in the same year, 70 percent of revenues were received by three companies: Doğan, Sabah and Cukurova.³⁷

Table 3. Newspaper advertisement market share (2003–2004)

COMPANY/GROUP	2003 (\$315 million)	2004 (\$443 million)
DOĞAN	60%	62%
SABAH	17%	19%
ÇUKUROVA	5%	5%
UZAN (NOW DEFUNCT)	3%	1%
İHLAS	2%	2%
OTHER	13%	11%

Retrieved from: <http://gmc.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/3/2/17>

Table 4. Broadcasting advertisement market share (2003–2004)

COMPANY/GROUP	2003 (\$448 million)	2004 (\$627 million)
DOĞAN	30%	29%
SABAH	22%	18%
ÇUKUROVA	17%	23%
UZAN (NOW DEFUNCT)	7%	7%
İHLAS	5%	4%
OTHER	19%	19%

Retrieved from: <http://gmc.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/3/2/17>

When we look at the content of the advertisements, it can be seen clearly that companies place their advertisements in television channels that they own. For instance, most Turkcell advertisements aired on Show TV, since both companies belonged to the same group, Çukurova. This means that the earned money remains within the same company. Because of difficulties operating within the media sector, DMG is gaining an unmatched power. Monopolization is a result of this obstacle; at the same time, this obstacle results from media's structure. Investments which are necessary to operate in the sector have a capital intensive property. It is thus difficult for a new media company to be independent.

³⁷ The proportions were nearly same in 2007. The market share of DMG was 33% in 2007. For further information visit <http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=240862>.

Small companies are swallowed by big groups. Broadcasting fees constitute an important aspect of this obstacle:

Table 5. Broadcasting licenses fees

	Type of license	Fee (TL)
Terrestrial Television	National terrestrial television license	570,000
	Regional terrestrial television license	78,500
	Local terrestrial television license	1,140
Terrestrial Radio	National terrestrial radio license	34,250
	Regional terrestrial radio license	5,000
	Local terrestrial radio license	114.000
Cable Television	More than one city	143,000
	Only one city	28,600
Satellite	Package of satellite-operator license	172,000
	Satellite television license	143,000
	Satellite radio license	28,600

Retrieved from: <http://www.rtuk.org.tr>

Today, advertisements and sales do not define the profit since advertisements are not the only sources of revenue. In fact, media's revenue generally depends on the other profits of the group. Thus, changes in politics are also important for the media with respect to both organization and contents.

The information given above shows us that media is not a profitable sector.³⁸ On the contrary, the media is in crisis. If the profit share is low in a certain sector, investors do not opt to invest in it, but this rule is not valid for the media as this sector offers more benefits than materials gains: reaching the masses, sending messages, exerting power... According to the data retrieved from DMG in 1998, this group's sales profitability in the finance sector was 23% and profitability in media was 11%, but in 2000, these proportions decreased: While profitability in finance was 19%, profitability in media was 4% (Sönmez, 2003:23).³⁹

³⁸ It can be possible to say that the these numbers obtained are not real numbers. Maybe it is also wrong to say that media is not a profitable sector and is an ideological tool but these evaluation are made according to these numbers and as information in the literature.

³⁹ For new statistics on profits of Dogan Group , please visit http://doganholding.com.tr/yatirimci-iliskileri/_pdf/finansal_tablolar/2008_3.pdf

In conclusion, during the 1980s, capital became dominant ideologically as well as economically, and the opposing voices of the society began lose its magnitude. As with all the sectors, this situation particularly affected the media. Especially after the 1990s, corporations increasingly invested in this sector and the relationship between the media and politics rose to its heights because the media possessed by the media owners was used as a gun (Sönmez, 2003). As a result of this possession of media, journalism was inevitably transformed. In addition to the changes in production process of journalism, the identity of journalists, their relation to news sources and their status in the society were altered.

3.1.2.3. Who Is the Journalist?

The 1980s are considered to be the first breaking point of the new media structure. One can argue that there have been two more breaking points when it comes to the media industry in Turkey: The first one is the rise of private networks in 1990 and the other one is the economic crisis in 2001. As a result of restructuring of media environment in Turkey, major capitals other than press entering the sector and important changes in media contents and journalism concept followed the process starting with the abolishment of state monopoly in the radio and television broadcast area. In this context, the traditional journalism practiced in Bab-1 Ali was transformed and was moved to media plaza being industrialized⁴⁰. This transformation of the media created journalists following the requirements of their bosses. The investigative journalists gradually found themselves left out of the circle. While the owners became successful, the journalists working in the field became less popular than before. The fundamental aim of the traditional system run by talented and professional journalists and containing fewer machines was transmitting information and broadcasting news. Magazine journalism has been replaced by the investigative journalism today. After the 1980s, traditional

⁴⁰ One of the indicators of the new ownership structure being dominant over media sector with the 1980s is the move of the media to new places built in the suburbs of Istanbul like Bagcilar, Ikitelli, Gunesli from Bab-1 Ali Bilgin Group moved to Ikitelli, Hurriyet newspaper being the newspaper of Dogan Group moved to Gunesli and the plaza of Milliyet moved to Bagcilar these were luxuriously built places. Please see Tuncel, 1994 for detailed information relating to the economy-policy of the new media ownerships being tyuhe basis of the journey from Bab-1 Ali to Ikitelli.

journalism has almost come to the end because of the technological improvements and economic dynamics. The journalists began to work for the bosses and try to satisfy their needs (Ozsever, 2004:149). However, after the 1980s, the “new media ownership” that was in accordance with major companies’ strategies put a considerable pressure on the journalists’ output. The basic aim in companies’ choice of taking part in the media was to be more powerful against other sectors and gotten the public offers by using media as a gun. The change of the ownership system caused the sector to become more complicated and expensive leading to the end of the traditional system. Therefore, journalists and other media workers have been increasingly employed atypically and also the term “professional journalism” has become popular.

Turkish journalists faced a combination of the hyper-commercialization of the media sector with a traditionally ‘clientelist’ and ‘patrimonial’ relationship between media and state. Christensen notes that Hallin and Papathanassopoulos⁴¹ define ‘clientelism’ as:

A pattern of social organization in which access to social resources is controlled by bosses and delivered to clients in exchange for deference and various kinds of support. It is a particularistic and asymmetrical form of social organization, and is typically contrasted with forms of citizenship in which access to resources is based on universalistic criteria and formal equality before the law . . . The greater prevalence of clientelism in southern than northern Europe is intimately connected with the late development of democracy (2007:186).

The 1980s is the turning point for the relations of reporter and columnist for Turkey journalism. Columnists’ being engaged in relations with the news sources directly shook the status of the reporters reduce their significance. Since the ones being of the power contacted with columnists directly, they did not care reporter very much and did not talk to them. Being a reporter as a professional category began to disappear (Tılıç, 1998:104).

In conclusion, the system also brought the act of making a clear and strict line between the managers-journalists and other workers/employees. The employees give pledges to

⁴¹ Hallin, D. and Papathanassopoulos, S., ‘Political Clientelism and the Media: Southern Europe and Latin America in Comparative Perspective’, *Media, Culture & Society* 24: 175–95, 2002.

protect their rights and increase their working quality while employers assure their bosses that they work in high performance. When the workers are promoted, this means that their status and also their wages are changed.

3.1.2.4. Social and Economic Status of Journalists

Economic and social changes experienced in the 1980s and 1990s prepared the background of the transition from production economy to consumption-based economy in Turkey. Social values gained a different quality due to this change in the economy. In other words, as a result of economic-political practices applied as of 1980s in Turkey, the presence of a new middle class shaped with the culture of the period and being in balance between lower and upper classes was mentioned. New economic, political and social structuring developing with the effect of globalization process enabled the development of a new middle class⁴² being in search of getting high wages by working in multinational companies relating to service sector and moving up the social ladder.

The sector described as the new media elites and being in the new middle classes in Turkey dealt with what, how and when the things would be consumed for the purpose of penetrating the consumption values in the society in the 1990s and undertook the mission of creation of new Turkish man (Bali, 2002: 21-22).

Following the commercialization and professionalization of media, a group of manager and writers of media employees became a “star” and an elite social group with very high wages, high life and consumption standards. Therefore, it is possible to say that there is no homogeneity in terms of income in journalism profession in Turkey and there is a huge cliff between the incomes of the lower class and upper class. In addition to this, there are many people being employed without wage and not being listed as permanent staff. The ones starting this job consider working for a few years without wage as the condition and nature of the profession.

⁴² Kozanoğlu, who underlines the hard of evaluating the middle class described “the new middle class” as follows: They are not either 60 millions people or 50 millions people. Yet it is precisely that they are millions people. See for the new media class’ life style, Kozanoğlu, 2001.

Journalists being at the top of the management such as executive editors, representatives, assistants of representative, news manager are at the top of the employment pyramid showing the income, status and social opportunities of media employees. Columnists were included in this group in 1990s. Some employers such as columnists working copyrighted and programmers are at the middle layer of the pyramid and there are correspondents at the lower layer. Kaya qualifies the ones being at the top of the pyramid as “vedet”:

It will not be wrong to say that journalists have been divided into two due to their positions. There are “vedet” at the duty of managers or columnists who are assumed as bringing rating or circulation and with very high wages but not being contracted in accordance with the law relating to the press. There are news producers not having employment contract in accordance with law numbered 212 and being employed for lower wages than the normal labor market, not compared with the “vedet” the amateur of the profession in the other category being the majority. It is necessary to say that the journalists in the first category alienate to the values of the journalism profession and most of the ones in the second category alienate to the practices of the profession (1999:651).

The executive editors are running media institutions as managers whose powers are legitimized by their connection to the property owner. Professional managers in the news business have various liabilities such as building bureaucratic, political relations with regard to the commercial investments of the media group, conducting them, being the spokesman of the group for the conflicts with competitor groups when necessary. The people in the executive board, executive editor and other professional managers have to make the group profitable and trying to pay fewer wages to the employees working in the news business is the part of it. However, elite writers and manager segment within the high consumption standards acquired and becoming a life style and correspondents described as the most crucial elements of the news, working under unsecured conditions and with low wages and status of whom is getting more and more unimportant constitute the two polar.

Reflections of news bring prestige, regard, efficiency and important sources to the journalist making the news. Social status provided by the profession has been dragging

people. The journalist travels while performing the profession, sees important institutions and people, sees meetings, events, celebrations, becomes familiar with luxurious life patterns in the places that upper social classes consume, s/he nearly consumes and partly consumes. Therefore, many journalists experience opportunities not belonging to their own class with a certain level. Experiences connected with the profession such as staying at luxurious hotels, traveling to different countries, directing questions to upper level news sources provide social satisfaction. In other words, the power provided by the professional means he uses as the representative of an organization and habits brought by it have become important as the wage.

Professional managers and star journalists do not want to lose the acquisitions such as the power of media, opportunities of dominating and recognition provided by it, being the people admired with the status it provides despite the responsibilities imposed by the profession of journalism.

Professional managers in the news business have various liabilities such as building bureaucratic, political relations with regard to the commercial investments of the media group, conducting them, being the spokesman of the group for the conflicts with competitor groups when necessary. The people in the executive board, executive editor and other professional managers have to make the group profitable and trying to pay fewer wages to the employees working in the news business is the part of it. If we say a representative figure, the journalists and actual major journalist community having 30 thousand dollar wage and correspondents in the lower wage income group are in different class positions within the same dependences. However, in the end they become partners as working as dependent wage-employees (Seckin, 2004:172).

Although newsroom employees are wage earners like manual workers, they are white collar workers who are politically less dependent than their blue collar counterparts. Also, the ideological orientations of newsroom employees are considerably different from those of traditional manual workers. What annoys labor historians further is that the subjective understanding of news workers would not accept a working-class position determined by working conditions (Im, 1997:33).

The class consciousness of the journalists exists as a professional advantage rather than a certain class identity. Journalism became a status profession and took its place in the stage as a segment not acting very much with its class identity within the framework of some individual opportunities. It is possible to explain these situations by referring to “class in itself”, “class for itself” concepts of Marx. The journalists have not been able to move from “class in itself” position to the “class for itself” yet. Namely, a class awareness seeing the whole of social system is not in question. It is important to state that the definition of journalist can be a reason of this situation. Indeed, a person who earns million dollars per a month is a journalist and in the same time a person who earns that wage may be in two or three years is also a journalist. Therefore, since journalists do not have a collective perception, their becoming together around organizations based on the collective perception such as union, association is getting more and more difficult.

3.2. Non-Union Industry Relations in the Media Sector

As mentioned above, the 1980s was a period which witnessed a major shift across much of western Europe – particularly associated with governments of the right – in the relationship between capital and labor and the corporatist framework that had been existing since Marshallian aids came into existence. Again, this was a time which saw the emergence of the discourses of deregulation and of the flexibilization of labor relations throughout the world (Yucesan-Özdemir and Özdemir, 2005:64).

As a result of these situations, in conformity with the global decline in unionization and with the excessive use of repressive means of domination in domestic politics, trade unions were weakened and workers’ right to organize and to bargain collectively were limited severely (Özdemir and Yücesan-Özdemir, 2004:38). Journalists’ unions were also affected by these policies. In this part, it is aimed to display how journalists’ union was weakened. But first of all, it is necessary to explain the history of union movement in general terms because it is known that the weakness of the union is not peculiar to the journalists’ union. Then, it is examined that how the unionization process of journalists has evolved from past to present.

According to data of Ministry of Labor and Social Security, employment in 25 of 28 business lines increased in the last five years. Shipping, health and journalism are the leading business lines that the employment has increased. According to the data, only 15 thousand 640 journalists are insured in the journalism business in Turkey. Thus, about 24 thousand media employees the total number of whose is estimated as 40 thousand are employed informally without having social security. Only 600 of 2 thousand 919 journalists being the media employer being the member of a union can benefit from rights such as collective agreement fully.

These figures show the weakness of the union in media industry in Turkey clearly. For this reason, the absence of union and not being able to appear in the bosses with a strong organization make journalists poor individuals in terms of working conditions and relations with the organization (Tılıç, 1998:218). Although this disorganization appeared after the 1990s, the situation was not so good before the breaking point in question.

As it has been explained above, the employees gained the union rights not with their own struggle but they gained them with the rights provided from the top and therefore, the union struggle in the Turkish industry got a very different appearance from the West. Thus, the union struggle in the media environment of pre-1980 is relatively better than today's struggle. For this reason, the history of union movement in the media sector will be examined and then the contemporary situation will be discussed to understand today's organized union movement in media sector and its problems in this sub-title firstly.

3.2.1. A Short Overview of the Union Movement in Turkey

The strengthening of unions in actual sense occurred in the democratic environments provided with 1961 constitution. The period of 1963-80 was the golden years of the union movement. Unions strengthened the social legitimacy during this period, organized increasingly in public first of all and then in private sector and achieved important acquisitions for the workers and gained the trust of the workers (Ozveri, 2006:81).

Transition of flexible production creates disadvantages for the unions.⁴³ Contract flexibility is the most problematic flexibility kind for unions. The relations of the temporary employees are little for many reasons. Their employment time's not being definite, their not having labor-job protection, having entered contract with the boss when employed are the most important ones of these reasons. Aim flexibility makes especially working of unions organizing in professional ground difficult. The reason of it is that various types of profession have appeared with the fragmentation of the aims specific to the professions. Since the flexibility in working hours causes working at various and irregular times of the day, month and year, the unions cannot reach their members or making the ones not being members a member easily (Şenkal, 2005:202-206).

The other factors causing decrease in the rates of unionization are the change of the sectoral structure of the production and technological development. Decreasing the share of industry in the production and increasing the share of service sector is important because services are of more disorder and informal structure. It is very difficult for the unions to conduct their unionization works in this environment. On the other hand, technological development reduces the employment volume in the industry by providing increase in productivity (Şenkal, 2005:202).

The unionization activities get difficult due to varying of the professions with the change of sectoral structure of production and getting a more heterogeneous structure of the labor force taking place in the industry and service production in terms of qualification characteristics. One of the strategies that the companies implement for the deunionization is the subcontracting. Subcontracting prevents unionization depending on the prevalence of the flexible employment forms in the Subcontractor Company and lowness of the security (Şenkal, 2005:205). Therefore, deunionization policies in Turkey can be listed generally as follows:

⁴³ Transition from fordism to flexible production, globalization of national state policy, defining policies according to global advantages and merging service sector into global economic regime are become determining factors for the new system (Geray, 1995:39). The flexible production and management strategies aim to decrease the power of union at the workplace, pulverize workers' reaction and also get the control of management (Belek, 2004: 123-200).

- Making subcontractor
- Becoming widespread of informal employment
- Contract personnel employment
- Becoming widespread of flexible working forms
- Employment trainee and apprentice
- Privatization

Unions did not appear as a product of a class struggle. They were formed as organizations under the control of state in accordance with the status and populism policies and their being autonomous power was continuously prevented. The Western working relations and social policy have been shown as an example for Turkey. However, the unique aspect of the union development is not only following Western labor movement back in terms of index it is also the unique role and effect of the state on union movement. Turkey's being industrialized late compared with West and not experiencing an industry revolution as the West prevented union rights in Turkey developing from bottom to top by means of pressure (Çelik, 2006:41- 44).

Individual union freedom was made secure with 1961 Constitution and described in constitutional level. 1961 Constitution described the individual union freedom as "employees and employers are entitled to establish unions and union associations be a member of them and leave the membership". This situation was limited with the 1982 Constitution of Turkey. Formal equality comprehension provided by this constitution introduced not objectivity but being the side of the strong, protecting the weak. The 1982 Constitution of Turkey aimed not to protect strike right but to limit this right according reluctantly with detailed provisions. The constitution abolished political strike right and the law numbered 2821 prohibited the unions' doing politics, taking in charge in political parties and management bodies. General strike and solidarity strike were prohibited (Özveri, 2006:82-86). A cooperative perception holding the corporation of employer-employee in unionization is also a disadvantage in terms of class. Unionization has followed a development directed to "requesting" and "price" unionization with the rights entitled the top rather than a class struggle.

3.2.2. The Union Movement in Media Sector: History of Journalists' Union of Turkey (TGS)

During World War I, Germany being the associate of Ottoman Empire invited Turkish association representative to Germany. Whereon, Turkey came into action to fill a gap and set up Council of Matbuat-ı Osmaniye whose chairman was Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın and secretary general was Ahmet Emin Yalman. This association's name changed as Council of Matbuat-ı Istanbul in 1930. In 1939 Association of Press was established (Soner, 2003:340).

Afterwards, Şükrü Saraçoğlu, Prime Minister, staked Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın to search the association in Europe. Yalçın reported that there was not any association like Association of Press in Europe. Therefore, by the mediation of an act which was adopted in 1946, Association of Press is closed. Headed by Sedat Simavi in 1946, Istanbul Association of Journalists which would be characterized as Turkish Association of Journalist was founded. Sedat Simavi, owner of newspaper, was the head of this association founded by opposing journalists. This showed that there was a corporation between employee and employer in association of journalists. The number of associations increased day by day. In 1952, with the act regulating relations between employer and employees at the business of press, rights of setting union and *Journalists' Union of Istanbul* were recognized. In 1957 *Journalists' Union of Istanbul* being the member of Turk-Is combined in "*Federation of Turkey journalists union*" together with other journalist unions. C.Fehmi Başkut (editor-in-chief of Cumhuriyet), Nazım Ulusay (editor-in-chief of Cumhuriyet), Melih Yener (editor-in-chief of Vatan), Ecvet Güresin (columnist of Vatan), Sami Teziş (columnist of Posta), Hıfzı Topuz (columnist of Akşam) and A. İhsan Göğüş (editor-in-chief of Dünya) were some of the founders of Journalists' Union of İstanbul. According to the its constitution, the union aimed at protecting the rights and profits of its members and not participating political and religious activities.

There is a significant event which has to be mentioned. After 1960 military coup, National Unity Committee adopted Law No. 212 and so owners of newspapers came into the action to prevent this act since this act provided provisions for journalists about

amount of wage, quality of labor, making business agreement in writing, adding seniority of journalist to agreements. Following the announcement of these rights, nine owners of newspapers decided to close down their newspapers and on 10 January 1961 to protest this act, by the mediation of common manifesto, they stated that they wouldn't run newspapers in the following days. Nine newspapers such as Akşam, Cumhuriyet, Dünya, Milliyet, Tercüman, Yeni Sabah, Vatan, Hürriyet and Yeni Istanbul supported this event. According to these newspapers, these acts related to press and announced by National Unity Committee were gravity for press and limited basic rights and freedom of press. The first reaction to the owners of newspapers came from editors, e.g. Sami Karaören and Hikmet Çağlayan from Dünya, Hasan Yılmaz from Milliyet and Mesut Özdemir and Gökşin Sipahioğlu from Vatan, announcing that they wouldn't sign this manifesto. Thus, that day's newspapers were published by the signs of the owners instead of desk editors. Abdi İpekçi (Milliyet), Vecdi Kızıldemir (Cumhuriyet), Gökşin Sipahioğlu (Vatan), Hikmet Çağlayan, Sami Karaören (Dünya), Tefik Erol (Tercüman), İlhan Turalı (Akşam) and Oğuz Akkan (Yeni Sabah) came together and protested this manifesto. They trooped from union to building of province. Necati Zincirkıran, a desk editor of Hürriyet, did not support the other editors. So his membership was cancelled. This action was important for not only association of journalists but also maintaining principles of journalism.

That day, editors declared that they would publish a newspaper called "Basın". On the first day of editorial column, it was written that:

These events of owners haven't been taken in a place on our honorable history of press. In Turkey, newspapers were not closed although Turkey was under very serious gravity; our basic rights and freedom were limited. Publishing newspaper is the same as running socks factory. Press is a business rendering public service. (Topuz, 2003: 231-232)

After 1960 military coup, following the coming into force of Unions law numbered 274 regulations the union life in new period in July 1963, *Journalists' Union of Istanbul* took the name of *Journalists' Union of Turkey (TGS)* in the general meeting held on 30th September 1963. Türkiye Gazeteciler Sendikası (TGS) is the only labor union, which has the

authority to negotiate collective agreements in journalism sector in Turkey. TGS is a member of TÜRK-İŞ (The Confederation of Turkish Workers Trade Unions) and The International Federation of Journalism (IFJ). TGS aims at protecting and promoting the economic and social rights and interests of its members at work. TGS is strengthened by laws in support of social, economic and democratic rights based on the human rights.

1970s was the period when Journalists' Union of Turkey (TGS) was active on association and collective agreement. This union signed a collective agreement with Akşam, Son Havadis, Hergün, Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Yeni Gazete, Milliyet, Tercüman, Dünya, Son Saat, Ekspres and also Hayat, AA and Agency of Turkish News. In this period, except Gunaydın, all of big newspapers were unionized.

In press sector, the first breaking point came out at Yeni Asır. In 1978, when bonus was paid in the half amount, employers decided to strike. Because of this demand of journalists, Dinç Bilgin, owner of Yeni Asır, wanted to strike a vote yet he affected his employers. In conclusion, his employers were forced to discontinue the membership of union although signing collective agreement with bonus completely.

With the changes in economic and political conjuncture, the meaning of journalists' union and unionized altered. Globalization, technological innovations and new industrial relations also affected these phenomena. To illustrate, transition from traditional production to flexible one caused drawbacks for the unions:

- Complicating working of the unions which are organized occupational ground is the main aim.
- Reaching and affiliating the member become hard due to the flexibility of working period.
- Flexible arrangement is the most problematic type of flexibility.

Like other unions which organized in different sectors, unions of journalists started to lose their functionality day by day. Thus, it is important to underline that deunionization does not only belong to media sector. As a result of crisis of unions, media unions were not put out from this crisis. Like other sectors, in the media the process of deunionization started

to accelerate in 1980s. It is clearly seen that means of employment of journalists and related media workers became increasingly diversified. Indeed, many journalists are not engaged as employees under various national laws and organizations. Therefore, with the industry occupational organizations also underwent dramatic changes. Especially, unionization is necessary to carry assurance. So, the number of members increased day by day. Not only did the absolute quantitative existence of the unions, associations and councils but also the qualified features carry question marks. Above all, it is really hard for the journalists who earn different amount of money to come together under the roof of one organization.

Prior to the 1990s, many journalists were members of the Journalists' Union of Turkey (TGS), which protected their rights and negotiated collective bargaining agreements with the Turkish Newspaper Owners Trade Union on behalf of members. Since the start of the 1990s, however, membership in the TGS has collapsed to the point where there is not a single newspaper where journalists are represented by the union. Therefore, the union has become a non-entity in the Turkish media market.

Whereas unions have lost the value, associations have become widespread. The number of association established as per the activity line other than association of journalists increased much. An association is established for almost every page specializing in the newspaper. These associations work directed to meeting the interests being irrelevant with the profession and personal of the members rather than formation and ethical principles of the profession. The main reason of this situation, according to Kaya, is the shares expected from the public funds with the private relations established with the political and economic power owners. So, these kinds of efforts of the organizations form a serious basis for attempts of the capital to influence the press. Even if the preliminary efforts of these organizations are not present, hosting the journalists of the private entrepreneurs with the events such as "public relations", "presentation" is a very widespread practice (1999: 653).

Despite the number of organizations indicates a significant existence, the quantitative condition should be absolutely investigated. Hıfzı Topuz underlined an important point which Tılıç says that:

The existence of more than 60 job associations across the country actually means that there's not any association at all. Journalists become weaker and weaker and they cannot make people listen to them. They also, can't comment on the working conditions much. (...) the formation of the job, journalism's being a very personal field of study and the considerable income gap between journalists is some of the issues that make it harder to manage the unification (2003:367).

In addition, it is necessary to highlight that after the breaking point in 1980s, the last step in favor of being organized in the journalism was an association called G-9 platform. This association which combined lots of organization of journalists was founded in 2000; with the attendance of Association of Contemporary Journalists, Association of Parliament Reporters, Association of Economy Reporters and Association of Diplomacy Reporters. Hıfzı Topuz (2003:266) describes the aims of the G-9 platform like improving the relationship of the organizations of journalism in their own field, defending the occupational values all together and strongly, rising the dignity of the job, preventing the erosion of respect and trust, looking for solutions for the problems, trying to unify all the journalists under one organization, lead this organization to an effective unionism which fits the new communication system and protecting the independence of the press and people's right of getting news, defending and improving the personnel rights which is being destroyed day by day.

As a result of the domino effect, union organization began to disappear in the whole publishing and broadcasting spheres in Turkey. This situation left nearly all journalists vulnerable to all kinds of economic and social crises. According to Ministry of Labor and Social Security statistics, the number of journalists who actually have unfettered access to union rights is approximately 5 per cent (about 500 people) of the total number of workers in the journalism sector (roughly 10,000 people). Ironically, though, aside from the media conglomerates being devoid of union and social rights, union organization does not exist in more radical or marginal leftist and Islamist publications or broadcasting outlets either (Tunç, 2003: 9).

The period of Savings Deposit Insurance Fund (TMSF) show important point that ownership system has negative effects on unionization. When the Atv, Sabah had been taken over by the TMSF, Turkey's Journalists' Union (TGS) had organized at the workplace and achieved a collective agreement. However, when the group was bought by the Turkuvaz Group, pressure on the trade union was increased and trade union members were dismissed.

While the period of collective agreement, the Turkuaz group do not accept the rights of journalists such as social aids, termination pays and dismissal pay. Ten employers went on strike on 13 February when negotiations for a collective agreement stagnated at ATV and Sabah. In addition to the strike at Cumhuriyet which is a "so-called strike", ATV and Sabah strike has been the important labor movement in media sector after 1980s (http://www.tgs.org.tr/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=366&Itemid=48). The strike as at Cumhuriyet does not continue de facto. Therefore publications and broadcasting are continued.

CHAPTER 4

FIELD STUDY ON THE PERCEPTION OF UNION AMONG PRIVATE MEDIA EMPLOYEES IN TURKEY

4.1. Methodology

This study, examining the unionization perception among the journalists in the post-1980 media environment in Turkey, consists of quantitative and qualitative data obtained by using two different data gathering methods. These are detailed in-depth interviews and questionnaire forms.

Questionnaire is one of the most widely used methods in social sciences. The sample representing the population has a big role for surveys. Thus, defining sample is crucial for the research results. There are two ways of defining the sample: Probabilistic sample and non-probabilistic sample (Geray, 2005). The simple random sampling which is subcategory of probabilistic sample is used in this dissertation. Who would be included in the sampling was one of the basic problems of this study. The editor-in chief including in the management process and the reporter trying to reach the news are defined as the journalist. Therefore, the sample of this study was chosen according to the member profile of Turkish Journalists' Union (TGS) organized under journalism business line number 27. The condition of application for the membership of TGS is as follows:

“White-collar workers” having a permanent position in newspapers, magazines, as a photographer, in news agencies and in news units of radio stations and television channels and being subject to the law number 212 can become members of TGS. The people working as being subject to law number 4857 (former 1475) in these workplaces where journalism is performed (provided they are not organized under a separate company name) can apply for TGS membership within the framework of “auxiliary works affiliated to the original work”. Accordingly news center employees subjected to the law number 212 and 4857 and working in commercial newspapers, televisions and news agencies were taken as the random sample. In spite of AA is not a private institution, this agency’s workers are as part of this study because TGS is unionized at AA.

The survey was conducted in two stages: pilot study and main research. First, I conducted a pilot study to observe not only which questions worked better but also to gather basic information about the journalists. I structured the pilot study’s questions open ended in the beginning. Then I changed some of them to closed ended questions for the main research. The pilot study was conducted unionized and non unionized 20 journalists.

There are 2919 national media employees registered in TGS.⁴⁴ The initial plan of the study was to reach at least 5% of the members of the union. In addition the sample of this study is journalists who are not member of the union. This questionnaire was applied to 285 journalists, 150 of whom are members of the union and 135 of whom are not. The sample included journalists working as reporters, editors, news managers, photojournalists, and cameramen as well as professionals working in two news agencies. The survey was conducted among journalists by using different techniques. Most of it was answered one-to-one and face to face. The questionnaires were left to some of the journalists who could not answer the survey due to busy agenda and they were collected later. The questionnaire study was applied to some of them (50 journalists) via e-mail.

⁴⁴ The database of Turkish National Journalists’ Union is not good. The active members are not clear enough. Since the members’ information are not updated. I study at the union in İstanbul to update the database. Therefore, the number of members (2919) is defined as an approximate numbers.

The reporters generally requested that I must not use their names, they stated that the information they had given could cause trouble for them and they did not want the employer to find out. Unionized journalists did not want the union and the employer to know about their identities. Thus, interviewed journalists were asked to disclose their names and the answers of the survey were kept hidden.

During the pilot study, 77 questions were addressed to unionized journalists and 55 questions were addressed to non-unionized journalists. However, following the evaluation of the pilot study, these questions was re-organized in the questionnaire applied to the unionized and non-unionized journalists in the main study and it was increased to 56 for unionized journalists and to 46 for non-unionized journalists. In addition to the questions describing the sampling, the questions in the survey were formulated as open-ended and closed-ended falling under three main titles namely working conditions, right and organization and the description of the journalist/journalism. The questions given to the open-ended questions were evaluated and encoded again at the end of the study. The data obtained after the surveys were then analyzed on the SPSS program by making crosstab and frequency analysis. Therefore, the encoded answers to open-ended questions were explained in order to reduce data loss. In addition to unanswered questions, invalid questions were also encoded as “missing”. While the questionnaire applied to unionized journalists is presented in Appendix 1, the questionnaire applied to non-unionized journalists is presented in Appendix 2.

In-depth interviews, one of the most-used methods for social researches, comprise the other side of the study. With this method, the researcher wants to know certain information which can be compared and contrasted with information from other interviews and may produce an interview schedule which is a list of questions.

Three important factors come into prominence in in-depth interviews: Duration, structure and depth (Geray, 2004). The duration of the interview conducted within the scope of the study changes depending on the link of the person with the subject. For instance, while an interview with a journalist who was dismissed from his/her job for being a member of a union lasted 2 hours, an interview made with a news editor lasted 1 hour. Interviews were

semi structured. Namely, the titles had been determined before but the ordering had not been done in the interviews. Additional questions could be added as per the course of the interview, some titles determined before were excluded. Questions in the study trying to reveal the perception of the journalists towards to unionization were of formats aiming their views about the matter in detail rather than formats oriented to examining the knowledge. The questions of in-depth interviews are as similar as the ones of the questionnaire. Therefore the list of questions do not attach in Appendices.

32 people from a wide employment spectrum such as reporters, editors, editors-in-chief, law advisers, and union representatives, journalists dismissed from their jobs for being unionized, columnists, and academicians were interviewed in-depth. Since the study bases on the post-1980 resolution, it is essential to get a picture of pre-1980 journalistic environment. Therefore, there are journalists among the interviewees taking an active role in the establishment of the union and experiencing the pre-1980 process exactly. Although the names to be interviewed had been determined beforehand, the new interviewees were added by directing the journalists. In-depth interviews were conducted between June 5 and July 10 simultaneously with the questionnaire. In addition to the in-depth interviews, three more interviews (one of them designed for an editor-in-chief and two of them were for columnists) conducted in 2005 for another study are used in this study. Although this study covers the private sector employees, an employee of TRT who was active in one of the organized unions was interviewed to see the views of the employees about the union, how the union organization process operated in TRT. In addition to these people, an interview was conducted with a research and information assistant of National Union of Journalists (NUJ) about the union struggle of the journalists in the United Kingdom. Since some of the interviewees did not want their names to be disclosed, all names were kept hidden.

4.2. General Information about Interviewees and the Respondents

67% of 150 of unionized journalists (191) and 33% of non unionized journalists (94) work in Istanbul. The average age of the respondents -the majority of whom (65%) are male- ranges between 30 and 40.

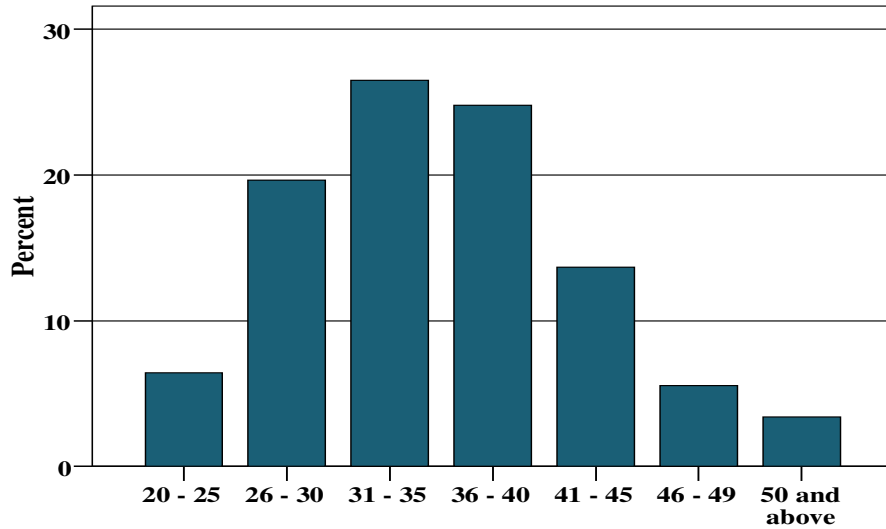


Figure 1: The Age Distribution of Respondents

The questionnaire results show that the education level of the journalists is heavily university graduate. While 11% of the respondents stated that they had taken master’s degree, 18% of them stated that they had taken vocational education following the undergraduate education.

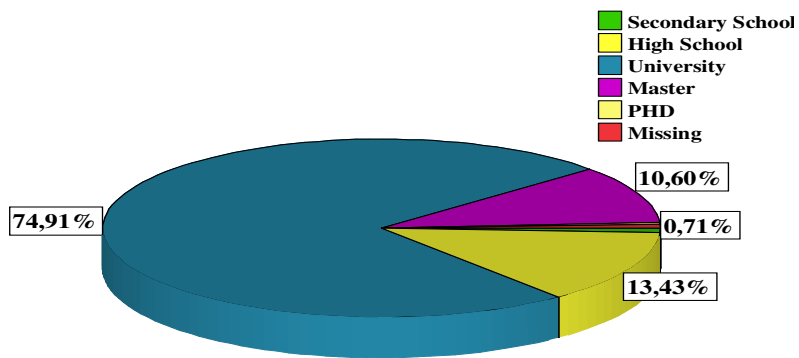


Figure 2: Education Level of Respondents

53% of respondents of the survey consist of journalists working in newspapers, 29% of them work at a TV station (or network) and 18% of them work at news agencies. Correspondents constitute the majority among the journalists with 85% of them working

in accordance with the law number 212. As it is seen in the figure 3, the majority of respondents (48.9%) are reporters. They are followed by editors with 22.2%.

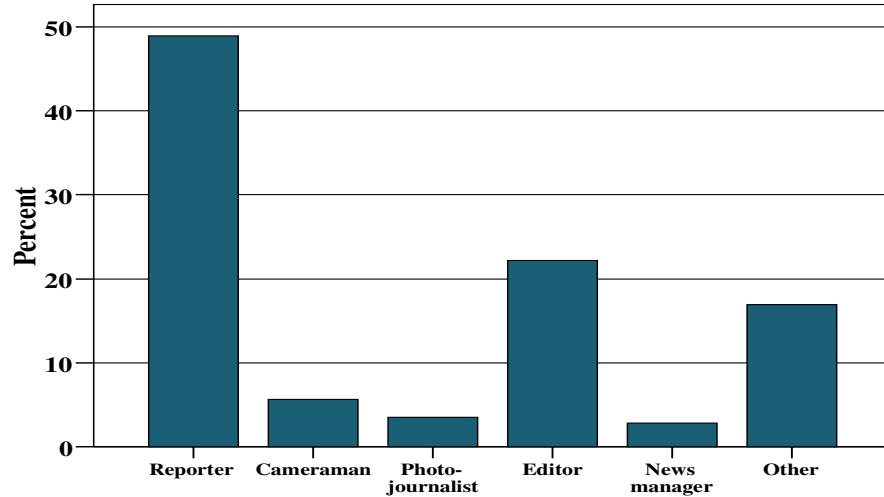


Figure 3: Professional Positions of Respondents

The positions of the person interviewed are as follows:

- 6 fired journalists due to the membership of union (while 3 of them carry on working in the sector, 3 of them were informed that they would not find a job in the media sector.)
- 5 editors-in-chief (one of them working in different duties),
- One member of the executive board of a media group,
- Two Ankara representatives (One print journalist and one television journalist),
- One news coordinator,
- One additional publishing coordinator of a newspaper,
- One enquiry manager of a newspaper,
- One news editor of a television channel,
- Two retired journalists (one of them is the founder of TGS and the other one is the member of Turkey Journalists Community (TGC)),
- One Internet journalist and one self-employed journalist,
- 3 columnists (one of them is the former president of TGS),

- 3 correspondents working in different areas of expertise and at organizations with different policies,
- The president of one of the journalism associations,
- Two scholars (one of them is working in the sector currently and the other one used to be a journalist and unionist in the past),
- One law adviser,
- One TRT reporter.

While 10 of the journalists interviewed work in television, 10 of them work in newspaper. The interviewees are the employees of the institutions adopting different policies; they show differences in terms of their own ideological point of view. While 25 interviewees work in Istanbul, 10 of them work in Ankara.

The income profile of the journalists participating in the questionnaire is high. 51.1% of the journalists receive salaries over 2000 liras per month.

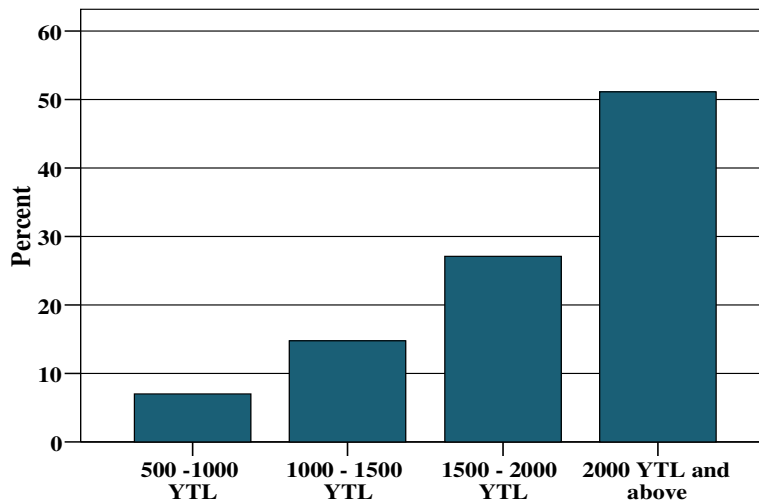


Figure 4: Monthly Income of Respondents

4.3. The Evaluation of Field Study on the Unionization Conceived by Private Media Employees in Turkey

4.3.1. The Conception of Journalists about Turkish Media Structure

4.3.1.1. The Transformation of Media Ownership

As media interests became evident together with the policies of the new order, journalism as a cultural practice underwent important changes following the new structure formed by the market economy and the changing work perceptions. With this new structure, managers who are not media professionals anymore are also the shareholders. One of the most important signs of this new period is the introduction of new shareholders coming from different sectors due to technological changes and the emergence of private networks in the 1990s. This is a transition from the press to the media as Kaya puts (1999). The ownership system changing with this transition altered the way the profession of journalism is perceived. Within the scope of this study it emerged that the new media system has injured the intellectual identity of the journalists. Babiali newspapers were mostly in the hands of bosses who came from a journalist background. The tradition of journalist-boss had started from İttihat Terakki and it had become a practice arising from the aspiration of the intellectuals for performing journalism within the framework of their own thoughts under the leadership of the intellectuals. A journalist who has experienced both periods tells the differences between these two structures clearly as follows:

We see a very striking example of it in the law number 212. Since it introduced very advanced rights in terms of freedom of thought for the journalists, assurances such as a journalist's not fired due to his thought, we see that the concepts not existing up to that time were introduced with this law. These concepts mean the rights relating to job protection, and a legal regulation that strengthen the journalist at the workplace with his contract. The employers argue against it, react and they do not publish the newspaper. Upon this, the union publishes the newspaper for three days. The most striking point is the management staff of the union and staff resisting and editors of the newspaper, executive editors and columnists. Three days later, when the newspapers are published again, Ali Ulvi draws a caricature satirizing the bosses on the cover page of the newspaper. And the caption reads: "We are publishing this caricature within the framework of journalism rights and freedoms of our colleague." I mean it never occurred to the boss to censor this caricature, although bosses are ridiculed

in it. All the editors and the columnists support the union for the act. This shows how an intellectual perceives the freedom of the newspaper, which is something that cannot be thought today (The date of interview with A: June 6, 2008).

An editor-in-chief who expresses that this structure changing after the 1980s become clear in the 1990s tells that structural changes occurring in the media are the natural ingredients of the change in the world and emphasizes the change in his own ideology:

What demolished the Berlin wall demolished the wall in my mind: the insolvency of the communism. I kept pace with the system. I could not sit on this if I had not kept pace. If I headed the newspaper as a Marxist and said “I will improve it by unfurling communist principles as a Marxist” they would call me mad and dismiss me (The date of interview with B: June 1, 2005).

As can be seen in the interviews quoted up to here and in Chapter 2 and 3, the ownership system was subjected to drastic changes coinciding with the changes in cultural, political, technological and economic structure. Therefore, working conditions, the production process and ethical codes have changed. All these had direct impact of the journalists.

4.3.1.2. The Definition of the Journalist

Reaching to a definition of the journalist is crucial to this study insofar as the people both being at the top levels of management and receiving salary over ten thousand dollars and receiving 600-700 liras salary per month took their places in the new structure as journalists (Tılıç, 1998). Furthermore, it is now possible for people coming from different –and not necessarily compatible- professional backgrounds to become a journalist. This situation affected the unionization perception of journalists. Therefore, one of the questions addressed to the journalists sought to find out how they defined the journalist and gave meaning to their profession within the scope of this study trying to measure the perception of the union among the journalists. The definition coming into prominence emphasized inherent values of journalism such as public service, objectivity, autonomy

as emphasized by Deuze (2008)⁴⁵. Thus, there is an emphasis towards the ideal one. 37.19% of the journalists (106) think that journalists narrate information impartially for public benefit. Providing a public service is a core value of journalism but in reality this value as the others might become meaningless. Although almost all journalists know that journalists cannot provide public service, only 10 journalists defined the journalist as a manipulation tool protecting the values of the dominant class. In addition, 91 interviewees described the journalist as professional making money out of the news they produced (see Figure 5).

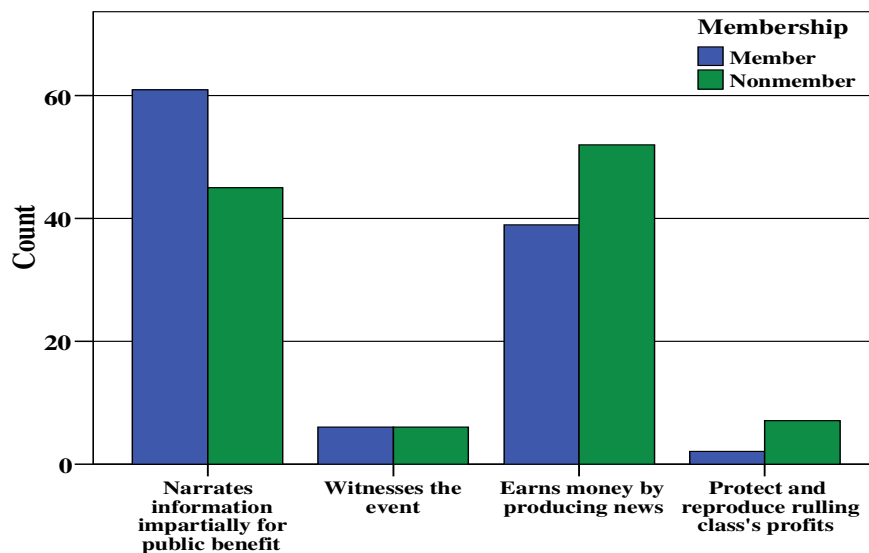


Figure 5: Who is the Journalist?

The journalists think that they do their best by being dependent on ethical principles. Therefore, during the interviews and the survey as their answers show that they excluded themselves from the bad journalism. For this reason, while they were answering the questions, they chose to emphasize what they found disturbing in their profession, although they pointed to an ideal description. In fact, these evaluations give clues about how they describe the journalist. 98 journalists (61 of them are union members, 37 of them are non-members) point that while they watching/reading others news, the partial

⁴⁵ Deuze explain the code of journalism such as objectivity, autonomy and immediacy in this essay entitled *What is journalism? Professional identity and ideology of journalists reconsidered*. For more information, see Deuze, 2003.

news annoy them. 78 journalists (33 members, 45 nonmembers) state that the second factor that annoys them is the inattentive news which is not based on evidence.

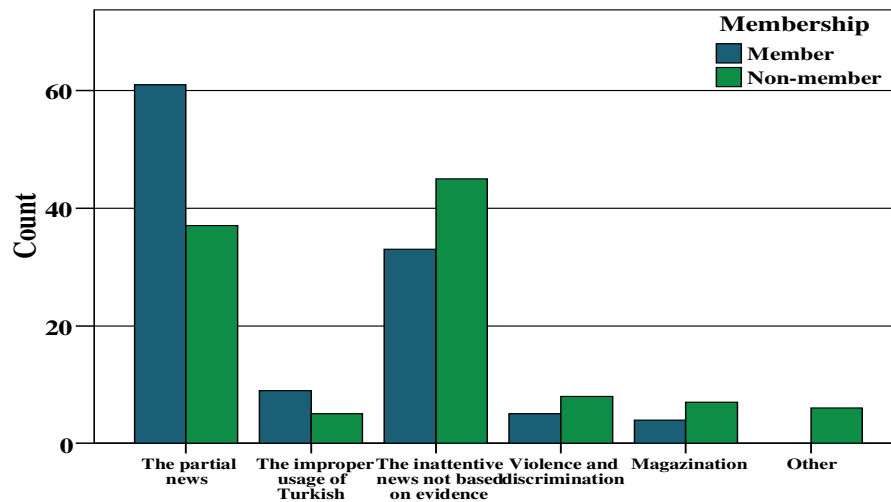


Figure 6: While watching/reading others news, what annoys you?

The in-depth interviews supported the figures appearing in the results presented in Figure 6. The journalists think that there used to be a “real” journalism and aware of the problems of society when they consider the journalism of pre-1980. For this reason, they emphasize that they go away from the basic principles of the conventional reporting and journalism concept today. One of the experienced reporters working at a television channel tells the changing process after 1980 as follows:

Turkey has found its own identity since 1980 and in recent years the new concept that we could refer to as “pyjamas reporting” became a traditional. As you know, the journalism in real terms is an expensive job, however “pyjamas journalism” means the journalism performed with limited number of employees and not showing any journalism skills, rolling the news coming from the agencies and published on the common media and giving sensational headlines. As a result, the profession of journalism is deformed (The date of interview with C: July 1 2008).

All of these underline that commercialization increased the power of journalism as an institution and also altered the style of journalism. Popular journalism has loomed large and investigative journalism started to play second fiddle.

4.3.1.3. Work Conditions

Journalism increasingly loses track of its basic principles. As Figure 7 shows, a significant number of journalists (53 journalists) think that their profession is losing its value. What they complain about the most is the work conditions. 75 journalists (24 members, 51 non-members) complain about long work hours and stress caused by bad work conditions. Non-unionized journalists emphasize this trouble about their job and they express that they expect arrangement for work conditions. Although this question is closed-ended in the survey, they underline that unsatisfactory work conditions challenge the efficiency of their work.

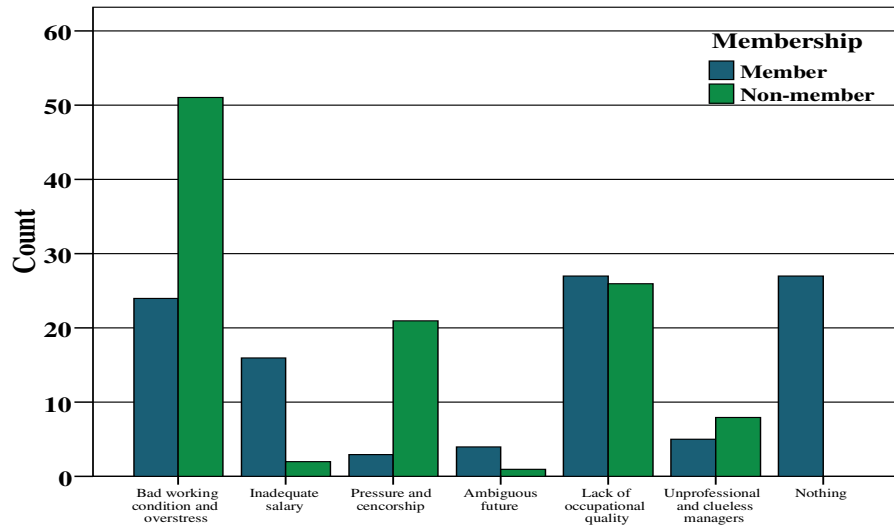


Figure 7: Is there any annoyances related with your job?

There are 18 journalists who think that the salary they receive is not equivalent to their labor as it is seen in Figure 7. They state that low salaries is a facilitating factor for the dismissal and such a wage policy, even if it is low feeds, the thought that another journalist could easily be hired.

Television reporters criticize that anchors and annotators receive very high salaries and they argue that they gain great prestige and acquisitions over the news they make. They complain that they cannot get the same amount as the “stars of television” despite their effort. In addition, it is necessary to observe that -as seen in Figure 8- nearly half of the respondents (120) think that their salaries are insufficient to sustain their lives.

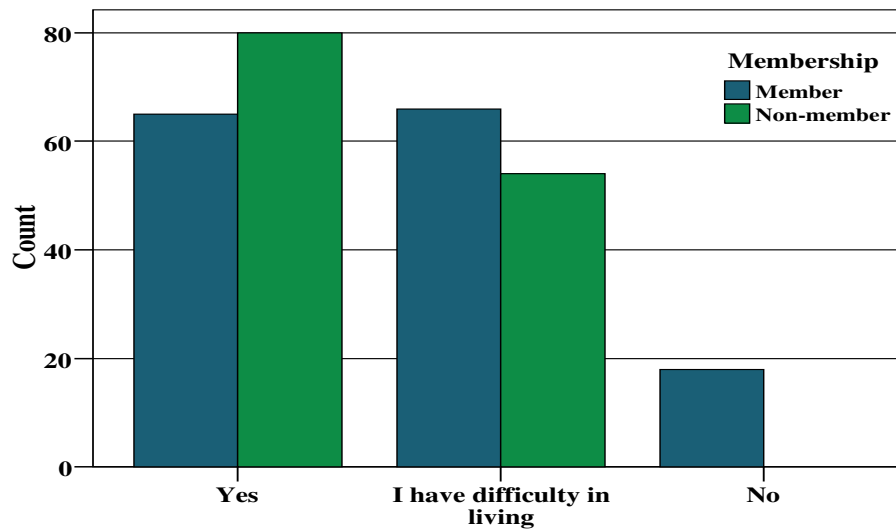


Figure 8: Is your salary enough to support yourself?

If bearing in mind the wages in media sector, this figure displays paradoxical information insofar as the wages in media sector are low. If we have a look at the answers in detail, we can conclude that the unionized journalists who give a positive answer, work at new agencies which hires on the basis of a collective agreement. 65 unionized journalists state that their salary is enough to support their life. 61% of these journalist work at AA. 70% of journalists who state that they have difficulty in living because of the low salary work at a newspaper. This result verifies the media sector wages policy. Indeed, print journalists earn less television journalists.

4.3.1.4. Job Security

In spite of the wage difference among media institutions and journalists, the insecure working conditions are the common denominator. Although the journalists are permanent staff the perception that they can be dismissed from the job by payment of their compensation, as they say “be given the boot” is dominant. These journalists think that they are always examined, a day is not the continuation of the previous day and it is the same. The journalists state that getting high salary as important because they see journalism as a profession not being of assurance. Therefore, making an investment is the guarantee of this profession. As it is seen in Figure 11, even if they know that the threat

of being fired from the job is valid every time they express that they are not fear of being dismissed. In spite of the threat of being dismissed, 67.3% of journalists express that they are not afraid of being dismissed. This conflict situation is caused by the answers which are given by journalist working at AA. Television sector is the most insecurity sector in the media. In addition to AA workers, journalists working at newspapers don't fear of being fired.

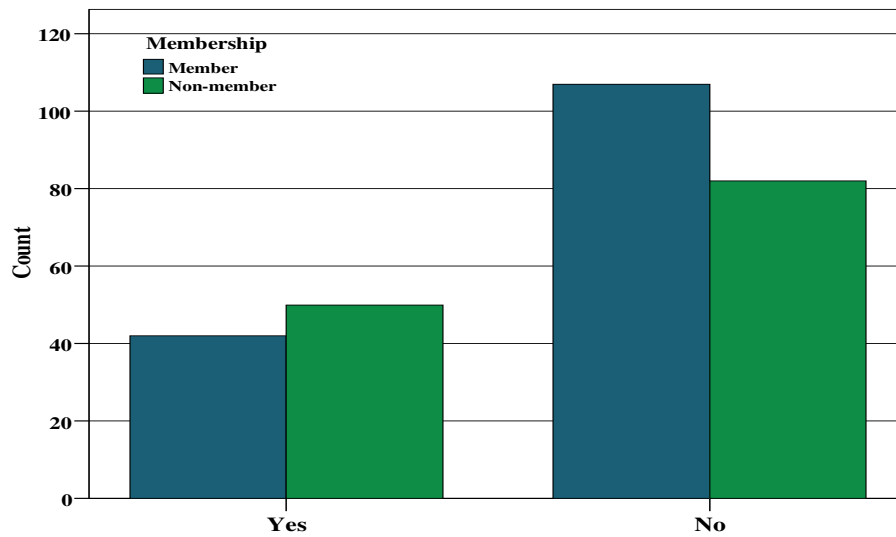


Figure 9: Do you fear of being fired?

Together with journalists who think that they work at guaranteed institution, there are journalist don't fear of being fired and who are self-confident. As it is seen in Figure 12, 181 journalists participating in the survey (64.9%) believe that they can find another job if they are fired.

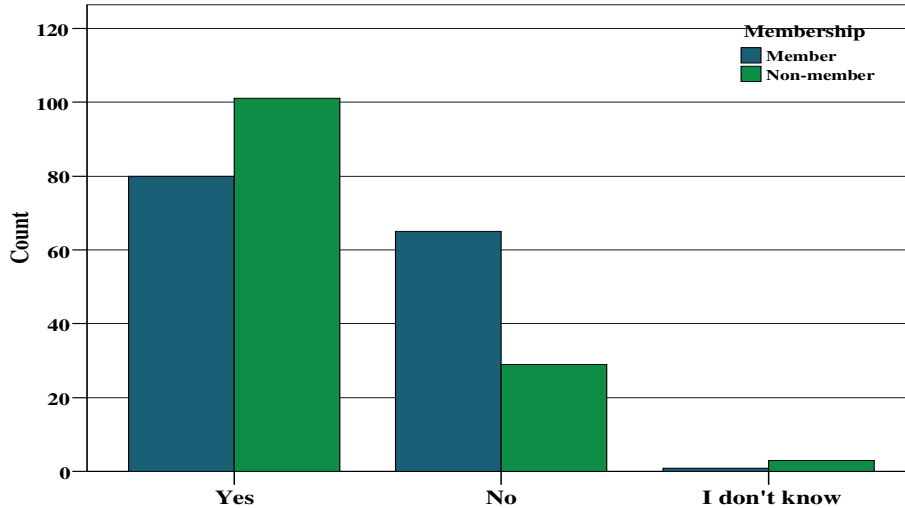


Figure 10: Do you believe that if you were fired you would find a job?

The answer of the respondents to the question that “if you were fired, would you find a job?” reveals why this situation does not frighten them in spite of threat of being fired. As evidenced in the results of Figure 13, the journalists participating in the survey think that the qualified employees will not remain unemployed for a long time. In spite of the bad situation in the sector, 86.6% respondents (116 journalists) believe that they can find a job due to their vocational knowledge and talent.

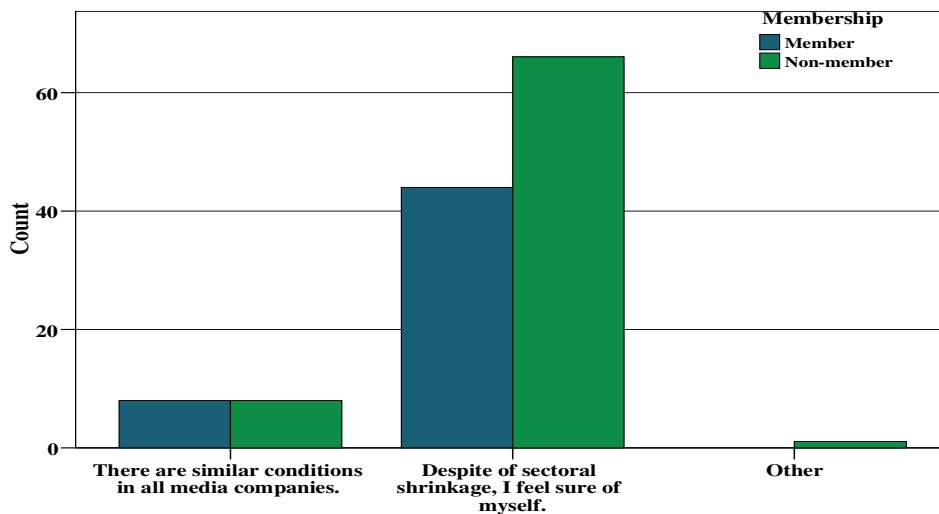


Figure 11: Why do you believe that you would find a job, if you were fired?

The rate of journalists thinking that they will not have difficulty in finding a job since the conditions in the sector are the same is 13.4%. The journalists think that even if they will interest the all of personal rights and good condition, the unemployment duration will not be shorten.

4.3.1.5. The Effects of Transformation of the Media and Insecure Working Conditions on the Production Process

The journalists not only face with news production proper for imposition of media organization they work at and the media owners but also are exposed to the constraints of the attacks of state, political power and laws. This situation made the journalists learn what they would write and how and what they would not write and the ones not learning are excluded from the system (Özsever, 2004:147). Therefore, although journalists are sure of themselves, they state that the deprivation of job protection affects their role in news production processes. As the results in Figure 14 show, almost all of the journalists (198) think that insecure working conditions make journalists dependent to proprietor and so they ease to a triggerman. In addition, there are journalists who think that insecurity working life causes loss of motivation.

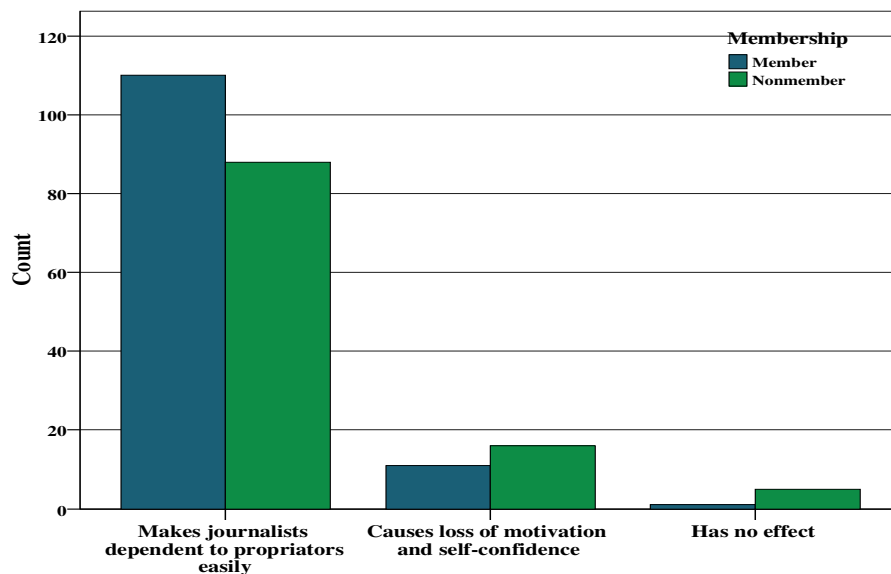


Figure 12: How does the insecurity working life affect the production process of journalism?

As the results show, exposure to risk continuously causes “character corrosion” as put by Sennett (1998).⁴⁶ Employees become alienated to their ideals and have to keep pace with the general course. Therefore, this situation becomes “ordinary” after a while and self-control mechanism steps in. The journalists specified one of the most important factors for this situation as the agreements between the groups. In the first half of the 1990s, a partnership ground foreseeing to share the market with the proper conditions emerged instead of promotion wars occurring between Sabah and Doğan groups. As a result of these, “gentlemen’s agreements” which concluded that respective parties would not “steal” each other’s employees and dismissed media professionals victimize the journalists (Tılıç, 1998; Adaklı, 2006).⁴⁷ One of the most important results of this situation is that the reporters feeling the unemployment threat continuously avoid making news that risk to disturb the owners. In addition, they are alienated from all types of ethical values for the sake of big news as a requirement of the new media environment and an intense conflict environment arising from the people in the same profession group see each other as competitors appear.

A journalist who has been the executive director of a newspaper and is working as a columnist now tells that an important factor making staff dismissals easier than before as well as factors such as low wages, is media plazas:

Now the conscience has changed. The executive manager and the journalist used to sit around the same table. You did not use to fire the man you worked with easily. Managers of today even do not know the face of their correspondents. They even do not recognize when they encounter at the stairs since he spends his hours with a number of managers, writers and boss. However, I used to come face to face with the correspondent when I looked from my room during my management. When I passed to the plaza of Milliyet, I had got my room done there, not on a separate floor. I used to open a door, go to meeting hall, I used

⁴⁶ Sennett states that in work, the traditional career progressing step by step through the corridors of one or two institutions is withering; so is the deployment of a single set of skills through the course of a working life. For more information about the effects of consequences of work in the new capitalism on personality, see Sennett, 1998.

⁴⁷ The conflicts called “media wars” were experienced among media groups in the first half of the 1990s. Adaklı quotes that these wars take place in the literature as “encyclopedia wars”, “promotion wars”. When wars experienced started to become destructive, these groups announced truce for the sake of “prestige of journalism and Professional dignity” and shook hands. See, Tılıç, 1998 and Adaklı, 2006 for more detailed information about this subject.

to open another door, I used to be face to face with the correspondent. And I used to do that job. I was here. I used cut pictures and arrange archive. How should I know? I did not use to go to lunch with a business man in every afternoon or play backgammon with the boss for hours. These are different cultures. Not because we are blockhead, because I approve of such a journalism culture (The date of interview with D: June 6, 2008).

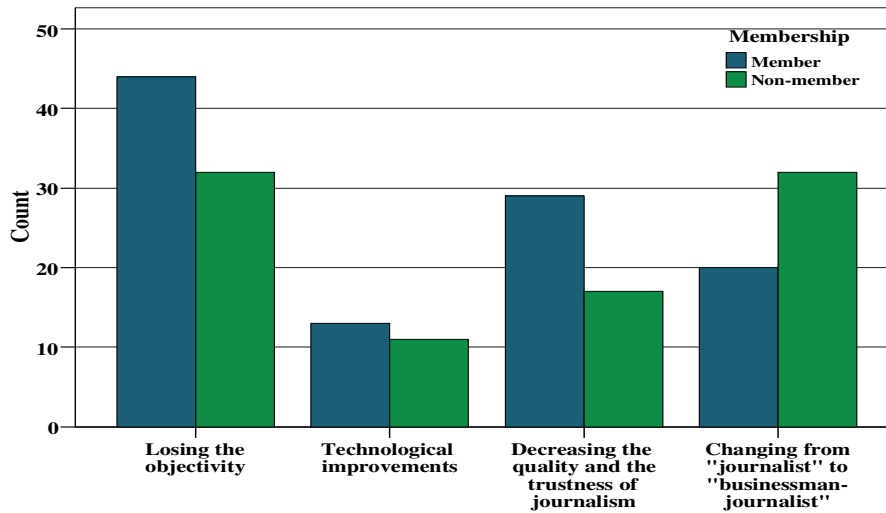


Figure 13: What is the main change in the media sector after 1980's?

As seen in Figure 15, 44 unionized and 32 non-unionized journalists view the losing objectivity as a major change in the media sector. The results, shown in Figure 15, support the expressions of a journalist starting journalism in the early 2000. This journalist tells how the structural change in media affects the journalism practices:

I lost my attitude after starting this job. Why am I doing this job? I love this job. But on the other hand, this is the only job I can do. It is clear how well it is. Other professions, yourself, your productions are always a value. But the trainees coming in this sector can do the job that I have been doing for many years. Everybody can achieve to report news in some way. It is not very difficult. Your limits are already drawn, the only thing you can do is not to go beyond the limits. Your job is easy but there are too many things to be lost (The date of interview with E: July 20, 2008)

Media products became a commodity when the journalism became a “business”. Thus, the dominance of the system is disguised behind the media products. For this reason, the

fact that media products become a part of culture industry creates false satisfactions among viewers and readers and therefore these products become pseudo culture in the words of Adorno (1995).⁴⁸ One journalist describes the power behind “pseudo culture” as follows:

People are not able to see the truth behind the appearance of freedom. Everthing is given, they think everything is in plain view. People are alienated from themselves and their instersts when the news becomes given in concepts are used alongside other aspects which are not given. And these process leads regimes to a very dangerous result calling from “real democracy” to “ballot democracy”. This situation disconnects people from the true ideologies. And today, since global interests operate in this fashion, they have introduced a process in which everything is blessed for the sake of the market since the economy does not operate in the interest of human subjects and high prices are paid in the poor countries especially along the axis of religious and racist devices. (The date of interview with A: June 6, 2008).

While the survey results and in-depth interviews show the effect of the ownership system on this shift of journalism, it reveals that the contents of media serve the interests of the dominant class yet again. One of the reasons why owners of capital orient themselves toward the media field is that this field is prestigious; especially television has the power to reach large effectively.

4.3.1.6. Responsibilities of the Journalists

When we look at the definition of the journalist in the answers given in the section where the journalist is discussed, the journalists are aware of the fact that they are dependent during the production process, even if they characterized journalists in this way. They posit this situation again not including themselves and saying that the journalists do not fulfill their responsibilities. 85% of the journalists participating in the questionnaire think in this way and support the state of affairs. The reason for this, according to 81 unionized and 50 non-unionized journalists is the ownership structure.

⁴⁸ Adorno characterizes the industrialized culture as the term *pseudo-culture*. Detailed information about this subject is submitted in Chapter 2.

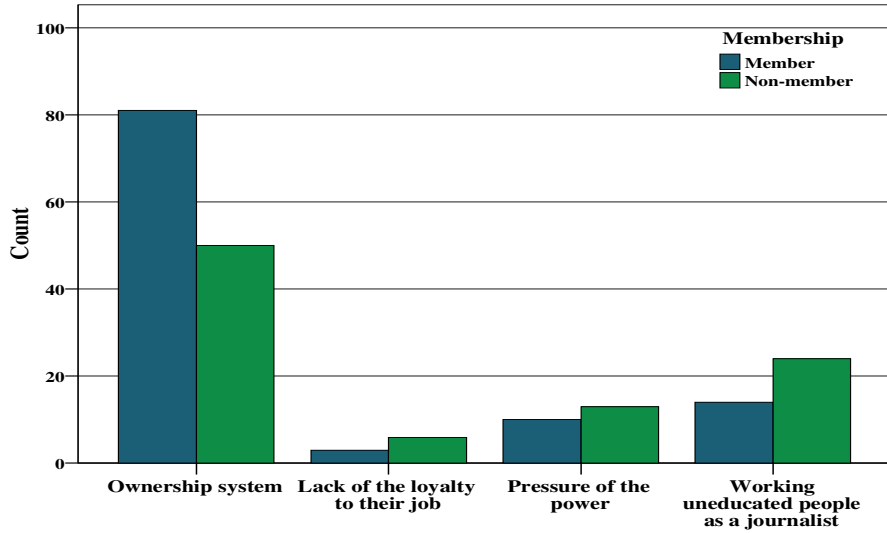


Figure 14: Why do not journalists fulfill their duty?

The supporters of liberal “editorial independence” deny the effect of capital for precisely this reason and defend the thesis of “managerial revolution”⁴⁹, emphasizing that capital has lost its control on media, and ownership and control have been separated each other. For this reason Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) predominate over owners as they seized control over the companies. This mentality becoming widespread in the media sector as well as in other sectors; greater authority is given to give similar authorizations to CEO it is affiliated with and to executive directors at the head of each corporation. Therefore, the managerial revolution thesis is evident in the discussions of “editorial independence”. The executive editor of a newspaper affiliated to Doğan Media Group expresses the nature of editorial independence as follows:

Aydın Doğan does not receive any money from the State. He has generated high tax revenue for the last 10 years. He opens schools, does not embezzle money, provides employment and does not interfere with the newspaper. By the way, I am the executive director. It is said that Aydın Doğan tells you that you will practice this publishing policy but you will practice another publishing policy altogether. And we are dummies. Let’s participate in the morning meeting and see. There are 9 people sitting around this table. There are Kurdish, Alevite, anti-AKP people. They form

⁴⁹ “Managerial revolution” thesis is one of the main supports of the thesis of “free press” of liberal theory because the control and ownership have been separated from each other for the ones supporting this thesis. Since companies grew and the capital is allocated via share the nature of capitalist ownership changed. For this reason the actual power owners in the enterprises are not the owners they are the professional managers (Tılıç, 1998:42). Detailed information about “Managerial revolution” is presented in Chapter 1.

the newspaper. They create a conspiracy each time. Look at the publishing policies and you will understand (The date of interview with B: June 1, 2005).

At this point, it will be useful to recall Bottomore's view that shareholders and high level managers are not disconnected from each other:

The managers, especially the top managers, form an important functional group in industrial societies; they are elite in the sense that they have high prestige and take important economic decisions, and that they are increasingly aware of their position as a functional group (and this awareness is fostered by the development of systematic studies and training in management), but they are not independent of the upper class of property owners, and they are not becoming a new "ruling class" (1964:81-82).

It can be said that managers do not need to compel executive directors about what kind to adopt a certain policy. Therefore they have an illusion of independence.

4.3.1.7. Loyalty to the Profession and Company

Despite the negative situation in the media sector, most journalists are loyal to their job. Journalists work hard out of loyalty to the profession and self-esteem up to a certain point, no matter how high their salaries are. In spite of their complaints and bad working conditions, journalists are devoted to their profession according to the result of the survey.

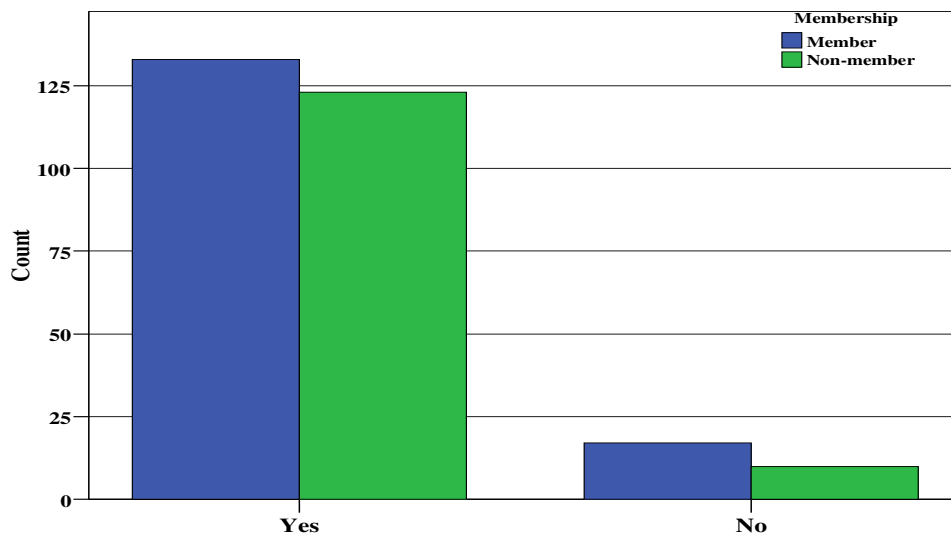


Figure 15: Are you satisfied with being journalist?

As can be seen in Figure 9, almost all journalists are satisfied with being journalists in spite of bad working conditions.

The results in Figure 10 reveal that journalists are devoted to the company they work for as well as to their profession. Although they describe their relationship with management as “dependency”, they describe their relationship with the company as “loyalty”.

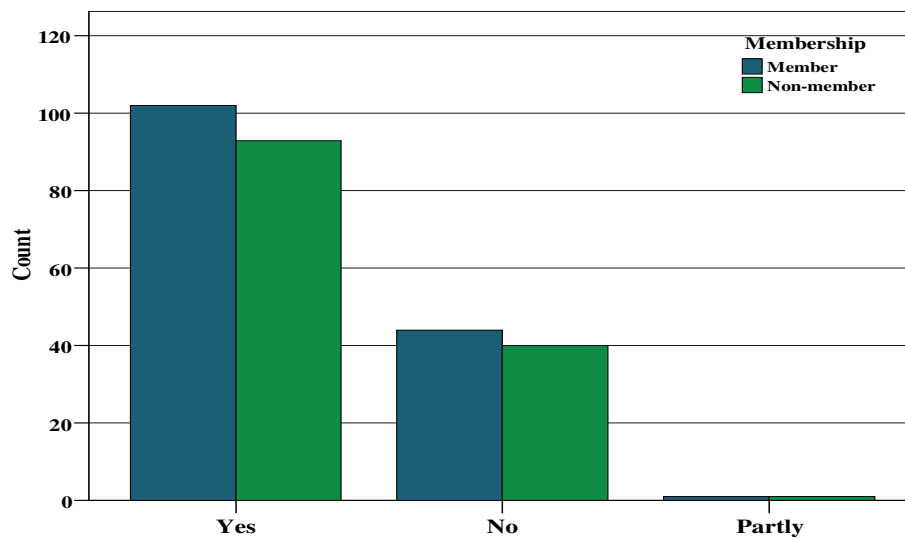


Figure 16: Do you adhere to your company?

As is seen in Figure 10, 69.4% of journalists (195) are devoted to the corporation they work for and those who do not consider themselves dependent are as low as 29.9%. They have pointed out in the interviews that the reason for this situation is loyalty to their profession.

In conclusion, all the information explained above demonstrates journalists’ conception of media structure. Therefore these data provide clues to how journalists perceive the union movement.

4.3.2. The Conception of Journalists about Their Union and Unionization Process

4.3.2.1. The Reasons Why Journalists are not Members of the Union

Why do journalists not join the union? Is it because they are happy with the existing situation or are there other reasons? The answers to these questions provide insight into the landscape of today's media unions. It is possible to answer this question by looking at the results of the questionnaire. 34.6% of the journalists who are non members of the union state that the reason for not being a member is the union itself. In other words, one of the barriers to membership is that journalists are not content with the activities of the union. The second reason in evidence for not being a member of the journalists' is that journalists do not need to be organized as can be seen in Figure 17 (30.8%). Survey results show that one of the reasons why journalists keep away from the union is fear of being fired (24.6%). The other reason for not being unionized according to 10% of journalists is other non-specified impediments.

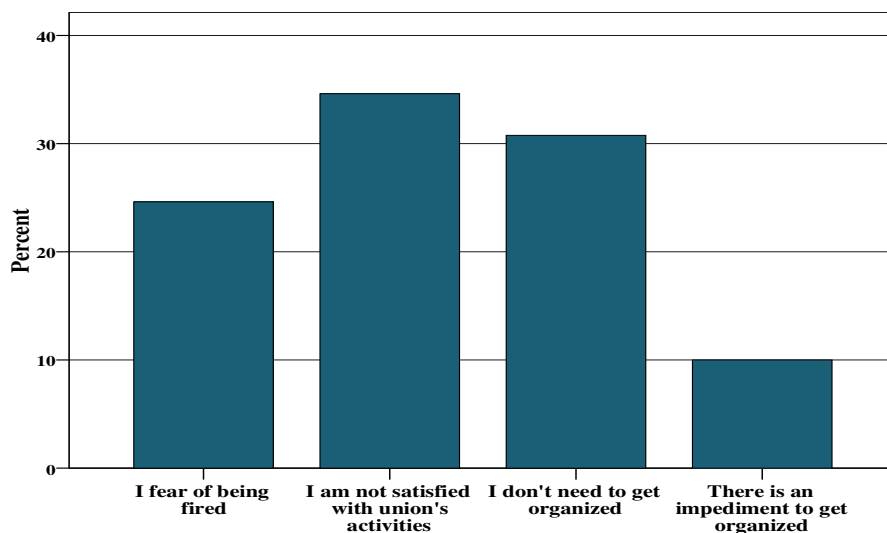


Figure 17: What is your first reason not to unionize?

These data respond not only to the question of motivation to join the union but also answers to this study's main question, because every answer simultaneously demonstrates journalists' perception of unionization.

4.3.2.1.1. Who is the Primary Actor behind the Deunionized Journalists?

While deunionized journalists think that the union acts as a deterrent upon journalists' unionization, it is the media owners who have a deterrent effect according to unionized journalists. When asked why their colleagues did not unionize, they said that there were two primary actors behind this situation: Media owners and journalists' themselves.

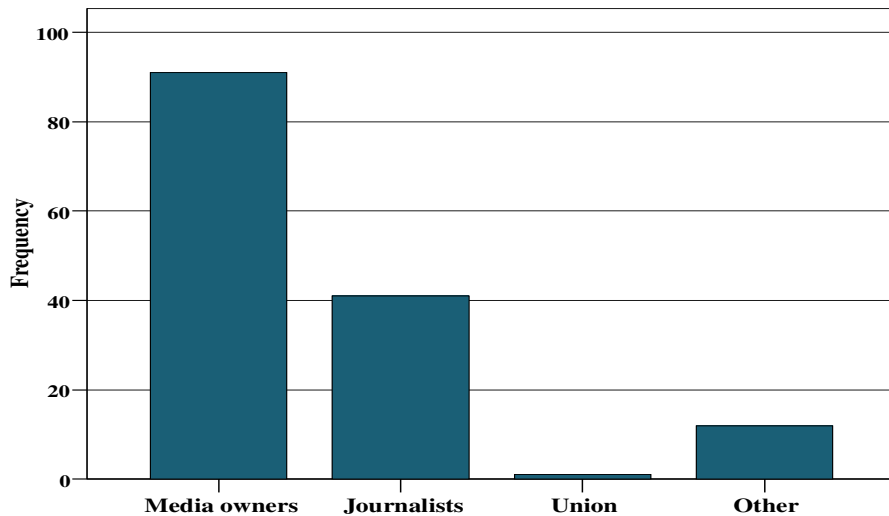


Figure 18: Who is the first actor behind deunionized journalists?

While 62.5% of the journalists (91) said that the most important actor was management, a significant number of unionized journalists claim that the primary force behind non-unionized is themselves. 28.5% unionized journalists think that the deunionization problem resulted from journalists' themselves.

4.3.2.1.2. Management's Perspective on the Deunionization Process

Although the number of people ill served by contemporary capital ventures is increasing and the corrosion of values necessitates a stronger character and organization, it undermines the determination of the employees to form a collective and lays bare the individualistic sentiments. This process of corrosion was evident in the media sector when capital flood into to the media field and the ethical values of the journalism

changed. One of the effects of this situation on the employees is that it makes them experience a deep alienation process. Data from the journalists corroborate this claim. Why do journalists not unionize, despite the fact that unionization is the necessary ground for the formation of a consciousness oriented toward the organization? Article 118 of the Turkish criminal code entitled “prevention of practicing union rights” states that “any person threatening another for forcing him to leave his duty in the union management, or not to participate in the activities of the union, will be sentenced to 6 months to 2 years in prison”. As this article shows, preempting unionization among journalists poses a certain threat. From the very early years of the commercial media boom in Turkey, therefore, trade unions were under attack by corporate owners. At the beginning of the 1990s, employees of two major newspapers, *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet*, resigned from the union under pressure of the employer (Aydın Doğan). Hostility from employers meant that some workplaces where there had been union organization (including, for example, *Tercüman*, *Güneş*, and the privately owned UBA news agency) were closed down. One journalist who was discharged from the union describe these years as follows:

I was the senior parliament reporter of *Milliyet* during the collective labor agreement of 1991. There was a conflict between the union and the employer. The union threatened the strike against the employer. It was rumored that the employer would resort to a lock-out. The employer sought the backing of the Ankara Office which was very influential on the newspaper. Members of the union were required to sign a document attesting that they would agree the recommendation of the employer and not the demands of the union in the collective labor agreement. 4 of the permanent employees of the Ankara Office signed the document. 14 employees did not sign. At this point, the employer accepted all the demands of the union and signed the agreement. But I was fired as the leader of those not signing the document that denied the demands of the union. The reason was the economic/financial problems of the newspaper. However, the newspaper broke the record for profit and circulation in that year and in the following year. The 4 people signing the document were rewarded and promoted to higher positions (Date of interview with J: October 15, 2005).

One of the journalists serving as editor-in-chief during that period who compelled journalists to leave the union claims the opposite. According to him, the salary given by the management was higher than the union demanded and the management satisfied the

journalists more in all respects, while the union could not. He described the journalists' decision to voluntarily leave the union as follows:

The union dissolved voluntarily, no one interfered in this process. When union membership was down to just one member, every one left the union. The union was not disbanded. It remained intact without members. The journalists left the union voluntarily because they were more comfortable without the assistance of the union. The standards of compensation were provided by the management already. When the first day of the month arrived, they went and received their salaries during the time of Mr. Doğan. There were journalists who were not able to receive their salaries for 6 months. Why would he become a member of the union, given that there are written and unwritten rules protecting that right. The journalist does not treat the newspaper as an enemy since he is a member of the union, he knows this but he also knows that as long as he stays at the newspaper, his standard of living is guaranteed. He does not say I would take up arms if I were the member of the union. But is a union essential? Yes it is, it is very essential for the others it is even of primary importance, but it is not important for us that colleagues have left. As there is no union today, the journalists are satisfied (Date of interview with K: June 11, 2008).

Aydın Doğan, the owner of Doğan Media Group, which holds the lions share of the media market expressed his opinions relating to the journalists' union to the Assembly Commission charged with researching the problems of the media on June 12, 2002 as follows:

If an institution is not unionized, that institution can not say "I am a publisher", I used to say. I did so until 1991, but I should tell you that there are two important elements contributing to bankruptcy of Tercuman, Gunes and Cumhuriyet newspapers in Turkey. One of them is 212 and the other is the union. While they were drawing up the union agreement in 1991, they demanded concessions so severe that it was impossible to meet them. A financial officer from accounting can establish a union from us or from outside. I told him that he would administer the all income and expenses of the newspaper. They asked whether they were accountants.... I said that we could not live like that and asked what they thought about this. All of the journalists said: "Let us leave the union." And we left in one day. No media organization in Turkey can survive with this union perception. I acquired Hürriyet later. Why was Hürriyet sold, when it was a giant newspaper. I saw that the union had ruined the newspaper because our profession requires special talent. They give the same wage to Sami Kohen as tea-maker Ramazan. There are many tea-makers Sami Kohen is one of them. ... We left the union for this reason and journalists left

willingly. I will try not to engage the union again but if they want, they can join. The ones getting wages today among our journalists are more satisfied than on that day. For this reason, we are against this union conception in Turkey, first. If the union is active, it should be present in all venues, if one of them fails, they all fail, if the other does not fail, it is not good (Quoted in Seçkin, 2004:130-131).

In today's media, owners have different ways of disempowering unions. Journalists state that negative views of the management towards the unions are evident not only with the dismissals and threats of exclusion but also human resources strategies or tactics of dissuasion during employment to prevent the situation. The new ownership system also gives rise to another reason not become unionized calling the difference between the journalists' actual labor and the terms of their legal employment. This new human resources policy of makes journalists powerless to demand just compensation, restructure seniority and get unionized. One of the journalists describes the situation as follows:

There are young and intelligent people, who graduated from the Department of Business Administration at METU, earn high salaries, are rich, earn good money, are clever, and are aware of the policy of suppressing the workers. Why do they work for such high salaries? This is not a mere matter of numbers. They sit, talk and determine strategies with them, they consider "what kind of measures should we take against the unionization?" and they are always cautious. They are in a very advantageous position when compared to our lack of organization. Therefore, alarm bells are continuously sounding. Moreover, human resources departments maintain black lists. They collaborate with one another. They demonstrate class solidarity with the management. There is no such a class solidarity among us, we protect our friends, but to what extent? Not in the sense of class. They really show a class attitude. For instance even someone at this newspaper who brings an action against management or does something that can be harmful to the manager, or anything equivalent to harmful action against the management is marked as such by way of a interactive mail network and can therefore not find a job in 80% of this media. Ahmet Şık is such an example. He had to give up journalism but they said to him when leaving that "you will not find a job anywhere, it is very clear" and they were not joking. The same cannot be said for us because we are like jellies. What are we doing? We are trying to protect our moral integrity on an individual basis. Beyond this, making claims like the following is irrelevant. "Yes, they are fighting against the class, they are like that, and we are like this," there is no such thing (Interview date with I: June 11, 2008).

One of the processes through which capital shows its pressure on the employee is how ATV and Sabah employees' have accelerated their union related work since April 1, 2008 when TMSF acquired it. In other words, union organization under the pressure of management startles the employee. However, TMSF saw this as an opportunity. Influenced by the activities of the ATV employee union, employees of Sabah accelerated their organizing endeavors. In the wake of the merger of ATV and Sabah into Turkuvaz Media Group by way of the Çalık Group, the power was all in one place and union and employer representatives met to shape a collective labor contract. But this did not last long. As collective contract negotiations continued, the employer representatives of ATV began to employ pressure and threats to the union members. One of the branch presidents of the union expresses this process in an interview as follows:

Our members were threatened by service supervisors who said “management does not permit union organizing. We should absolutely resign from the union. Otherwise you will be fired.” Due to these problems, we met with the employer representatives. They said to us that “we fulfill the requirements of the position in which we are working”. We told that this was not ethical and that they committed an offense and invited them to give up their threatening posture and worked to solve the problem. We signed off on the minutes, agreeing on one or two articles of negotiation. When monetary issues were discussed (Salary) the pressure became intense. The employer called the union member workplace representatives and talked face to face and compelled them to resign from the union by way of serious threats. While they were making such threats on one hand, they said that “bring the letter of resignation from the union. Be 212. We will give you a bonus on your salary. We give already what the union demands, but leave the union anyway.” Even the representatives of the Sabah-ATV employer (Turkuaz) workplace representative threatened us by saying “I will prepare a black list consisting of those not resigning from the union and I will distribute them to all media management, media management agree among themselves and the ones not resigning from the union will never find a job in the media sector. Many people resigned due to this threat (Accessed from: <http://www.kizilbayrak.net/sinifhareketi/haber/arsiv/2008/12/18/artikel/6/tuerkiye-gazetec.html>).

When an agreement could not be reached between TGS and Turkuaz Group, the union went on strike for the first time in 29 years in February 2009. Although this strike is not

de facto, it is very important for media history because it is a symbol of class solidarity in the media sector. The multitude of reasons for journalist not to go on strike in such a situation should not be overlooked.

Of course, pressure from owners existed before the 1980s. The interviews at hand indicate that journalists are more cynical and distant vis-à-vis the idea of unionization when compared with pre-1980 events, but pressure was exerted upon journalists' tendency towards the union before the 1980s. One experienced union founder expresses those periods when there was pressure on the unions before the 1980s as follows:

We were about 150 people when we started to organize the Turkish Journalists Conference in 1955. But there was great pressure; an atmosphere of terror was afoot. Then we were probably 30-40 people. Management came; in fact they came to the opening. The union would close, because those supporting us would begin to rat. I mean, while the draft of recommendations we had prepared was being discussed, there was a man called Ferdi Önen on the board of directors. He was participating on behalf of Cumhuriyet, he was a police officer and police correspondent. He was clearly anti-left. I saw that he had determined his position in this atmosphere. He said that "this report", "is not the report of the union". I did not read it. My friends had prepared it. I do not accept it as the report of the union, I am withdrawing my signature" he said. He was afraid, he was afraid due to its left. People started talking in the union. Then Murat Kayahanlı said that "I am withdrawing my signature, too". Then this report was distributed with only my signature and İhsan Ada's signature. We stood up and said that "Yes, it is our report. We request that this subject be discussed. We insist on it whether the board of directors accepts it or not". Then the governor called and said that Adnan Menderes had telephoned from Ankara. The government will close the union. Deescalate the situation." We left. Then the president decided to write a letter. It was written and sent and the union was saved from being closed. We were obliged to resign at the first meeting of the board of directors. But then the union was closed for 9 months. Then it was opened again and I became the president. (Date of interview with M: June 13, 2008)

The reasons underlying journalists non membership in the union are more influential and widespread today than before as it is shown by data above. In addition to the pressure from media owners, State power was always as effective as it is today.

4.3.2.1.3. Legal Framework

One of the issues that affect the rights of the media workers is certainly the legislative framework. Although the Law of Unions No. 2821 grants the right to found a union or join one to freelance journalists, the Law of Collective Agreement, Strike, Lockout No. 2822 doesn't grant contract workers the right to collective bargaining.. As a result of this, freelance journalists do not have the option of joining a union.

Law No. 2821 stipulates that the reason for making the law is 'to regulate the foundation and organization of the unions and confederations and examine how they are established by the employees and the employers to protect and improve the social rights in the workplace.

This involves the founding a union, joining a union or abstaining from joining a union and others aspects of organizing. Article 22 of the Law of Unions No. 2821, named "Acquiring the Right of Being a Member", mandates that joining a union must be an independent activity. No one can be forced to be or not to be a member of the union. The 'membership of the union' is explained in detail in the same article. Despite the fact that there's a legislative framework about getting organized and collective bargaining in Turkey, these rights are not generally recognized in daily life and the number of people fired because of union organizing rises every day.

In addition to forming complicated employment structures, media conglomerates in Turkey reduce the power of journalists by taking advantage of a number of other legal loopholes. For example, Turkish journalists are often forced to sign clauses from the labor code defining them as 'ordinary' labor (clause No. 1475), as opposed to a clause in the labor code (clause No. 212) which provides journalists special legal protections and a base salary and other entitlements. Importantly, the national union (TGS) can recruit journalists and media workers who are employed according to 212, but cannot do so for workers signed under 1475. Doğan and other media owners have described 212 as being

'too generous' to workers, hence their efforts to redefine their staff as regular labor. In order to qualify for public advertising, however, media companies must have a certain number of 'editorial' employees, of which the organizations make sure they have only the absolute minimum. A final tactic on the part of owners is to hire journalists on a temporary basis, thus avoiding the possibility of unionization. The law requires that employees hired as journalists employed according to 212 must be offered a contract after a three month 'training' period, or be relieved of their duties. Before this three month period is up, however, the workers (as non-permanent 'trainee' staff) have no legal rights in the company. Because of this, the three month period is often used to hire a large number of part-time staff who is forced to work for below the minimum wage, and without the possibility of union membership (IFJ/EFJ, 2002).

In Europe, for example in France, the struggle of the journalist by means of the union is very important in the public's acknowledgement correctly defending the rights of the employees, and the institutionalization of the democracy. In Europe, this process was carried out by the movement arising from the bottom up, mostly due to the struggle of the employees. In contrast, the process took a different path in Turkey. The struggle of media workers was under the control of the state in the 1960s. Today, it still is under the control of state and media owners. In addition, journalists' social and economic status is significant in this process.

4.3.2.1.4. Social and Economic Status of the Journalists

Journalism, ranging from entry level to management has become a profession with an acute relationship between management and correspondents. One of the main departments formed during this process is the corporate human resources. This department is a clear indicator that traditional organization structures have given way to a professional structure. Moreover, the manager-journalist figure appeared amid this new structure. In fact, when we look at the senior journalist, we can see that they are in a position between capital and labor in the class stratification. In a sense, they are neither in the position of being managed nor of managing. However, from the 1990s onward, the managed achieved management positions by serving the interest of dominant class. This

also provides clues about the class and social status of journalists. Until the 1990s, the difference between the executive editor and correspondent was not a social distinction. Now editors-in-chief do not go to the clubs that journalists frequent, since they earn more money and have started to rub shoulders with the business elite. Journalists state that Ertuğrul Özkök is the symbol of this situation. He was not a member of the Journalists Society; he is a member of TUSIAD. A journalist's being a member of the elite of Turkey is a clear expression of this shift. A journalist describes this difference between the traditional structure and the current one as follows:

I will give the example from before 1980 calling Abdi İpekçi. Social life of Abdi İpekçi was quite good. He used to go out for cocktails. But he used to pay everything out of his own pocket. There were not be credit cards. His salary was not enough, he used to borrow from the newspaper, he used to pay debts. There were too many debts to keep up with. Abdi İpekçi said one day while sitting with Nurettin Demirkol "Nurettin, what will we do about my debts to the newspaper?". Nurettin Demirkol said, "Mr. Abdi, let us buy your car. Then we will give it to you as a company car." Abdi İpekçi said, "Isn't that a disgrace? I mean we will sell it to the newspaper and then take it back." Demirkol said, "there is no other solution. The car will belong to Milliyet and it will remain in the possession of Milliyet when you leave." İpekçi consented involuntarily. Abdi İpekçi had to buy his car to continue his life as an executive director. This is unconceivable when we consider of today. High level managers of the newspaper do not receive salary every month, they receive wealth. Is the salary they receive is not the provision of the labor force? Namely it is the provision of the job you perform, not the provision of the labor. However, the labor force plus labor are not enough account for the money they receive, the spirit is necessary; they sell their spirit, as well. They think like Aydın Doğan. They epitomize Aydın Doğan even more that Aydın Doğan does because they should do internalize his approach. They feel good at least in relations to the boss. They say, "I am doing it for the boss" (Date of interview with F: June 10, 2008).

One of the journalists interviewed expresses the situation with a different example:

Salaries in the media sector suddenly reached astronomic figures for certain people. Too much money has brought degeneracy with it. Whatever the boss says is done. The situation is not like this any more. I mean there wasn't during that time but a relation could be established in some way. Now it is the newspaper of the boss. "What did you do today for the boss?" can be written on the top of those newspapers, under or above the logos, it makes no difference. Of course everyone's professional standards have deteriorated. A life Standard based on money became

predominant. Now, it is not about buying a flat in Cihangir, it is about buying a flat in Miami (Date of interview with G: June 10, 2008).

Not only reporters or editors-in chiefs but also columnists have taken their places alongside the management elite in this new structure as a “symbolic elite”, to cite the expression of Bourdieu whose idea of class is organized around experience-based concepts like habitus and symbolic capital, suggesting that class differences are based on material interests as well as on acquired dispositions. A single writer can receive a salary higher than the total of the monthly wage of news staff for a single office. Top level employees acquire power, authority and great opportunity through good wages. One columnist expresses the situation as follows:

Before the change in media I could not earn in a month as a journalist the kind of money that I had earned in a night as a musician when I was a student. Nevertheless, I became a journalist. There was no cars in Cağaloğlu and Rüzgarlı. There would be two cars in front of the newspaper buildings. One of them belonged to the boss and the other one belonged to the most famous writer of the newspaper. There were no writers with a house or that is to say unless they had outside income they were generally engaged in another job but the situation changed suddenly after the 1980s. I started to receive a high salary. I could buy the house, car I want, I could travel wherever I want. The situation was that we were climbing the social ladder in real sense. There are two sections in the newspaper now. There are people getting very high salaries and there are the ones getting low salaries. Of course there is an intermediate section. I could receive a salary two three times that of a correspondent’s salary but this is wrong. Above all, if you are the triggerman of the bosses, they give good money. It is a very upsetting. In fact, they give all this money for themselves. In order to come in contact with top level people easily, to be close to venture capital, bank deals. Our living standards increased so much that we started to walk on air. No one knows what tomorrow will bring. I am one of the writers getting a high salary but I know that I will be condemned to pension. I will not be able to continue with the same standards tomorrow with the people I have met today. I always say, we are the victims of media. So we are actually in a pitiful situation (Date of interview with H: May 15, 2005).

All of this shows that this profession is perceived as a very privileged job by the journalists. The journalists think that they have gone up into a higher class. Therefore, these data corroborate the findings of Hardt about a change in ideological and class

perceptions among journalists as their status change (1990).⁵⁰ Executive directors and columnists joined the other societal elites due to their high salaries, luxurious living and, high living standards. This is an atmosphere that discriminates them from other employees in the workplace and maintains that distinction. The privileged class and others do not encounter each other in the elevator of the media plaza. Possibility to come in the room of editor with one's news copy, into a warm and humanistic atmosphere of the newspaper has been eliminated. While the situation is such for that for top-level managers-journalists, the situation is no different for the correspondents. The journalists became professionals and consequently became alienated to their products in accordance with the aims imposed by the managers implicit in the production process serving the interests of the dominant class. This demonstrates that they lost their control of their own field of expertise. One can surmise from the interviews that journalists do not consider themselves as a fellowship within the working class but rather as white-collar workers. It can be understood that this arises from the perception of journalism as a status profession. This situation corresponds to Weber's conception of "status group",⁵¹ according to which the relationship they establish, the publishing they achieve affords them a kind of fame. One journalist who is the coordinator of the newspaper expresses this class perception as follows:

The absence of class consciousness in our society is as evident in the journalism sector as it is in the whole of working class and even this absence is even more acute in the journalism sector. Firstly, journalism is thought to be a privileged profession, and prominent figures in journalism tend to make this claim. They understand themselves as deputies. To be clear, maybe it will be like a joke, but he is deputized by the kind of meals he eats, water he drinks at the assembly meetings. The most diplomatic correspondents are the diplomacy correspondents because the most liar section is the diplomat. Economy correspondents have some sort of PR relationship with the companies they report on. This PR relationship makes them avoid reporting negatives news about these companies such as bribery claims. They even become almost consultants in some cases. How does this happen? Through vacations... How does this take place? By the gifts sent to homes in the New

⁵⁰ According to Hardt, the star system of journalism, which particularly among broadcast journalists with disproportionately high incomes, provides journalistic practices including the relationship among news workers of different economic status and its effects on the organization of work. For more information, see Hardt, 1990.

⁵¹ See Chapter 2 for the detailed information about "status group" concept of Weber.

Year. How does this happen? By the minor bribes not seen. Dinners, wine, dinners that a correspondent could never purchase with his salary, restaurants and a heady ambiance makes the correspondent feel like a business man. You can reach Rahmi Koç by phone and he already knows who you are. I mean while any employee of a branch has to pass fifty doors to reach Rahmi Koç you can reach him by making a simple phone call (Date of interview with I: June 11, 2008).

People belonging to working class undermine their long or short term class interests by various means. This shows that the problem is not that the working class has not arisen yet; the problem is that working class has not discovered itself as a “class in itself” (Koç, 2003:19). It is the same for journalists. Since they cannot move from the position of class in itself to a position of “class for itself”, there is not a class consciousness which sees the entire system of society. This terminology seeks to emphasize that there is not an overt link between the specification of objective class conditions and subjective super-structural identity. On the contrary, it is emphasized that there is a conflict between them. Therefore, a person who is a wage laborer does not see himself as a member of the working class. This paradox will be undone only if a person perceives his own real class. Hence, journalists will be organized and will reach the spirit of being organized when they perceive reality of their own class. The collective perception results only from that action. There is a difference between Turkey and the West regarding labor movements since in Turkey, the labor movement has developed in an atmosphere where class struggle is absent. Even if it is understandable that journalists are not organized through unions, it is noteworthy that today journalists are not organized under any kind of association whatsoever.

Results of field study reveal clearly that journalists keep away from the unions due to fear of and pressure from management, but as one of the unionized journalists described the lack of class consciousness among journalists, it is difficult that union organization process to show positive progress as long as this consciousness does not turn into a subjective consciousness even if it is objective, and turn into a “class for itself” to use Marx’s expression (1995).⁵² The case is similar at TRT where views about union organizing are not different from the private sector and dismissal without cause is more

⁵² See Chapter 2, for detailed information about class’ subjective and objective situation.

difficult. A journalist saying that there is pressure and concealed threats targeting union progress says that these sanctions conclude with sanctions not being allowed to take part in live broadcast, and not being sent overseas. However, he adds the most important reason is the lack of a wish for struggle and union phobia among employees:

Non-unionized people in TRT stay away from us. They turn their heads in the corridor, they do not talk with as much as they used to, I mean they look at us like we were aliens. Some look at us in a cowardly way as if we were stricken with plague. But there is a problem in TRT and private sector beyond simple fear. It is a matter of class consciousness... People imagine themselves to be the princess, prince of this country. The people forget easily why they are there. I mean, it is not journalism any more; it is some kind of press and public relations consultancy. Thus, they confuse what their real interests are, what is the job is that they need to do, where they need to stand. For instance, a columnist seems not to like the idea of being organized in the same union with the night correspondents. A producer friend of mine who has won many awards and who has probably promoted to be the manager said, "When I hear the word laborer, the hair on my back stands up". We talked for hours. Then are you who stand on end when hearing the word laborer, are you the boss, do you have factories, fields, farms? How do you earn money? Are you a trader, broker, a temporary worker? We call everyone else workers (Date of interview with O: July 25, 2008).

One of the journalists active in the unionization process says that the reason for his colleagues' not are being unionized is the fact that they do not consider themselves as a workers, as the employee of TRT has indicated. Particularly, he thinks that different wage scales make this situation worse because wage differences prevent them from having similar expectations.

If the journalist produces labor, and ideas, the position he will stand is definite: worker section. The journalist must be unionized, organized when you consider the class conditions. If he does agree that he is laborer, this is where the deficiency of his attitude is rooted. When you begin to receive the salary three times higher than the salary of your father, then you do not consider yourself to be a laborer, you see yourself on the other side. There are examples of journalists acting in accordance with the perceptions of the bosses as if they were the members of the capital. It is very difficult to organize coal miners because they are the same. But this is not the situation for journalism. The assimilation rate is very low. One of the sectors where assimilation rate is very low is the press. The editor-in-chief is not the journalist; editor is not the journalist and boss. Therefore, if you do not resemble each other, if your income is not the

same, it is not possible to act collectively. We cannot demand the same thing as the person receiving a salary five times higher than ours. While I cannot go to my village, it is not possible for us to be the same with people have been to Bodrum twice. Since the boss understands this, he does not give people the same salary; he creates special groups, classes. Therefore, the boss uses the strongest weapon in his arsenal which is this gap. About 800 people participate in the festivities related to Year end parties at when it comes to May first; we cannot even find people to hold up to banners. Our record number of participating journalists is up to 28, but young journalists did not recognize the union as a model. No organized movement provides an example for the ones starting a career from the 1990s. The big bosses in the press did not want unions in the beginning of the 1990s. A general majority left the right they had gained open and vulnerable to the bosses and said “I do not want these”, consequently they were no more serious unions fighting will all their energy. Unions could not register any new members for a number of years (Date of interview with P: June 1, 2008).

Another journalist specifies the situation as “learned inability”:

Free market order disciplined all production and service sectors with order of hunger. We are face to face with “evangelized inability” at this point. Every step taken individually and/or collectively on the road of unionization and organization were punished by the media bosses or their representatives. They did not only fire but also “red listed” people according to a gentlemen’s agreement among the bosses. If a journalist who was fired by an employer was included in the red list due to his union activities or accusation of dissidence, no other media boss gave the right to work as a journalist. Those being fired almost lost their constitutional right to employment. This practice made journalists unemployed for months and years, and caused a syndrome of evangelized inability on the journalists. This concept refers to person’s fear of using his/her full capacity to jump because of a fear of banging one’s head to the ceiling and the ceiling becomes lower and lower and the person who gives up their ability voluntarily. This syndrome is influential in the journalism profession. We know how the story ends. It makes so sense to sacrifice yourself when everyone else has rent to pay and children to feed. (Date of interview with J: October 15, 2005).

The effects of this inability on journalists are twofold: they are more dependent on the media owners’ policies, and they become powerless, cynical and unenthusiastic. Journalists’ fears are therefore centered on unionization and losing their jobs.

4.3.2.1.5. Concerns about Dismissals among Union Members

Interviewed union members suggested that the fear that the management exerts upon the employees might have prevented non-unionized journalists to join the union and members to exercise an active role within the union.

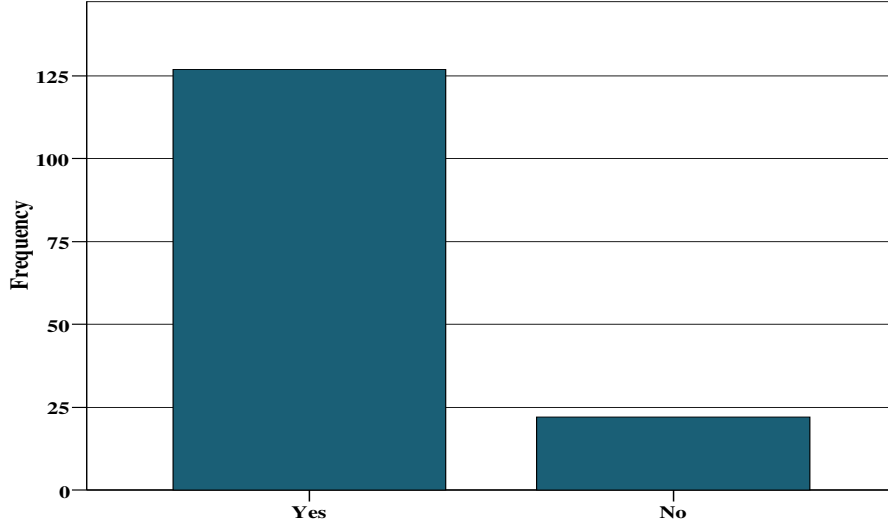


Figure 19: Do unionized journalists not to take an active part in unionist movemet because of fearing of fired?

The results in Figure 21 agree with the previously published statistics describing the current state of the media industry. In his book entitled *Tekelci Medyada Örgütsüz Gazeteci*, Attila Özsever states that according to the survey conducted by the Ministry of Labor and Social Security in 1994, the proportion of unionism was 64.37%. Since 1994, even though the number of journalists has increased, the number of journalist union members has decreased. A serious loss in membership occurred between 1999 and 2000. In 2000, while there were 9184 working journalists, only 3229 of them were union members and the proportion dropped to 35.15%. These numbers might show that even though there is legally no limitation for the journalists to act as union members, unionism has lost its appeal. As discussed above, one the main reason is the fear among journalists to lose their jobs. Türk-İş declared that between 2003 and 2005, 15,531 employees from all the sectors were fired. In fact, 37 employees from Basın-İş, 63 employees from Maden-İş, 1360 employees from Deri-İş, 984 employees from Krital-İş, 43 employees from Haber-İş were fired.

Unionized journalists do not take an active part in the union due to the negative effects of unionization on their professional careers. As seen in Figure 22, %63.1 unionized journalists (94) posit taking an active part in the union as a major problem which affects their career negatively.

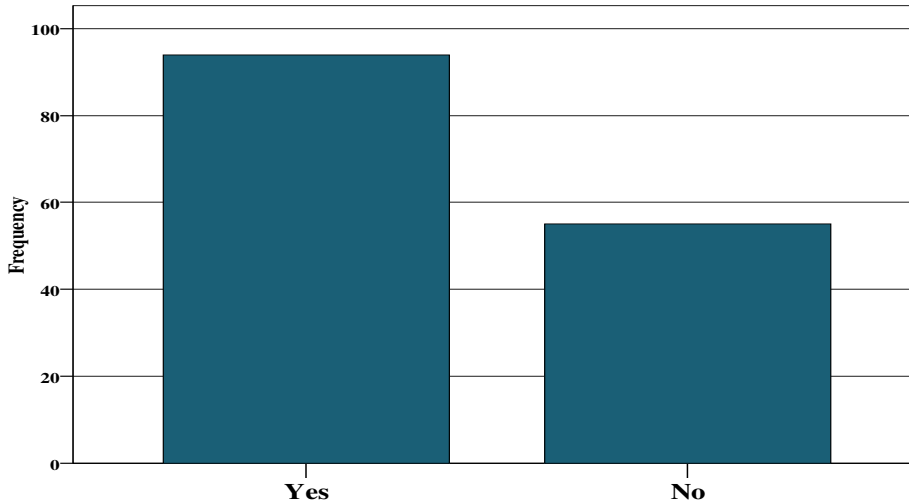


Figure 20 : Do unionized journalists not take an active part in union because of its negative effects on their career?

What this journalist, also a member of the union, has to say about unionization reflects the findings of the figure above:

Let me tell you, if I were a candidate in the union and if I won maybe I would lose my job, they would fire me, I would be unemployed right away, I mean they would fire me on the election day. Now we are behaving cowardly, I am a coward, too. We struggled and were fired but now if they would say “come, we will give you responsibility in the union”, I would consider it. You cannot obtain legal rights in this country. Firstly of course the powers must fulfill the legal regulations exactly. Then the unions must increase the membership depending on the legal support. But as I have said, the most important thing is not only that TGS is not a union to serve for white-collar workers to earn more money, it is a union serving the future of the country, this is different from others (Date of interview with L: June 9, 2008).

If journalists are concerned with their jobs and an eventual unemployment, it becomes difficult for them to be members of organizations (i.e. a union) that is not considered

highly by the management. As long as management (not only in the media sector, but in almost every industry) considers unions to be a threat, journalists are doomed to live with the fear of losing their jobs.

Journalists cannot be organized because they want to continue their job. If they are organized and join unions, they are afraid of experiencing problems in the workplace and being fired. Fear is the sole reason for their silence. The sector does not like multi-organized movements, during the crisis they were threatened to sign a new contract or to leave. This first happened in ATV and Sabah groups. Journalists who chose to be organized and who refused to give up their rights were fired. I am not organized or unionized because my boss wanted me not to be a member of the union (Date of interview with N: July 25, 2008).

This fear and unease affect the meaning of the union among journalists. This has left important damage on the unionization process.

4.3.2.1.6. The Meaning of Unions and Unionization

The qualitative and quantitative data discussed up to now reflect journalists' view on the unions. Some journalists are aware that they need unions and collective labor agreements. However, when they can see the socio-economic reality, they realize how difficult this is. Therefore, even if they are not unionized they cannot even dare to enjoy the right of "extension"⁵³ which is a legal facility and which means that the collective labor agreement signed by TGS for AA is applied to all. The reason is that no media employer wants to hire a journalist who is a union member and who is aware of his/her rights, and they are reluctant to sign collective labor agreements. Ironically, journalists themselves

⁵³ Turkey journalists union realized the "extending" practice in the journalism line within the framework of defending the rights of pres laborers for the first time. Extending is a right included in article 11 of "collective contract, strike and lock-out law numbered 2822, it provides that provisions of collective contract signed in a workplace where there is an authorized, organized union will be applied to the employees not being members of the union in the workplace. Turkey journalists union applied to the ministry of labor and social security in 1995 with the demand of application of collective contract signed by AA the workplace in 16 newspapers and agencies. After completion of some legal processes, extending practice was announced in the official gazette dated December 21, 1995 with the decision of cabinet. The provisions of extending law remained in force between the dates 21 December 1995 and 30 September 1996 in accordance with law (until the validity period of collective agreement taken as the example expired). The bosses did not apply the extending decree in question and they have the right to claim all right of journalists working in the workplaces within the scope of extending between these dates by action within 5 years as of the date of last day of the effective date (Özsever, 2004).

are not eager to unionize either. Unionization or any attempt to be a part of unionist activities will result in unemployment. In addition to this, journalists' perception of union affects the organization process. So both sides have parallel wishes. When the consent of journalists and management policies combine the order of the things remain undisrupted. This means that journalists' consciousness of unionization is fading away. When journalists are asked about what unions mean for them, the responses obtained directly reflect their point of view about unions and the underlying reason why they stay away from unions. For those who are unionized, being organized means security and power.

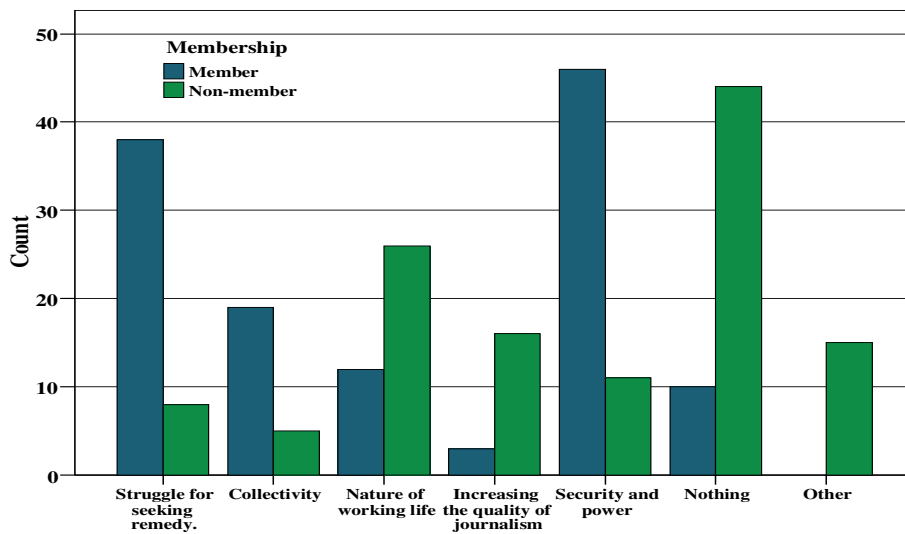


Figure 21: What does union mean for you?

The majority of responses from non-unionized journalists (38.4%) indicated that union means nothing, while the 33.1% of unionized journalists think that union means power and security. Only 7.3 % (11) non-unionized journalist stated that the union means security and power. The figure shows us the views of journalists on unions in detail.

Journalists who reckon that union or unionization means nothing mainly describes the situation as follows:

- Unionization means a right I would never be able to possess as a journalist.
- I do not see any difference between being and not being a member of a union.
- I don't quite know what union is or what use it has.

- I do not believe that unions fulfill their functions in Turkey. Let my funeral not pass by the any union or association.
- Unions are under the hegemony of bureaucracy. In the current landscape, unions are not dominated by class consciousness, but by corporate interests. No wage unionism exists; no importance is attached to the organization and the struggle. This is only orchestrated by a few professionals who stay comfortably in their own shops.

Among the journalists who are members of a union, there are those who think that the union does not make any sense (even if it is a small number of respondents). The underlying reasons to this are as follows:

- Failing to constitute a majority.
- There is no union that fights for their rights or they do not provide their members with any advantages.
- It is believed that the union administration does not wish to do anything.
- Unionization does not go beyond words and no collective attempts are made to be organized.
- Union struggle and getting organized is a risky affair while being a journalist is charismatic so the notion that “someone else can talk on behalf of me” is common.

The dominant thought in the interviews is that being organized and being non-unionized mean the same thing in a society where there is no tradition of organized struggle. The respondents think that main reason behind this is the lack of policies based on human beings’ needs in the global market economy. Journalists who played an active role in the union struggle and worked as journalists prior to 1980 think that they cannot foresee a way of existence beyond the competition to be transferred a star journalist of new generations that do not come from a union order. One of the respondents describes his situation as follows:

Journalists do not have a union perception. They do not even make any efforts despite the fact that there are very few human rights for the media employees; many journalists work in bad conditions both in terms of

quantity and quality, people are not satisfied with the texts they write and they focus instead on concrete work conditions. This has many reasons but I do not think there is a rational explanation. This is an unhealthy situation. The journalist profile is very distinct because journalists do not object to the conditions imposed upon them. Under such circumstances, it is very hard for unions to be popular and settled. This is one of the biggest obstacles in front of the unions. Media owners do not have any intention to fix this situation either. Yet another factor is that journalists having important positions have gotten away from the idea of unionism and see this as a very archaic thing. In addition to these, the fact that the idea of unionization has been weakened as a state policy and the notion that getting unionized is not very beneficial for the state, also have important effects. Because of these reasons, unionization is hard to achieve. As in the current state of affairs of journalism unions are deemed unnecessary, like in any other industry relying on manual labor, unionization is hard. This problem is inherent to Turkey (date of interview with R: June 10, 2008).

The media has now been put in a position where it is not a tool people use in order to “enjoy their right to news”, but where it is obliged to uphold the interest of “the new capital class” which expect to obtain a share from the privatization process of the public and the investments in many other sectors (Tılıç, 1998; Özsever, 2004; Bali, 2004). Thus, journalists think that what union means for a media manager is that it will be deprived of the unlimited right to exploitation in many work branches. Therefore, the words “union” and “organizing” are intimidating for bosses and administrators. An executive director of a television channel expresses his view on unions as follows:

In Turkey, journalists can and should find different ways to get together. Note that I am not even saying “organized”. Let us take any institution today: An e-mail traffic that begins in that institution is more effective than the strongest union. Let us assume that the email correspondence is about a simple problem, i.e. the low quality of food. I do not need to see a union any more to learn that my friends find the food of low quality. In 15 minutes the idea would be formed, I can see it here in my mailbox. In 1 hour, I can see it on internet sites. This is sufficient. What is further is the question “what does a good manager do to solve such a problem?” Wanting people to work unhappily is not a part of being a good manager. We expect them to work and feel that they belong in this company. We would like to solve this problem. If we are bad managers, the union cannot make us solve it either. I think that different ways of being together are now possible not only in the media but also in all the working environments and I think that these are more effective than this in many cases. I reckon that they are more effective organizations than unions.

Because of this, the unions do not have a lot of use left (Date of interview with S: June 12, 2008).

Journalists think that in the media sector winding up the unions affects the way the other union acts are portrayed in the news. Because, according to them, bosses think that a unionized journalist and a non-unionized journalist looks at societal events and the concept of labor from different points of view. So they are of the opinion that there is a relation of dependent variable between these two situations. A journalist who is a member of a union explains how the way news about unions is portrayed in a non-unionized media sector and it affects the organization process:

In Turkey everything is available: corruption, poverty, deceit, cheating, exploitation, violations of human rights and war... Everything occurs in your mind. The only thing that does not happen is revolution. This is really interesting. People do not have such a demand, either. Once, a union meeting was held. I asked my friend why she did not attend the meeting. She said, "My mom got mad at me and told me not to go to such anarchist places." This was just a union meeting. We should focus on what makes this woman react this way. Unions become usually news after political manifestations; a typical reporting would go like "Disorder emerged during union rallies. The police hit those joining the demonstration.", or irregularity of the union is emphasized. They can not be in the news in any other way. Hence, viewers have the same perceptions vis-à-vis the unions (Date of interview with G: June 10, 2008).

There are unionized journalists who think that journalists seem quiet on the outside but on the other hand, there is a qualified group of journalists who are capable of saying no. They reckon that their friends have serious weaknesses about turning this situation into a concrete organization and that they see union as an organization from which they can gain interests.

Let me explain using an example about how journalists do not have an organization culture. The union made an agreement with TOKİ (Housing Development Administration of Turkey). TOKİ gave promotions to journalists because the low level of income well known. They offered significant percentage if their salaries were spent on rents. Payments that would be made to TOKİ were quite appropriate. The only condition of joining the drawings was to be a member of the union. Tens of people came and joined. I had a talk with the union administration because I did not want these people in the union; they would not be of any use

ideologically or professionally. But they thought this would not be fair and included them in the drawing; and these people won houses. But they are not ashamed of this. Now a journalist avoids passing by the union. Have you done anything ideologically significant? Were you able to organize someone professionally? No. This is very disturbing. There is nothing but a serious cunning in question (Date of interview with G: June 10, 2008).

The findings of this research suggest that the need to be organized only emerges when journalists lose their jobs. They highlight that the union is not only a facility that enables regular increase in wages or a job creation agency. The fact that their colleagues are unaware of their rights also makes them sad. Journalists were asked to list three rights which matters to them, and the answers are mainly on wages and indemnity. One journalist explains journalists' weakness in claiming their rights as follows:

I think that we generally live our lives by undermining the social structure in our professions – and not only in journalism- if we compare ourselves to our European colleagues. When you go to Paris and see a journalist, you go to journalist associations, you participate in a panel, you go to *Reporters Without Borders*, and you drop by the union. They do not have as many problems as we do, but they are concerned about a possible editing. 70% of the media is in the hands of two big weapon industries. The main concern of journalists is to protect the editorial office from any kind of intervention. In Turkey, there have been coup attempts; they separate journalists around accreditation, at every level. I am not talking about only one institution. This is available in all public bodies. Disrupting the reputation of journalists is at the highest level; people attack news sources, they force journalists to disclose their resources; we could be the country with most lawsuits related to the freedom of speech. Activities are limited to commemorations. We don't have such a social side anyway. We are not very familiar with right struggle in Turkey (Date of interview with T: June 10, 2008).

A lawyer working for the union claimed that journalists who consider the union as a "box" has a detrimental effect on it and those members were not aware of their rights.⁵⁴ Similarly, a legal advisor describes the indifference of journalists to struggle for their rights as follows:

They ask us what their rights and the laws were only when they were fired. This can happen. I do not find it odd but once it happens to you, you have to prefer being with a mutual organization or people who can assist

⁵⁴The same lawyer who gave a speech in the conference of Unionization in media sector organized by Turk-Is between 27 and 29 March underlined that journalists see the union as a "box".

them. If these people do not want this, they can not take many steps. Another problem is that after solving his own problem, he doesn't concern himself with other problems (Date of interview with U: June 13, 2008).

We can surmise from what has been discussed above that journalism is the industry with the highest number of workers who are not familiar with their own work conditions and with specific issues inherent to their profession.

4.3.2.1.7. The Deficiencies of the Union

Respondents think that the unions themselves, along with media owners, are responsible with the dissolution of the unions. One journalist who is a member of the union states that the slow progress of the right acquirement process is effective for keeping the union away:

We started a union organization in ATV in May. We were fired immediately when TMSF seized control of the network. Our case is still pending; these kinds of cases should be concluded fast, because people in the union believe that I won't recover my damages (Date of interview with L: June 9, 2008).

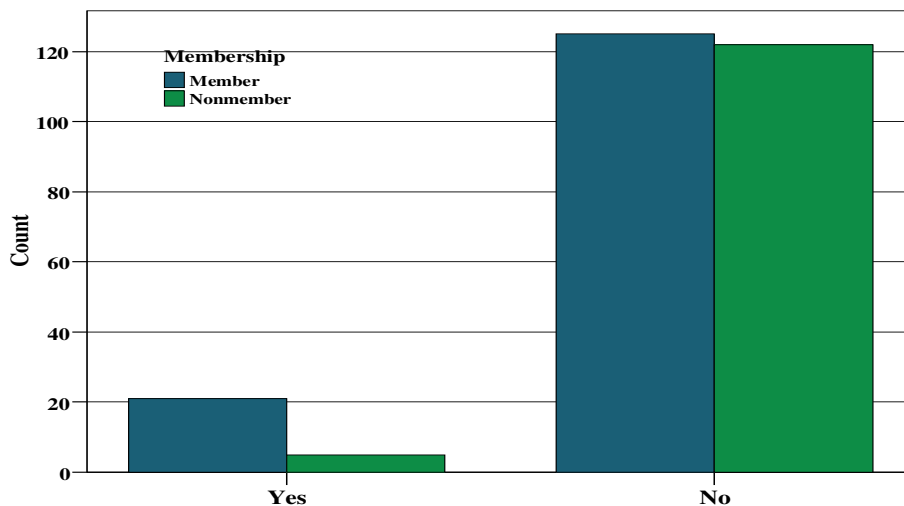


Figure 22: Do you think that the union supply the needs of journalists?

Figure 24 shows that according to the majority of journalists (247), unions do not satisfy their needs. This figure supports Figure 17. Indeed, 36.4% of non-unionized journalists

find the union inadequate. The first reason to this is the fact that the union is not of enough support for journalists. A journalist, who was fired after his union activities, explains how the union did not support him or the others while he was defending it:

The union does not have any perspective about journalism. The authority of the union is actually not real. The union does not want to cause trouble. Unfortunately, we were late to come to terms with it. I would not have joined the union if I had realized this at the beginning, because the union blocked our way a lot by this behavior. Let me tell you this story: They organize everyone and the president of the union comes, talks for 10 minutes and then 15 people resign. He does not know how to talk (The date of interview with V: June 10, 2008).

Another journalist says he left the union because of its lack of support:

I was a member of TGS. I experienced the process when people were trying to separate Turkish media from TGS. I think that the biggest responsibility here belongs to administrators of unions of those times. Right after *Sabah* began to be published (none of its staff was unionized), a negative attitude emerged among employers. Weakness regarding trust emerged as when some rights which were supposed to be granted in accordance with collective agreements signed by the union were not granted; TGS which should have developed an attitude towards the employer preferred to stay at the background and said, “We got your back, you hold on” and continued turning a blind eye to unfairness. The trust that TGS members felt for the union was shaken. In the previous period, the mistrust which was formed as directors of unions did not object to stipulations put forward by employers in collective agreement negotiations and yielded to them instead of upholding the rights of their members got bigger and bigger. The employer who did not grant the rights rising from the collective agreement employed other various methods in order not to grant some other rights as the union did not object to this. The employers who urged the union more and more with every step, made the personnel resign from the union by forcing them or by convincing them with some promises. While all this happened, the union remained silent as usual (Date of interview with Y: June 14, 2008).

Another reason why journalists find the union insufficient is that the members reckon that the administration does not attach enough importance to their opinions.

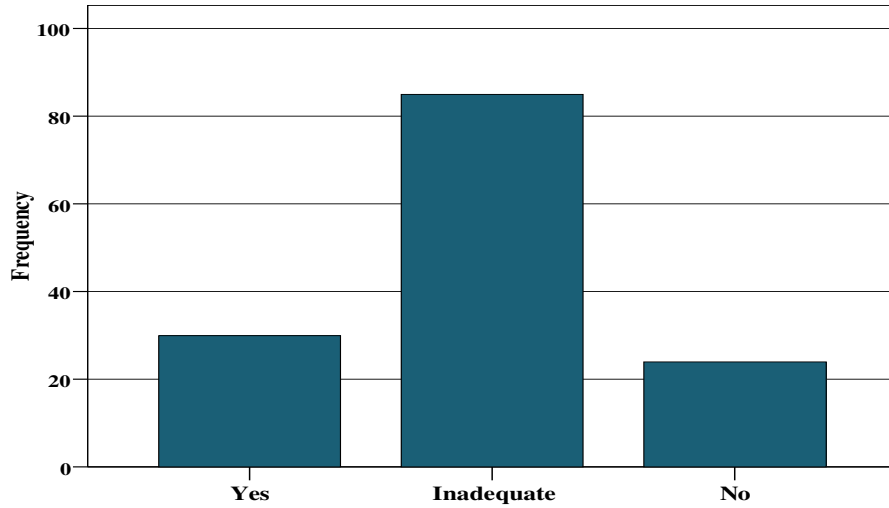


Figure 23: Does the administration of union give importance to their members' ideas?

The other reason why the union is found insufficient is that journalists think that the union is not an independent organization.

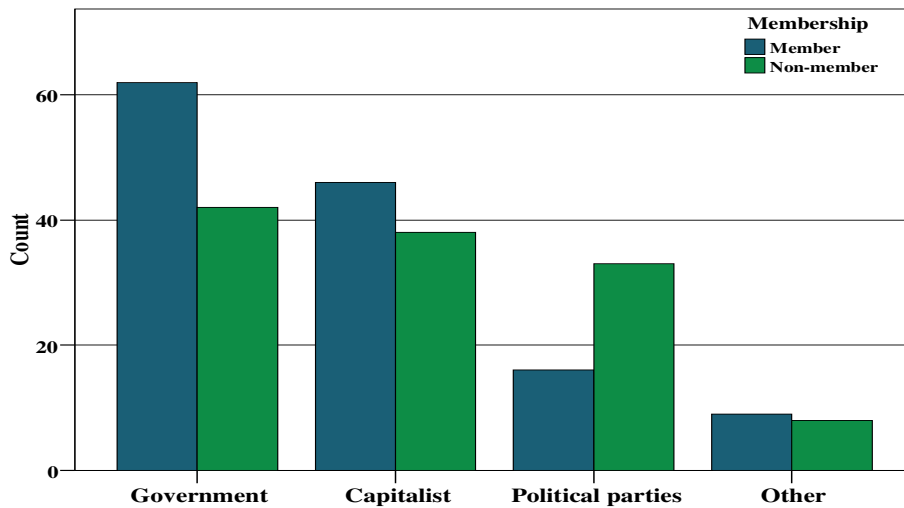


Figure 24: Which structure is the union dependent upon in Turkey ?

The results of the questionnaire corroborated the results of in-depth interviews. Administration is blamed on the loss of independence of the unions. Administrators contribute to the failure of the unions by focusing on issues that the union is incapable to resolve. Administrator-journalists maintain that politics are more important than

professional problems in unions. These opinions make it clear once more that both the union administration and the media management are against the union.

The unions could not correctly use the huge power they seized in Turkey especially during 1970s. They rapidly got politicized and tried to open a door of prosperity for their own administrators. Thus, they were reluctant to give up the power they obtained. They broke away from their own classes, people and life. This bad experience put the staff off the unions. On the other hand, they weakened the entities by making demands the economy and the enterprises cannot bear. They even caused them to withdraw from the market and destroyed the environment that they created. A world composed of company unions established by bosses and unionists who are more concerned with their own interests than they are with the interests of their employees emerged. At the same time bosses established firmer relations with their employees. They granted their employees serious social rights and auxiliary benefits. This has brought unionism to the point where it is now (Date of interview with Z: June 26, 2008).

A journalist, who for a while worked as executive editor, maintains that union administration received support of the politicians and was rescued from a possible crisis:

The unions need to have influence on the politics and it should not suffice to address journalists. They need to urge the world of politics and create a framework that will strain them but which world of politics? AKP (The Justice and Development Party) is not familiar with the union culture. Here the only rescuer can be the EU (European Union). You can urge the hypocrites of AKP. You can urge TÜSİAD (Association of Turkish Industrialists and Businessmen). They need to figure out the style of this. They need to conquer political power. They need to search for ways of doing this. This is the time when the political power and the media are at odds. These necessitate leadership. It is not only a matter of principals. I can uphold the principals but someone should check the minds controlling the organization. I agree that struggle is a good thing but maybe it is not a good thing right now or maybe we should act now. If you are a leader, you need to know and take these into consideration (Date of interview with D: June 6, 2008).

Another journalist describes the association of journalists as follows:

Unions turned out to be unjust institutions for they evaluated their members without consideration of their work conditions. They protected those who did not deserve it. I don't think contemporary unions embrace a modern understanding of unionism. Unfortunately, unions haven't felt any responsibility toward the sector nor did they have a grasp of economic realities for the last 30 years. They only performed wage

unionism. This is their mind set: “I work and get my money. The rest do not concern me. I do not care whether the company is shut down or goes bankrupt.” As a result, deunionization emerged. People began to dislike unions. Today, laborers in Turkey do not need unions anymore. They are self sufficient. Therefore, it is clear that as long as unions ignore their professional and social responsibilities, they will be unsuccessful not only in this sector but also in the other ones (Date of interview with B: June 1, 2005).

This person who worked as a media advisor in a union describes wage unionism as follows:

The claim that unions perform wage unionism is absolutely correct, though they have to do so. The reason is that members of the unions do not have any other demands than wages. Therefore, in this situation the two sides feed each other. Members only think of their wages. When Türk-İş holds a rally, TGS participates with 10 people. This shows that according to its members, the union exists only for wages. Because of this, when the wages are satisfactory, the unions are highly regarded and when the wages are low, the unions are thought to have failed (Date of interview with X: June 26, 2008).

Journalists find the unions insufficient but when they are asked whether they have an active role besides membership, we see the following:

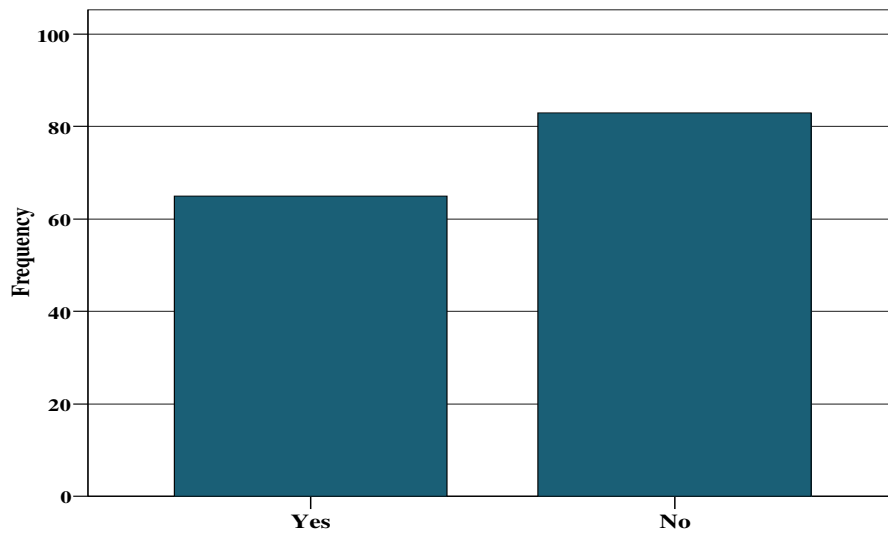


Figure 25: Are you an active member of the union?

As it can be seen in Figure 27, 56% of unionized journalists are not an active member of union. Some of the journalists criticize the fact that union's non-functionality is attributed only to the administration. A journalist notes that as long as journalists provide no support, a big union movement cannot possibly happen and that unions cannot meet the expectations as long as journalists do not join the struggle:

The union is not a spiritual, abstract structure that stays there. It is a structure, a kind of organization which is comprised people, which takes form according to how these people are shaken. In other words, a political party is constructed by cells, and those cells are human beings. The cells that construct the unions are workers. If workers stand for their rights and demands, nothing can stop them. Nothing can constitute a barrier. Even if they shout together, "Union is a bureaucracy; it destroyed us, fired us" you should know that those selling their own cases are the workers themselves. In fact, they know that they should struggle. Since they foresee that they will not be able to pay the price of the results, they are inclined to pass the burden on to the administrators. Who elected the administrators of the union? Its members... I never deny union bureaucracy. It is possible but why should it be any of my business? If the union has a base of people who gets organized by their own will, it will sweep all the difficulties (Date of interview with I: June 11, 2008).

Although journalists have various problems regarding the unions, they don't act to improve the situation.

4.3.2.2. Organizations of the Journalists

Some journalists stated that the dismissal of their colleagues was not the only factor in the decrease of their interest towards collective struggle. They avoid other organizations to demonstrate that they are indeed taking part in the tradition of struggle. The results obtained from the questionnaire support their opinions. 66% of journalists (98 people) who are members of the union are members of other journalism organizations. Half of the journalists who are not members of an association or other organizations stated that they considered the union to be sufficient and that they did not need another platform.

55% of those who are not members of the union is not members of an association or a community. 33% of those who are not members indicate that they do not need union

organization or any other kind of organization, while %40 indicate that they do not trust institutions like associations or unions. Among members of the union, a significant portion like 17.4% does not trust organizations such as associations. One journalist expresses his opinion on these organizations as follows:

There is only the condition of the article 212 in Turkish Journalists' Society (TGC). This is the softened situation. I mean the condition of 212. When you look at the situation, you see that 60% of the sector are constituted of temporary staff or employed at the status of manual laborer, as it is regulated in the article 1475. You have automatically blocked the organization with your own regulation and the association has become a VIP club. It has no activity. I was dismissed and the reason is obvious, but nobody told me anything. 45-50 people were fired from *Radikal*. What did the association do? Nothing. I won't do anything. Take the Association of Contemporary Journalists; it is nothing but a name plate. However, there is a love bond between us (Date of interview with G: June 10, 2008).

The results of the field study shows that like the union, the other organizations of journalists such as associations are not able to serve journalists' needs. Journalists avoid all organizations due to the different reasons such as the pressure of media owners, their ideology and union itself.

4.3.2.3. Is there an Ideal Union Model?

After addressing the point of view journalists embrace about the transformation of the profession and about unions, it would be convenient to discuss the ideal union models of journalists who took part in the questionnaire and who were interviewed. While journalists who also acts as administrators define the ideal union model as the union which differentiates between a white-collar worker and a manual worker, both unionized and non unionized journalists define the ideal union as an organization serving personal rights of journalists by going beyond the general discourse.

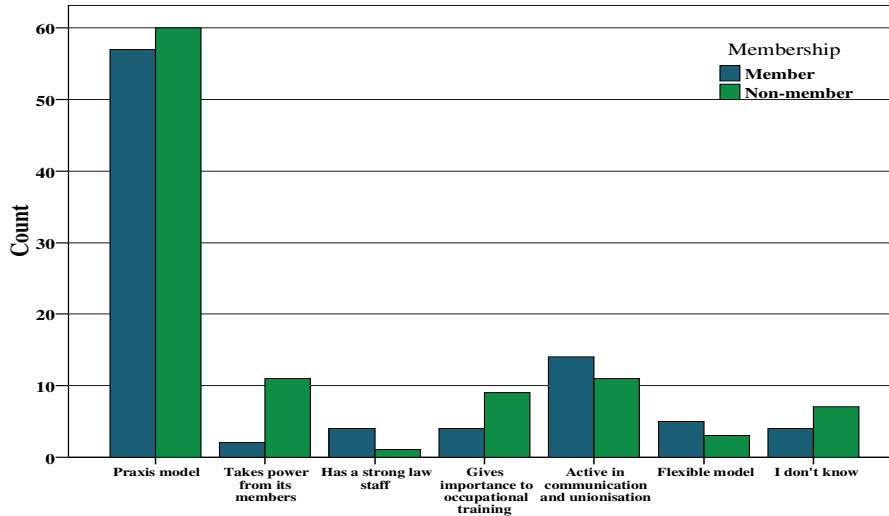


Figure 26: What is the ideal union model?

For unions to attain the “ideal”, they should be spread on a wider base. This is concluded from the questionnaire results in general and the interviews as well. However, a growth in the membership comes along with its problems. Journalists agree on two solutions. The best solution, according to 75 journalists, is to give information about the union. Second, as seen in the figure, supporting the social, economic and professional life of journalist is the other way to expand the membership.

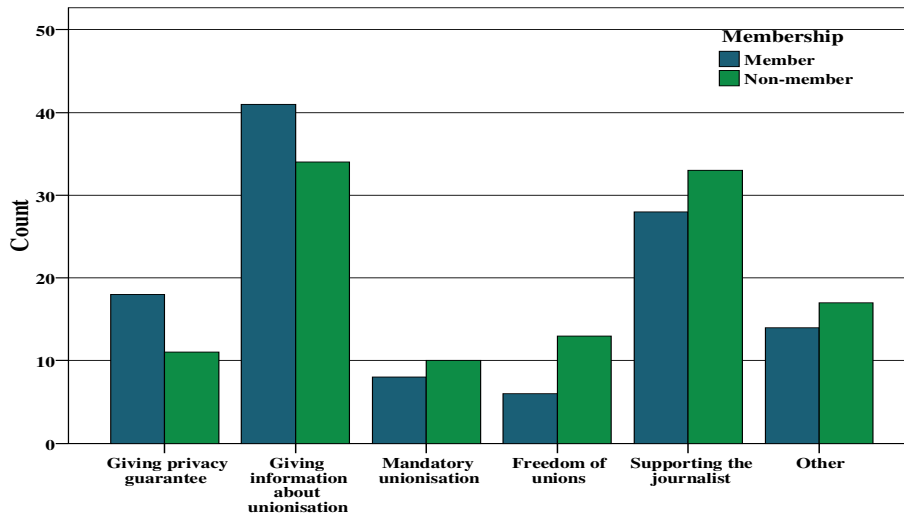


Figure 27: What is the best way for the union to expand their membership?

As is seen in Figure 30, 31% of journalists who are members of a union think that the main duty of a union along with its economy-based support is to prevent dismissals while 20% of them reckon that they should struggle so that the laws against the employees are amended. Another 20% think that unions should popularize organization.

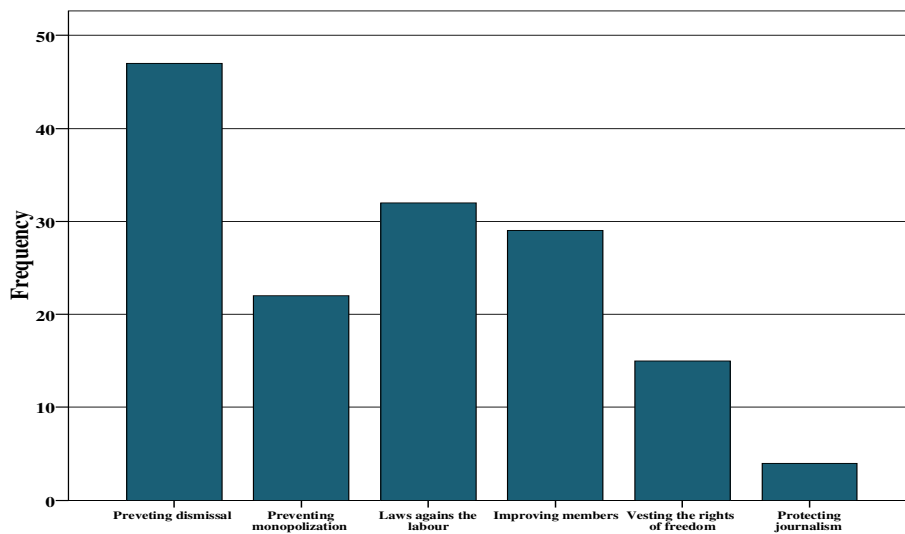


Figure 28: What should the union struggle for firstly?

4.3.2.4. A More Powerful Union or a More Powerful Media?

There is a very important question for this issue and maybe its answer shows us formulas for unionism and also another media: If unionism had a real aim, attached importance to occupational education, cared for participation within the administration, worked for editorial independence and also journalists had been organized actually in another media, would journalism become a real journalism?

I think that because journalists do not display interest in their own social positions, they quickly got accustomed to the standard news making imposed by the globalization. If journalists knew and demanded their rights in their own lives, in their professional organizations and work places and if they were into collective and organized fight, we would have more special news, investigative news or documentaries today (date of interview with T: June 10, 2008).

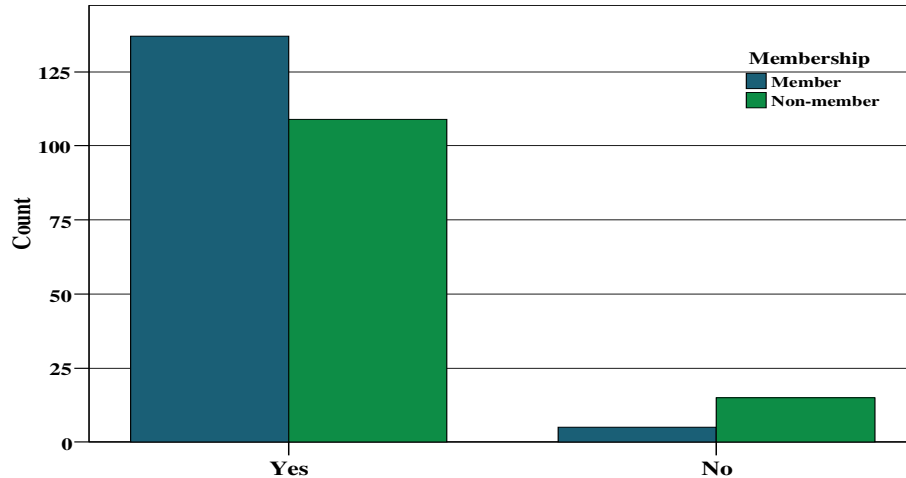


Figure 29: If there were more powerful union movement in the media sector, would transformation of media pursue different way?

4.4. An Evaluation on the Results of the Field Study

4.4.1. Does It Matter to be Unionized or Non-unionized?

One of the most important results of this field study where perceptions/conceptions of the journalists relating to unionization are weighted up is as follows: whether journalists are unionized or non-unionized does not alter their perceptions relating to the profession and general structure of unions. Answers given by unionized and non-unionized journalist are generally similar if a small number of subjects were accepted.

The following is a list of different approaches to the profession of journalism and the union, among unionized and non-unionized journalist:

- The first approach is descriptive. While most non-unionized journalists conceive the journalist as a professional making a living out of the news they produce, the description by unionized journalists' description depicts a person making news as a public service. It shows that descriptions of unionized and non unionized journalists are founded on the "benefit of public" and the purpose of "earning money."
- The second point they separate is about the point disturbing them in their profession. Although there is no certain disturbing subject for the non unionized

journalists, a certain part of unionized journalists (25.5%) stated that there was no point disturbing them (See table 7). 25.5% of the respondents confide that although they are members of a union, they don't have any issues with their workplace. The question is why these journalists are members of the union even if they are content with their work. As Table 32 delineates, 77.7% of these journalists work for news agencies. The news agencies included in the study are Anadolu Ajansı (AA) and ANKA. When it is considered that two journalists (one of them is unionized, the other one is deunionized) have participated in the survey, it appears that the group constituting 77.7% is the employee of AA. AA is known to have granted a number of rights to its employees such as security, regular work hours, collective agreement, and annual leave.

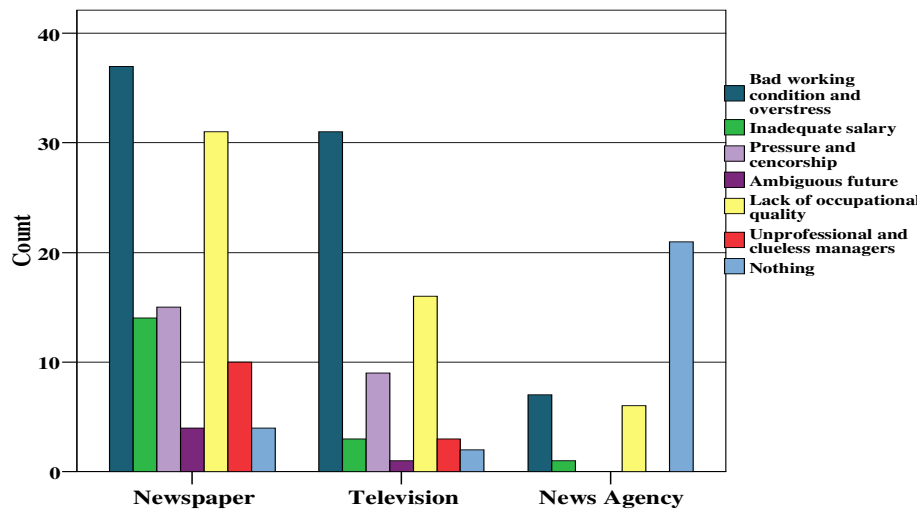


Figure 30: Is there any annoyances related with your job?

- The third aspect is the meaning attributed to the union. While unionization means “power and assurance” for an important part of the journalists (36.2%), for 35.2% journalists the union does not mean anything (See Table 23). In addition to the answers given, behaviors and reactions of the journalists allow implication during the practice of survey. For instance, the uneasiness experienced by the journalists qualifying the union as the power and guarantee while answering the questions do not correspond to the answers they have given. Some of the journalists though that the survey was sent by the management or the union administration. This shows that journalists do not trust either

the management or the union. Journalists who lost their jobs for being a union member states that the union did not support them in the court and it even concealed certain things:

- The union does not want to struggle for the rights. It does not support us during the court cases. When we request a document, they say that it is confidential. They are either indisposed for struggle or they don't want trouble. Alas, we realized it too late. If I could see things at the beginning, I would not even have endeavored to be a member.
- I was fired and I immediately filed a lawsuit. The union told me that I should wait for a little while. Why wait? It really hurt me that the union is doing this.

While non unionized members fear of being fired if they become a member, the union members are concerned that their memberships that they keep as a secret might be discovered by the administration. For this reason, both groups think that explaining a membership process and giving a guarantee for they will not be unemployed to the journalists by the union are significant for the organization process. All these data and results given in the section where the findings of field research displaying the conception of journalists about the profession and unions is connected with their status of being a member of the union or not directly. This reveals that journalists become alienated towards the union and organization even if they are the members of the union.

4.4.2. Alienation to Everything Related to the Union

The questionnaire and in-depth interviews show us that there are three main factors behind the alienation to almost everything relating to the union: alleged risks that membership is likely to cause, the belief that being a member will not give them any privileges, and a lack of consciousness when it comes to be organized and unionized.

- Journalists are faced with the risk of dismissal when they participate in unionization and even any collective action. The reason is ownership system. Journalists who were active before 1980 stated that during the 1970s and the 1980s the union was almost organized within all the press organizations, and when journalists lost their jobs

and find a new one in another organization I earned almost the same amount of money. These days this is not possible. If a high paid journalist would lose his/her job, he/she would be obliged to consent to a lower one if he/she finds a new job. Finding a new job was easier before 1980 than it is now for journalists. Today's media landscape is dominated by two large media powers, Doğan and Çalık groups, in which high-paid journalists do not choose to risk their jobs with union membership. Another dimension of the ownership system shows itself about union and accuracy in news. As discussed in previous chapters, the crisis experienced by the union in the new world order is not specific to the press sector. However, the media sector was one of the first to feel the damages mainly due to the fact that unionism has been weakened. Because the interest in unions and accuracy in news is becoming less and less in a sector where union organization is not possible so representation of them are given no place or given place as superficial.

- Another reason for the alienation felt by the journalists towards the union is its insufficiency, according to 90.5% of the journalists participating in the survey. Journalists confessed that some negative attitude of the members as well as insufficiency of the union took them away from the union. To quote from the interviews:

“If there would be a union, we would become members.”

“I used to be unionized but it is not clear who the union belongs to and what it does. So I left.”

- The third reason of alienation towards the union is the lack of knowledge about, and interest in, the union. Some journalists mentioned colleagues who did not know anything about the union during the organization process, and consequently attribute the increasing number in membership to the growth of awareness (See Table 29). Another reason for the alienation together with a lack of interest, is a lack of information. The fact that journalists only contacted the union by paying membership fees and when they feared losing their jobs weakened their mutual relationship. An important part of union members (21.8%) participating in the survey stated that there is no communication between the union and the members. As the member profile of the union is not updated,

information data such as addresses and phone numbers is out of date. In fact this situation is connected with union structure's being directed to only the workplace union and not taking a class struggle as the axis.

4.4.3. Union and Class Consciousness

Unions give important insight into a class analysis as they can be considered to be social organization tools struggling for protecting and improving economic, political and cultural rights of the working class. Therefore, unions lose their meaning in a social order that excludes class struggle and restructure around the axis of neo-liberal policies. One of the reasons why the union organized in the media sector has lost its power and meaning is the fact that it has become distant to class struggle. Journalism is no longer regarded as the skilled profession but as an elite profession. As like in most sectors, price policy is set in reference to status, not labor; employees show a low interest toward the union.

This situation is related to how the journalists position themselves in the society. Braverman's argument that office workers have an important place in the white-collar environment and that they belong to the working class is valid for the journalists.⁵⁵ Journalists selling their manual labor as well as mental labor could thus be considered members of working class. However, most journalists (professional journalists, reporters, editors, annotators, columnists, star journalists and aspiring star journalists) consider themselves to belong to the elite, representing and sharing the power of the management, instead of describing themselves as the white-collar worker being dependent and selling labor power and being deprived of the means of production. We may refer to their self-image as the "symbolic elite"⁵⁶: they do not participate to the ideological struggle.

⁵⁵ Braverman tried to eliminate the thesis showing the presence of white-collar and some wageworker as proof for the rise of middle class and for this reason elimination of proletariat at the class and ideological levels. In the working class and class consciousness discussion in chapter 2, how Braverman describes the working class is presented. See Chapter 2 for more information.

⁵⁶ See Chapter 2 for detailed information about the concept of "symbolic elite" of Bourdieu.

Marx's argues (1995) that the class-in-itself is not enough for the constitution of classes on their own. So journalists should associate within the scope of common interest depending on the social conditions and collective action experiences.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis is an effort to understand and explain the perception of unionization among the journalists in the post-1980s mediascape. In this context, to understand the unionization process and problems conceived by journalists, the transformation of the media sector, the debates on class, identity and the status of journalists and the history of journalists' unions were examined.

The main subject of this study, which is the perceptions about the unionization among journalists in the post-1980s media sector, was analyzed with a critical economy and political approach. The data discussed at the end of the study confirm the main hypothesis. Following the structural transformation of the media in the 1980s with the neo-liberal policies and new communication technologies, some journalists began to perceive union membership as a matter of courage and some others considered it a useless endeavor.

The 1980s are labeled not only as a turning point in the economic organization of the world, but also in the political restructuring. During this period, the wealth acquired

started to lose its value, and systems of wealth acquiring and sharing have changed following the neo-liberal ideology. While a certain social segment achieving wealth and welfare, in parallel with new right policies, was taking shape in Turkey; poverty and deprivation came to the fore within the society as a result of the same policies. The State started to display a behavior which does not look out the lower classes. In contrast, it is engaged with the capital not a behavior judging the relations between the classes in change.

As this study argues, a sector taking its share from these changes is the media, seen as an industry with its corporate structure and organization of production. Corporations coming from industries foreigner to the media invest in publishing and broadcasting companies although they are aware that this venture, compared to their native investments, does not generate profitable interest. Especially when cross monopolization and oligopoly tendency experienced in the media in the recent years is considered, it is not false to suggest that this attempt is the result of the social power of capital rather than providing a commercial interest. The actual importance of media arises from its being an important production factor in other sectors with the expansion of its coverage area in the social life. Due to this feature, media sector came to the foreground as an area that the capital wanted to invest in.

Media is one of the sectors in which the mobilization of the employees is intense and job security is low. The existing employment structure of this sector undertaking a basic mission such as informing the public established a ground for practices about the damaging of public profit principle because it is not possible for deunionized and unsecured sector to prefer the public interest in all circumstances. Moreover, one can argue that employees of media companies who tend to consider their profession as a “status” give particular importance to their promotion targets or do not risk their own status under the increasing competition conditions. The fear of “failure” is very widespread as it covers the workplace. Like other professionals such as engineers, accountants and architects, journalists adopt professionalism as an attractive ideology and strategy for their advancement.

In today's media landscape where it is almost impossible to own a newspaper or television with a small capital, a journalist's taking place in the management beyond owning a newspaper indicates a class transition. Now in the media industry, there is a situation that not only the owners of the company affect the editorial decisions or the decision of dismissing the employee being in conflict with the interests of the group but also cultural production has been effected strongly by the commercial strategies built around a synergy between different media interests of the company. This enables the fact that although there are more commodities in the production, these may be the variants of the same theme and images. In sum, together with the proliferation of cross-monopolization in media, the tendency in cultural products to become homogenous, prototypical and tabloid-like has increased. Thus, the transformation experienced in the media sector affected directly the journalist and journalistic practices.

As it is clear in this study, journalists are subject to succession of technological advances under conditions of producing news as a commodity. With the increasing managerial control, opportunities for independent judgment and creativity have reduced. Requirements of professional journalists are replaced by technical knowledge to comply with corporate media goals, which divide the workplace, fragment the reportorial process, destabilize journalists' professional worth, and alienate them for own labor.

One of the results of media transformation is related to the income. In-depth interviews conducted within the scope of this study show that while salary differences between the journalists before the 1980s were almost non existing; this gap is very big today. Apart from the income, according to the interviewees, working conditions and job security are also important issues in the media sector. If one journalist lost his job, it could have been easy to find another of a similar kind because newspapers were not part of chains or groups under the same ownership until the 1980s. In contrast, today, there is a different structure in which blacklisting of groups indicates a danger. In addition, working hours are long and not certain, but do not carry rights to days off in lieu or extra pays, and holidays are few and short.

The changes such as commercialization, competition, and market forces are against both professionalizing and craft strategies. Media profession and its members now find it more difficult to obtain security of employment, to influence entry patterns, to achieve stable work careers, and to control or shape their collective occupational destiny.

The notion of professionalization became a major ideological force of media management in the separation of news workers from their fellow employees and the public. The evolution of professionalization as a strategy of separating shared labor interests among printers and editorial workers by promising social status and professional independence remains a major source of explanation for the diffusion of the editorial process and management's continuous domination of twenty century journalism. In Turkish media sector, it is also parallel with the analysis of Hardt (1998) that the unionization of labor interests among journalists as a potential weapon in a fight for independence was successfully quelled when professional status became a myth carefully constructed by press ownership to isolate and defeat union activities in the wake of mounting pressures by organized labor.

It is almost impossible to carry on the work life without changing the abilities in today's industry environment. The wish of earning income fast namely "impatience of capital" (Sennett, 1998) makes the organization have a continuous change process. It is valid for journalism as well as many occupations. Therefore, this shows that there is a continuous movement in the employment. While it is expected that the unionized journalists should be the majority part in the media environment where there are many conditions against the employee such as unsecured, giving the salaries in hand, declaring the payroll over the minimum wage and paying the premium as per these payrolls, etc. As interviews and survey results show, existing table proves the contrary.

It will be wrong to attribute the reasons of the deunionization process to only one actor. In addition to objective conditions, subjective conditions are of great importance in this process. In other words, journalists are also responsible for the deunionization in the

media sector as well as roles of legal structure, management and the union. Accordingly, the results of this study focus on three main actors: The media manager, the union and journalists.

Capital groups who support the attempt aiming to reduce the efficiency of the State in the economic field with neo-liberal economy policies since the 1980s do not lean towards unionization. All these reveal the results of the study. Journalists think that if they participated to the union, they would lose all trace of their professional status and also their job.

Another conclusion of this study is the fact that journalists abstain from union activities and managements due to the structure of union. Journalists stated that union is more nervous than themselves and they did not feel the direct support of the union. The complaint of the journalists about the union is related to the hierarchical structure in the union. Thus, according the results of the study, it is possible to argue that the union management alienates the journalists from the union as well as the management does. The attitudes of the journalists during the implementation of the questionnaire show that there is no difference between the views of the unionized and non-unionized journalists. While both unionized and non-unionized journalists were answering the questionnaire, they expressed that they were anxious and unwilling. Not only was the fear of the “boss” was apparent among non-unionized journalists, but they also suspected that the questionnaire could have been designed by the management. During the survey, the most common question coming from the unionized journalists was: “Are you from the union? Let me know and I’ll answer accordingly.” It was unexpected for this study to find that while the interest of the union members to the questionnaire was low in AA where the collective agreement is applied, it was high in a major media group despite the threats. Many journalists are not as engaged as other employees under various national laws. The union of journalists also needs to define strategies for empowering journalists. According to the field study, the unions face three major problems: First one is the problem of membership growth; the second one is the problem of membership communication and

control; and the last one is the problem of the union's relations with the government and proprietors of media.

The third and the most important actor in this process are journalists themselves. Indeed, the subjective class positions of journalists are the other reason of the deunionization of journalists. Widely-accepted opinions by the society within the scale of the bourgeois ideology not only hide the truth of proletarianization but also cause the workers to feel as a part of the "middle class". So in addition to these workers, i.e engineers, teachers, nurses, civil servants; journalists isolate themselves from the general struggle of the working class that they really belong to. They keep themselves distant from the union and believe this act to be an indicator of high status in the social life. This is also valid for journalists who have not been promoted from the reporter position to the news manager position for long time. It is apparent in their answers and attitudes that they identify themselves with their position.

Therefore, one can argue that individualism and acting in pursue of personal career hinder unionization activities among journalists. Even journalists who receive very low salaries do not consider to participate in a movement connecting with the manual workers or to act jointly with them. Like many white-collar workers, they acquire a place among top level managers and employers in the media industry, and feel at ease in terms of money with the personal development they will show in their career.

As work conditions are against the journalists, the practice of journalism is perceived in an individual light. For this reason, the unionization issue among journalists is not caused by unilateral problems. How journalism is performed and also the relationship of employees with the employer has a role in this process. Most journalists participating in the questionnaire expressed that there is no objection against demolition of the ethical principles of the profession. The absence of job security and career ambitions of the journalists may make them move away from that kind of interventions. This situation prevents the journalists to think and act in a collective way. The affect of all factors are almost the same on the journalists who are unionized or non-unionized. Therefore, it is an

inevitable conclusion that media employees have become alienated to unions and accuracy in news. In fact, these situations are linked to each other directly.

While journalism has increasingly become a symbol of status, income gaps among journalists contribute to the differentiations among the ways in which the union is perceived. It was an unexpected result that the salary of half of the respondents (random sampling -51%) was over 2000 liras per month. The question about the income of the journalists had been prepared as closed-end question as 2000 liras and above at the top. This coding was slightly troublesome for the study since the journalists receiving 2.250 liras and 6.000 liras in a month had to mark the same answer. Given the fact that salary distribution in the sector shows sharp differences, one should be aware this question was wrong. Therefore, it will incorrect to argue that while journalists whose monthly salaries are very different from each other are included in the same professional category, they should have the same class position. Thus it is not possible for the journalists to have the same expectations and to conceive unionization in the same way. Besides, affects of historical and socio-economic conditions should not be ignored in the formation of class consciousness of journalists.

In conclusion, unions are social organizations struggling for protecting and improving rights of working class in the most general sense. The unions have different position than other organizations such as foundations and associations in the society and the determinant position in terms of class solutions since unions are organizations of working class being one of the main actors of the class. For this reason, if the structure of the capitalist society and class struggles in this structure were not included, unions will have no meaning. Thus, if journalists do not achieve the position of “class for itself” to follow Marx, the union will not have any meaning for them and it will be able to protect its presence, either. However, the belief of the majority of journalists (86%) participating in the questionnaire is that if there is a stronger union organization, the transformation experienced by the profession will follow a different course.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: The Questionnaire of Unionized Journalists

Cinsiyetiniz nedir?

() Kadın () Erkek

Doğum yılınız nedir?

En son aldığınız diploma hangisidir?

() Ortaokul

() Lise

() Üniversite Bölüm ve üniversiteyi belirtiniz:

() Yüksek lisans Bölüm ve üniversiteyi belirtiniz:

() Doktora Bölüm ve üniversiteyi belirtiniz:

Mesleki eğitim aldınız mı? (Eğer İletişim Fakültesi mezunu iseniz üniversitede aldığımız eğitimin dışında gazetecilik mesleğine dair bir eğitim aldınız mı?)

A. ÇALIŞMA KOŞULLARI

1. Kaç yıldır medya sektöründe çalışıyorsunuz?

2. Medya sektöründeki çalışma yaşamınız boyunca iş değişikliğiniz oldu mu?

a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise en son ayrıldığınız kurumdan ayrılmanızın temel nedeni nedir? (Birden fazla ise öncelikli olana göre numaralandırınız.)

() İstifa

() Atılma

() İşyerinin kapanması

() Daha yüksek gelir

() Çalışma koşullarının daha iyi olması

() Diğer (Belirtiniz)

3. Kaç yıldır kadrolusunuz?

() 1-5 yıldır

() 11-15 yıldır

() 6-10 yıldır

() 16-20 yıldır

() 20 yıldan çok

4. Şu anda fiilen çalıştığınız yer ile hukuken istihdam edildiğiniz yer aynı mı?

a) Evet b) Hayır c) Bilmiyorum

- Eğer cevabınız “Hayır” ise kadronuzdaki değişiklikleri belirtiniz.

5. Şu anda çalıştığınız mecra nedir?

() Gazete

() Televizyon

- Haber Ajansı Radyo
 Dergi İnternet
 Diğer – Belirtiniz:

6. Kurum içindeki pozisyonunuz nedir?

- Muhabir - Alanınızı belirtiniz: Foto muhabiri
 Kameraman Montajcı
 Editör - Alanınızı belirtiniz: Sayfa
Tasarımcısı
 Temsilci Haber
müdürü
 Diğer - Belirtiniz:

7. İş sözleşmenizin ait olduğu kadro hangisidir?

- 4857 Sayılı İş Kanunu
 212 Sayılı Basın İş Kanunu

8. Aylık geliriniz ne kadar?

- 500 – 1000 YTL 1000 – 1500 YTL
 1500 – 2000 YTL 2000 YTL ve üstü

9. Gazeteci olmaktan memnun musunuz?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

10. İşinizde sizi rahatsız eden hususlar var mı? Varsa nelerdir?

11. Çalıştığınız kuruma bağlılık hissediyor musunuz?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

12. İşe başlama koşullarınız ile mevcut koşullarınız arasında değişiklik oldu mu?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise ne gibi değişiklikler oldu?

13. İşten atılma korkusu yaşıyor musunuz?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

14. İşten atılırsanız bugünkü gibi bir iş bulabileceğinize inanıyor musunuz?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

- Neden?

15. Ücretleriniz zamanında ödeniyor mu?
a) Evet b) Hayır
16. Fazla mesai için ek ücret alıyor musunuz?
a) Evet b) Hayır
17. Bu meslekten kazandıklarınız geçiminizi sağlıyor mu?
a) Evet b) Zorlanıyorum c) Hayır
18. Ücretlerinizin eskisine göre daha iyi olduğunu söyleyebilir misiniz?
a) Evet b) Hayır
19. Genel olarak sektördeki ücret dağılımının adil olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
a) Evet b) Hayır
20. Çalışma saatlerinizden memnun musunuz?
a) Evet b) Hayır
21. Haftalık tatiliniz var mı?
a) Evet b) Hayır

Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise,

- Kaç gün?

- Kullanabiliyor musunuz?

- a) Evet b) Bir kısmını kullanabiliyorum c)Hayır
22. Yıllık izinlerinizi kullanabiliyor musunuz?
a) Evet b) Bir kısmını kullanabiliyorum c)Hayır
23. Özel sağlık güvenceniz var mı?
a) Evet b) Hayır
24. İş yerinizde sağlıklı çalışma ortamına sahip misiniz? (Kendinize ait masanız, ofisiniz, iş düzeni vs.)
a) Evet b) Hayır
25. İşiniz ile ilgili sıkıntı yaşadığınızda sorunlarınızı çözmek için işyerinde **en çok** kime başvuruyorsunuz?

- () Çalışma arkadaşlarıma
() Haber müdürüme
() Temsilciye
() Yönetimin üst kademelerine
() Diğer Belirtiniz:

26. İş arkadaşlarınız ile iş dışında sosyal aktivitelere katılıyor musunuz?
a) Evet b) Hayır

B. HAK&ÖRGÜTLENME

27. Kaç yıldır sendikalısınız?
() 1-5 yıldır () 11-15 yıldır
() 6-10 yıldır () 16-20 yıldır
() 20 yıldan çok

28. Sendika üyeliğinize hiç ara verdiniz mi?
a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “**Evet**” ise neden?

29. Şu anda üyesi olduğunuz sendikaya nasıl üye oldunuz?
() Kendi isteğimle
() Arkadaşımın tavsiyesi ile
() İş başladığımda verilen formlar arasında sendika üyelik formu da vardı
() Diğer – Belirtiniz:

30. Ailenizde sendikaya üye olan var mı?
a) Evet b) Hayır

31. Örgütlenmek, sendikalı olmak sizin için ne anlam ifade ediyor?

32. İş arkadaşlarınız ile mesleki sorunları çözümlenmek, hak arama mücadelesi vb. amaçlar doğrultusunda bir araya geliyor musunuz?
a) Evet b) Hayır
- Eğer cevabınız “**Evet**” ise bu ortamlar nelerdir?

33. Mesleğiniz ile ilgili bir derneğe, topluluğa, cemiyete vs. üye misiniz?

- a) Evet b) Hayır
- Eğer cevabınız “**Evet**” ise
a) Hangisi/hangilerine?

- b) Üyesi olduğunuz dernekte, toplulukta, cemiyette vs. mesleki eğitimler veriliyor mu?

- Eğer (33. soru için) cevabınız “**Hayır**” ise neden?

34. Gazetecilerin kolektif hak arama mücadelesinde en iyi kurumsal araç sizce hangisidir?
() Sendika

- Dernek
 Cemiyet
 Vakıf
 Diğer (belirtiniz)
Neden?

35. Gazeteciler sendikasının yetersiz olduğunu düşündüğünüz hususları belirtiniz.

- Evet Hayır Ücret sendikacılığını aşamıyor
 Evet Hayır Örgütlenme konusunda yetersiz
 Evet Hayır Herhangi bir faaliyette bulunmuyor
 Evet Hayır Haklarımızı yeterince koruyamıyor
 Evet Hayır İş yerlerinin büyük bir kısmında üyesi olsa da yetkili değil.
 Diğer – Belirtiniz:

36. Türkiye’de sendikalar sizce en çok hangi yapıya bağımlı? (Bağımlılık derecesine göre numaralandırınız.)

- İktidar
 Sermaye
 Siyasi partiler
 Diğer :

37. Son zamanlarda medya kuruluşlarında da yaygınlaşmaya başlayan insan kaynakları sizce sendikaların yerine geçebilir mi?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

38. Gazetecilerin örgütlen(e)memesinin, sendikalı ol(a)mamasının ardındaki aktörler kimlerdir? (Etki derecesine göre numaralandırınız.)

- Patron
 Kendileri
 Sendika
 Hukuki yapı
 Diğer:

39. Sendikaya üye olmanızın kariyerinizi etkileyeceğini düşündünüz mü?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise,

- Olumlu
 Olumsuz

40. Üyelik dışında sendikal mücadeleye katkı sağladığınızı düşünüyor musunuz?

a) Evet b) Hayır

41. Sendikaya üye olan gazeteciler örgütlülük süreci içerisinde sizce neden aktif rol almak istemiyorlar?

- () Evet () Hayır Kariyerlerini olumsuz etkileyeceğini düşünüyorlar.
() Evet () Hayır İşten atılmaktan korkuyorlar.
() Evet () Hayır Yeteri kadar zaman bulamıyorlar.
() Evet () Hayır Sendikanın işlevsiz olduğunu düşünüyorlar.
() Diğer:

42. Sendika, ücretlerin iyileştirilmesi dışında sizce hangi faaliyetlere öncelik tanınmalıdır? (Öncelikli olduğunu düşündüğünüz ilk üç faaliyeti numaralandırınız.)

- () İşten atılmaları önlemek için mücadele etmek, işten atılanlara yardımcı olmak
() Basında tekelleşmeye karşı mücadele etmek
() İş yasaları ve sendikal hakları düzenleyen yasalarda yer alan işçi aleyhindeki hükümlerin kaldırılması için mücadele etmek
() Gazetecilik işkolunda sendikal örgütlenmeyi yaygınlaştırmak
() Basın özgürlüğünün önündeki engellerin kaldırılması için mücadele vermek
() Basın çalışanlarına yönelik her türlü saldırı karşısında onların haklarını korumak
() Gazetecilik mesleğine saygınlık kazandırmak için gereken mücadeleyi yapmak
() Diğer (belirtiniz)

43. Sendika yönetimi, üyelerinin görüşlerine özellikle karar alma sürecinde yer veriyor mu?

a) Evet b) Yetersiz c) Hayır

44. Sendikaların üye kazanımında aktif hale gelmesinin yolu sizce nedir?

45. Sendikanızın üyeleriyle haberleşme kanalı nedir?

- () Telefon () Fax
() Posta () E-posta
() İnternet sitesi () Üyeler dolayımıyla
() Herhangi bir haberleşme aracı yok () Diğer

46. Sendikanız üyeleriyle bir araya gelmek için hangi araçları kullanıyor?

- () Kongreler () Arkadaş toplantıları
() Tesadüfî toplantılar () Mitingler
() Üye toplantıları () Diğer:

47. Hangi hususlara önem veren bir sendikal modelde gazetecilerin örgütlenme oranı daha yüksek olurdu?

E. GAZETECİNİN/GAZETECİLİĞİN TANIMI

47. Sizce gazeteci kimdir?

48. Medya sektörünün geneline baktığınız zaman gazetecilerin görevlerini yerine getirdiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Hayır” ise bu durumun nedenleri nelerdir?

49. Son yıllarda gazetecinin ve dolayısıyla gazetecilik mesleğinin değiştiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise

a) Bu değişim en çok hangi alanlarda yaşandı?

b) Güçlü bir sendikal hareketin olması durumunda gazetecilik mesleğinde yaşanan dönüşüm farklı bir seyir izleyebilir miydi?

a) Evet b) Hayır

50. Farklı çalışma tarzları (bağımsız çalışma, kaşeli çalışma, kadrosuz çalışma, telifli çalışma vs.) sizce gazetecilik mesleğini etkiliyor mu?

a) Evet b) Hayır

- Cevabınız “Evet” ise nasıl etkiliyor?

52. Gazetecilik mesleğinin üretim sürecinde kendinizi söz sahibi hissediyor musunuz?

a) Evet b) Bazen c) Hayır

53. Mesleğin icra edilmesi sürecinde elinizden geleni yaptığınızı düşünüyor musunuz?

a) Evet b) Bazen c) Hayır

54. İş güvencesinin olmaması gazetecilerin mesleklerini icra etme süreçlerini nasıl etkiliyor?

55. Başkalarının haberlerini okurken/izlerken sizi en çok rahatsız eden hususlar nelerdir?

56. Gazeteciler arasındaki yarışın ürünlerine etkisi oluyor mu?

() Evet () Hayır

- Cevabınız “Evet” ise nasıl etkiliyor?

APPENDIX 2. The Questionnaire of Non-Unionized Journalists

Cinsiyetiniz nedir?

() Kadın () Erkek

Doğum yılınız nedir?

En son aldığınız diploma hangisidir?

- () Ortaokul
() Lise
() Üniversite Bölüm ve üniversiteyi belirtiniz:
() Yüksek lisans Bölüm ve üniversiteyi belirtiniz:
() Doktora Bölüm ve üniversiteyi belirtiniz:

Mesleki eğitim aldınız mı? (Eğer İletişim Fakültesi mezunu iseniz üniversitede aldığımız eğitimin dışında gazetecilik mesleğine dair bir eğitim aldınız mı?)

A. ÇALIŞMA KOŞULLARI

7. Kaç yıldır medya sektöründe çalışıyorsunuz?
8. Medya sektöründeki çalışma yaşamınız boyunca iş değişikliğiniz oldu mu?
a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise **en son ayrıldığınız kurumdan ayrılma nedeniniz nedir?**

- () İstifa
() Atılma
() İşyerinin kapanması
() Daha yüksek gelir
() Çalışma koşullarının daha iyi olması
() Diğer – Belirtiniz:

9. Şu anda çalıştığınız mecra nedir?

- () Gazete () Televizyon
() Haber Ajansı () Radyo
() Dergi () İnternet
() Diğer – Belirtiniz:

10. Kurum içindeki pozisyonunuz nedir?

- () Muhabir - Alanınızı belirtiniz: () Foto muhabiri
() Kameraman () Montajcı
() Editör - Alanınızı belirtiniz: () Sayfa

Tasarımcısı

() Temsilci
müdürü

() Haber

() Diğer – Belirtiniz:

11. Kadrolu musunuz?

a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise,

a) Kaç yıldır kadrolusunuz?

() 1-5 yıldır

() 11-15 yıldır

() 6-10 yıldır

() 16-20 yıldır

() 20 yıldan çok

b) İş sözleşmenizin ait olduğu kanun hangisidir?

() 4857 Sayılı İş Kanunu

() 212 Sayılı Basın İş Kanunu

12. Şu anda fiilen çalıştığınız yer ile hukuken istihdam edildiğiniz yer aynı mı?

a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Hayır” ise bu değişiklikleri belirtiniz.

13. Aylık geliriniz ne kadar?

() 500 – 1000 YTL

() 1000 – 1500 YTL

() 1500 – 2000 YTL

() 2000 YTL ve üstü

14. Gazeteci olmaktan memnun musunuz?

a) Evet b) Hayır

15. Çalıştığınız kuruma bağlılık hissediyor musunuz?

a) Evet b) Hayır

16. İşinizde sizi rahatsız eden hususlar var mı? Varsa nelerdir?

17. İşe başlama koşullarınız ile mevcut koşullarınız arasında değişiklik oldu mu?

a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise ne gibi değişiklikler oldu?

18. İşten atılma korkusu yaşıyor musunuz?

a) Evet b) Hayır

19. İşten atılırsanız bugünkü gibi bir iş bulabileceğinize inanıyor musunuz?

a) Evet b) Hayır

- Neden?

20. Ücretleriniz zamanında ödeniyor mu?
a) Evet b) Hayır
21. Fazla mesai için ek ücret alıyor musunuz?
a) Evet b) Hayır
22. Bu meslekten kazandıklarınız geçiminizi sağlıyor mu?
a) Evet b) Hayır
23. Ücretlerinizin eskisine göre daha iyi olduğunu söyleyebilir misiniz?
a) Evet b) Hayır
24. Genel olarak sektördeki ücret dağılımının adil olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?
a) Evet b) Hayır
25. Çalışma saatlerinizden memnun musunuz?
a) Evet b) Hayır
26. Haftalık tatiliniz var mı?
a) Evet b) Hayır
Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise,
- Kaç gün?

- Kullanabiliyor musunuz?
a) Evet b) Bir kısmını kullanabiliyorum c)Hayır
27. Yıllık izinlerinizi kullanabiliyor musunuz?
a) Evet b) Bir kısmını kullanabiliyorum c) Hayır
28. Özel sağlık güvenceniz var mı?
a) Evet b) Hayır
29. İş yerinizde sağlıklı çalışma ortamına sahip misiniz? (Kendinize ait masanız, ofisiniz, iş düzeni vs.)
a) Evet b) Hayır
30. İşiniz ile ilgili sıkıntı yaşadığınızda sorunlarınızı çözmek için işyerinde **en çok** kime başvuruyorsunuz?

() Çalışma arkadaşlarıma
() Haber müdürüme
() Temsilciye
() Yönetimin üst kademelerine
() Diğer Belirtiniz:

31. İş arkadaşlarınız ile iş dışında sosyal aktivitelere katılıyor musunuz?
a) Evet b) Hayır

B. HAK&ÖRGÜTLENME

32. İş arkadaşlarınız ile mesleki sorunları çözümlmek, hak arama mücadelesi vb. amaçlar doğrultusunda bir araya geliyor musunuz?

- a) Evet b) Hayır
- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise bu ortamlar nelerdir?

33. Örgütlenmek, sendikalı olmak sizin için bir anlam ifade ediyor mu?

34. Neden sendikaya üye değilsiniz? (Etki derecesine göre numaralandırınız.)
() İşten atılmaktan korkuyorum
() Sendikanın faaliyetlerinden memnun değilim
() Örgütlenme ihtiyacı duymuyorum
() Hukuksal engeller var
() Diğer – Belirtiniz:

35. Ailenizde sendikaya üye olan var mı?
a) Evet b) Hayır

36. Türkiye’de sendikalar sizce en çok hangi yapıya bağımlı? (Bağımlılık derecesine göre numaralandırınız.)
() İktidar
() Sermaye
() Siyasi partiler
() Diğer :

31. Mesleğiniz ile ilgili bir derneğe, cemiyete, topluluğa vs. üye misiniz?
a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise
a) Hangisi/hangilerine?

b) Üyesi olduğunuz dernekte, cemiyette, toplulukta vs. mesleki eğitimler veriliyor mu?

-Eğer (31. soru için) cevabınız “Hayır” ise neden?

32. Gazetecilerin kolektif hak arama mücadelesinde en iyi kurumsal araç sizce hangisidir?

- Sendika
 Dernek
 Cemiyet
 Vakıf
 Diğer - Belirtiniz:

Neden?

34. Çalışma yaşamı içerisinde hukuki haklarınızdan haberdar mısınız?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise sizin için öncelikli olan 3 hakkı belirtiniz.

35. Gazeteciler sendikasının yetersiz olduğunu düşündüğünüz hususları belirtiniz.

- Evet Hayır Ücret sendikacılığını aşamıyor
 Evet Hayır Örgütlenme konusunda yetersiz
 Evet Hayır Herhangi bir faaliyette bulunmuyor
 Evet Hayır Haklarımızı yeterince koruyamıyor
 Evet Hayır İş yerlerinin büyük bir kısmında üyesi olsa da yetkili değil.
 Diğer – Belirtiniz:

36. Gazeteciler sendikasının üye kazanımında aktif hale gelmesinin yolu sizce nedir?

37. Hangi hususlara önem veren bir sendikal modelde gazetecilerin örgütlenme oranı daha yüksek olurdu?

D. GAZETECİNİN/GAZETECİLİĞİN TANIMI

38. Sizce gazeteci kimdir?

39. Medya sektörünün geneline baktığınız zaman gazetecilerin görevlerini yerine getirdiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Hayır” ise bu durumun nedenleri nelerdir?

40. Son yıllarda gazetecilik mesleğinin ve dolayısıyla gazetecinin değiştiğini düşünüyor musunuz?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

- Eğer cevabınız “Evet” ise

c) Bu değişimin ardında yatan nedenler sizce nelerdir?

d) Güçlü bir sendikal hareketin olması durumunda gazetecilik mesleğinde yaşanan dönüşüm farklı bir seyir izleyebilir miydi?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

41. Gazetecilik mesleğinin üretim sürecinde kendinizi söz sahibi hissediyor musunuz?

- a) Evet b) Bazen c)Hayır

42. Mesleğin icra edilmesi sürecinde elinizden geleni yaptığınızı düşünüyor musunuz?

- a) Evet b) Bazen c)Hayır

43. Farklı çalışma tarzları (bağımsız çalışma, kaşeli çalışma, kadrosuz çalışma, telifli çalışma vs.) sizce gazetecilik mesleğini etkiliyor mu?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

- Cevabınız “**Evet**” ise nasıl etkiliyor?

44. İş güvencesinin olmaması gazetecilerin mesleklerini icra etme süreçlerini nasıl etkiliyor?

45. Başkalarının haberlerini okurken/izlerken sizi en çok rahatsız eden hususlar nelerdir?

46. Gazeteciler arasındaki yarışın ürünlerine etkisi oluyor mu?

- a) Evet b) Hayır

- Cevabınız “**Evet**” ise nasıl etkiliyor?