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REFLECTIONS OF AYDIN DOGAN'S SELLING MEDIA GROUP TO DEMIRÖREN GROUP ON PRINTED PRESS

DOĞAN MEDYA GRUBUNUN DEMİRÖREN GRUBUNA SATIŞININ YAZILI BASINA YANSIMALARI

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ABSTRACT

Aydın Doğan, who has left his mark in the last 40 years of Turkish media, entered the press sector in 1979 by purchasing Milliyet newspaper from Ercüment Karacan. Aydın Doğan was a businessman who managed to take place among the highest taxpayers in the late 1970s, operating in many different sectors, such as automobile dealership, transport business, pharmaceutical depots and construction machinery trade. Former editor-in-chief Abdi İpekçi's assassination on February 1, 1979 was a turning point in the hand-changing of Milliyet. Doğan Holding Honorary President, Aydın Doğan, shared his ideas on this downfall in media sector with the public in the ceremony held in 2018 saying "I went on a journey 40 years ago. In this journey, many of my friendships have exceeded 30 years. I am not leaving them, I am just leaving this building. Again, I am your friend and companion, and this friendship will continue to the grave. 59 years ago, I started media business by registering to Mecidiyeköy Tax Office. I have been in the press sector for 40 years. There are very few people in the business world who are my friends. All my friends are from the media world. There is a bitterness in me for leaving such an institution." Aydın Doğan explained the sales process with the following words: "I have transferred my media group to the Demirören family willingly, without anyone's pressure. We had a conversation with Mr. Yıldırım. We kept two of the interviews confidential. We did it at the Hilton because it was heard in the Holding building. Then we announced it to the public on March, 22." In this study, reflections of Aydın Doğan's selling of the media holding to the Demirören group on the media industry were discussed. In this context, how newspapers considered this event one the day of announcement of sale process by Doğan Group and within the next three days, what kind of headlines were used to announce this sale, and responses of other media companies were studied in this research.

Key Words: Media, Mediaownership, Dogan Media, Demirören Media, Turkey

ÖZ

Türk medyasının son 40 yılına damgasını vuran isimler arasında yer alan Aydın Doğan, basın sektörüne 1979 yılında Milliyet gazetesini Ercüment Karacan'dan satın alarak girdi. Aydın Doğan o tarihe kadar otomobil bayiliği, nakliyecilik, ecza depoculuğu ve inşaat makineleri tüccarlığı gibi çok farklı sektörde faaliyet gösteren, 1970'lerin sonunda vergi rekortmenleri arasında yer almaya başaran bir iş adamıydı. Doğan Holding Onursal Başkanı Aydın Doğan 2018 yılında gerçekleştirdiği satışın kamuoyuna duyurulduğu törende "40 yıl evvel bir yolculuğa çıktım. Bu yolculukta birçok dostluğum 30 yılı aştı. Ben onlardan değil, sadece bu binadan ayrılıyorum. Yine sizin dostunuz ve arkadaşınızım ve mezara kadar bu dostluğumuz devam edecek. 59 yıl evvel, Mecidiyeköy Vergi Dairesi'ne kaydolarak işe başladım. 40 yıldır da basın dünyasındayım. Benim iş dünyasında arkadaşlık ettiğim çok az insan vardır. Benim bütün arkadaşlarım medya dünyasındandır. Böyle bir kurumdan ayrıldığım için içimde bir burukluk var'' diyerek medyada yaşadığı bu küçülme hakkındaki düşüncelerini kamuoyu ile paylaşmıştır. Aydın Doğan satış sürecini ise şu sözlerle anlatmıştır: "Demirören ailesine medya grubumu kendi isteğimle, hiç kimsenin baskısı olmadan devrettim. Yıldırım Bey'le bir konuşma yaptık. Görüşmelerin ikisini gizli tuttuk. Holding binasında yapılırsa duyulur diye Hilton'da yaptık. Sonra da 22 Mart'ta halka açıkladık". Demiştir. Bu çalışmada Aydın Doğan'ın medya holdingini Demirören Grubuna satmasının medya

endüstrisindeki yansımaları araştırılmıştır. Bu kapsamda Doğan Grubunun satış işlemini açıkladığı gün ve sonrasındaki üç gün içinde basılan gazetelerin konuya nasıl baktığı, ne tür başlıklarla duyurduğu ve diğer medya işletmelerinin bu konudaki tepkisi araştırılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Medya, Medya Sahipliği, Doğan Medya, Demirören Medya, Türkiye

1.CONCEPT OF MEDIA OWNERSHIP AND ITS HISTORY IN TURKEY

According to ownership structures, media businesses are divided into three groups. Accordingly, public enterprises are defined as businesses with all or a large part of their capital owned by public entities; private businesses are defined as those with all or a large part of their capital owned by private persons; and mixed businesses are defined as those with a part of their capital owned by public entities and a part of their capital owned by private persons (Atılgan, 1999:26).

Public media businesses are based on the necessity of the State to provide public service in the field of infrastructure and communication. During the Cold War period, the state monopoly of broadcasting vehicles, especially radio and television, gained importance in terms of protecting the political regime and directing the internal public. There are three different ways of functioning in the public broadcasting policies created in this way. In the first method, the business operates directly in connection with governments. In the second one, it operates in the form of government-affiliated autonomous structures to protect public enterprises from political pressures. The third and last method is that the independent regulatory authorities of the state control private radio and television organizations on behalf of the public service (Geray, 2003:48).

Written media ownership is generally released in all democratic regimes and protected by constitutional guarantees. Therefore, there is a limitation of the publication of newspapers or magazines or the ownership of the organizations that publish them. In Europe, considering the development of press sector predominantly owned by families, this sector was prone to oligopolistic development. The concentration in the press sector, which began during the interwar period in Western Europe, seemed to increase especially after the World War II. In this concentration process, several large newspaper chains took on a large portion of the market as a result of horizontal and vertical integration (Humphreys, 1996: 66-67). Despite the freedom of the press sector, two different structures emerged in the field of radio and television broadcasting. While television and radio broadcasting were carried out by private enterprises in the United States, it was fulfilled by the State through public monopolies in Western Europe until 1983. According to a recent study by the European Institute, there are a total of 36 public television channels in 17 countries in Western Europe. Together with 1980s, a mixed structure was established in which public television and radio sector were included in publication process in Western Europe.

In a study conducted in Europe and its neighboring countries, "Media ownership" was found to be owned by government in 29% of the newspapers and 60% in television channels. There are 72% of the state's ownership in major radio stations. In the field of private equity ownership, this rate was seen as 57% in the press area and 34% in the field of television. Considering the sector around the world, the media began to become widespread with technology in the United States, especially as of the 1960s. Other than that, the neoliberal structures have increased and accelerated the development of the media as a result of the economic crises. The market formation in the media has a very fast evolving process. In the 1970s, the end of the wars, the proliferation of people, and the diversity of communication and information technologies expanded the people's occupation areas and increased the interest in technology. This situation has accelerated expanding the infrastructure of communication and technological instruments, and their integration with each other (Özokçu, 2011: 30).

The subject of media ownership was mentioned for the first time in a study prepared by UNESCO at the end of the 1970s and conducted by MacBride Commission called by the name of MacBride who was the president of this commission and other scientists in the field of communication from other countries (Kara, 2008:89).

It was stated that the property structure could hinder the media's diversity and pluralism in the following way: "It can be said that one of the fundamental criteria of information freedom lies in the pluralism of resources. Regardless of the political system, gathering of these resources in the hands of dominant groups leads to the distortion of freedom. It is necessary to have a large diversity of information and opinion sources so that individuals can fit their preferences on public matters into solid foundations. However, two points should be considered here; first, even if it makes a conscious distortion difficult, the diversity of resources cannot guarantee the validity of information. Secondly, diversity is not always synonymous with

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pluralism-especially the pluralism of views. Communication networks and broadcasting tools must also be as diverse as resources and independent from each other. Otherwise, diversity remains solely as a view." (MacBride, 1993:24-25)

A media monopoly was formed in 1963 with the establishment of TRT in Turkey. Since 1990, this was the case until the private-owned commercial televisions were allowed in that year. When the article 133 of the Constitution related to publishing by private capital was amended, a new process began in media ownership. Gaps in the law prevented the free movement in the sector, the delay of publishing law was not fully enlightened (Özdurdu, 2011:29)

Until the 1980s, the most remarkable feature in the ownership control of Turkish media was that, until that day, the press-release ownership, which was dominated by major family companies in Turkey, was suddenly controlled by businessmen outside these families. These entrepreneurs took the role of pioneering in the formation of the media by bringing new rules along with these movements, and they led to the destruction of the old traditional understanding (Kara, 2008:5-6).

With the military intervention of September 12, 1980, the voice of the social opposition was cut, and this depoliticization process was also reflected on the media. In the period after 1980, it became important to maintain the sovereignty of the capital also in ideological sense by means of media. Neoliberal policies found a great "reputation" in press release organs (Özsever, 2004: 116)

The first participation to press from outside the profession before 1980s was realized by the purchase of Yeni Sabah Newspaper by Sefa Kılıçoğlu in 1948. Attempts towards press outside the profession were not long-term during this period, and the media companies continued to exist in the form of family businesses that grew up from journalism until the end of the 1970s (Topuz, 2003:329). The sale of 25% shares of Milliyet Yayinlari belonging to Karacan family to Aydın Doğan who was a businessman at that time and had no connections with the media in 1979 was the second important participation outside the profession in the media.

As a result of economic policies implemented in the 1980s, the "traditional" structuring in the media sector undergone a change. With the decision taken on January 24, 1980 and the abolition of subsidies given to newspaper by state, enterprises operating in the press sector faced enormous costs at the rates they had not encountered until that day. These economic decisions, which the State took during transition from the social economy to the liberal economy, were reflected in the media, and a elimination process began in the press industry, especially after that date. At the end of this process, those who were financially strong and able to obtain advertising and advertisement income, stayed in the market, and other left their places to businessmen with financial power.

The media industry was enlarged with investments since 1980, and small businesses have lost for reasons such as joining to bigger companies or not holding in the sector. In addition, the dominance of large companies took over the sub-sectors of the media. These power groups made many commercial activities in many fields especially in publishing, such as newspaper publishing, news agency, books and magazines, printing and distribution, advertising-advertisement agency, television and radio broadcasting, film-making. On the other hand, the same powers became captains also in fields of banking, economy, marketing, insurance, tourism and health (Sevginer, 2012:26)

Non-media capital's entry into media sector shows that capital is not just an ownership issue but also a control problem. This requires focusing on the structure of ownership and results of private companies gaining weight. In a survey conducted by Picard on seven public press operators, it was determined that the primary owners of these companies were institutional investors with investments also made in the field of commercial banking and state hedge funds. In this study in which the decision-making processes of these companies for short-term profits were also examined, another danger was found remarkable that decisions taken by managers of these companies were mostly parallel to the interests of investors. Again, in another study conducted towards whether there was a meaningful relationship between financial dependence and the composition of the board of directors at seventeen public press companies, it was found out that companies with financiers in their boards of directors had less external economic dependence, on the other hand, companies with advertisers in their boards of directors earned more advertisement income (An and Seung, 2004:5-6).

According to Murdock, the control of allocation includes the company's power to determine all objectives and areas of activity. This type of control determines a company's four main areas of activity. These are listed as follows:

- > Determination of detailed policy and strategy,
- Making decisions about whether to grow or grow by means of mergers,
- Establishing financial policies, such as the issuance of stocks, the choice of financing methods,
- > Determining how the profits are distributed to the shareholders and their managers,

Operational control, on the other hand, is the routine control of daily production and remains at a lower level, with the use of allocated resources and the implementation of predetermined policies. For example, the editorial staff who have a say in the decision-making process of the content in the news media is concerned with this level of recurring operations every day. The editorial staff playing a role in determining the media content is subject to such controls (Murdock, 1982: 121-122). For this reason, it is important in whose hands the control is in media management. Shareholders always strive to keep control of allocation.

The most fundamental feature of the media is that it serves the mission of transferring information to the public. In this situation, the media owners contribute this situation by adding their own interpretations. We can sort the purpose of holding media ownership as follows;

- > Status or social superiority difference emerging with the fact that the sector is owned by the elite (the upper class of society), which is not accessible to other sectors,
- Public service (public use),
- > Capital owner with media ownership having the function of influencing, orienting and managing public opinion,
- ➤ To be strong in investments in business areas other than the media, to seize the competitive advantage largely by others,
- > To bring and reflect extreme ideas and knowledge to society, to provide annuity through popular culture and to monetize popular culture,
- To establish ideologies, to develop and to build the desired ideological infrastructure.

According to Sönmez, there are other benefits and revenues offered by this sector to the capital operating outside the media sector although this sector is not profitable. These revenues include the ability to reach the masses, to give them the desired message, to influence, thus to use and share a power, and to use this as a defense or offense tool against its competitors and political virtue (Sönmez, 2003:110).

The emergence of new trends such as company marriages and cross ownership in media companies since 2000 in the world indicate that it is of great importance to keep the media ownership in hand. The partnership between Time-Warner and American On-line (AOL) can be shown as the world's most important media merger. Mergers and acquisitions has been the main subject of media ownership as a strategy. Today, in the media, companies have evolved into large groups. Some of them are Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation, the Maxwell Group, the French Hachette Group and Hersant, the German Bertelsmann Group and Springer, and Berlusconi in Italy (Biçer, 2008: 55).

2. ADVANTAGES OF MEDIA OWNERSHIP

The view that "media owners use the media as a weapon for investments in other areas in Turkey" (Sönmez, 2003; Bek, 2004; 2006) is largely accepted. The report published in 2011 in which the analysis of the media sector in Turkey was made (Sözeri and Güney, 2011) showed that many media companies operate under economically non-rational conditions, some of which are published by suffering losses. A part of the media bosses invited to the Grand Assembly of Turkish Parliament Coup and Memorandum Research Commission, which was originally established in 2012 to investigate the February 28th coup process, indicated that they had to enter this sector because of the request/pressure of politicians and they had to grow by means of buying television mostly to reduce their losses. For example, the owner of Çukurova Group, Mehmet Emin Karamehmet (2012), summarized the purchase of Akşam newspaper in 1997 as follows: "... We have partnered with Mr. Özer Çiller's request. And then we took over the company after they could not pay salaries. There was no one in newspaper, so the printers were purchased, then a TV channel should be purchased. For the newspaper to be...". Turgay Ciner (2012), the owner of the Ciner Group, described his entry to the media "... I was forced into the media, or rather, by losing money. So as you mentioned, I am not a person who entered the media with desire, willingly".

However, although it does not seem like a profitable investment for themselves, the role of media in relationship between these capitalists and the power can be seen in tenders they have won. The first regulation that restricts the capital ratios of radio and television owners in Turkey, restricts crossownership, prevents them from entering public tenders and owning financial institutions (Law No. 3984, article 29) was amended with the pressure by bosses (Gcrmüs, 2013) in 2001 with the law no 4756, and these restrictions were not included in the final regulation implemented in 2011.

In the 1990s, the former media bosses who had previously gathered power between the military and coalition governments could not establish the same kind of relations with the new government, and the decline of military domination led them to establish good relations with the government. While Doğan Group chooses to shrink by selling newspapers and other companies they own, Doğuş Group, choosing the second way, won the tender for Galataport in Karaköy which is one of the largest tourism ports in Turkey in 2013.

In recent years, the rise of new entries to the market is much more than the desire to operate in this market, as in the past years, it creates the impression of a request and/or pressure by politicians to create a media that supports the government. In "tapes" that spread over the Internet last year, it was claimed that Sabah-ATV Group was sold by 630 million with the participation of many investors. The alleged number for the sale is far below the price and, if true, indicates that the media company in question is not very profitable or loses money. However, the Kalyon Construction which purchased the media group and affiliated to Zirve Holding, has received major tenders such as Canakkale-Ezine-Ayvacik Road, as well as the infrastructure and highway tenders of the most part of Turkey, especially the third airport. Like other media bosses, this holding investing in the field of energy owns three hydroelectric plants.

On the other hand, Ethem Sancak, who purchased Akşam Newspaper and Sky360 Television Channel and who was claimed to complain about buying media companies that were in bankrupt state in a "tape", won BMC tender for producing armored vehicles to Turkish Armed Forces. Ethem Sancak's nephew, Murat Sancak, entered the Cash Register-POS device sector with a monopoly under the name of MT Information Technologies company and currently holds a large part of the market. Sancak acquired the Star Media Group, consisting of a continuously changing partnership structure, Star newspaper and 24 TV.

In addition to new entrants, the growth in media groups that have long been supporting the government is also remarkable. For example, Albayrak Group has undertaken almost all meter reading works in Istanbul and Ankara during the rule of AKP. In recent years, in addition to investments in the construction sector, the company won the tender for Altay tank production with Tümosan Tractor and Motor Factory and won the tender for production of engine for the first domestic aircraft called Rahvan. The group also owns the tender for fast train production with Spanish Talgo company. Foreign investments of the group also go parallel with the government's foreign policy.

Demirören Group, which entered the media sector by purchasing Doğan Group and moved the opposition voices irritating the government away from newspapers, continued to grow in fields of energy and construction, while it seems to have added Zeyport to its portfolio that is the third largest port of Istanbul and located in Zeytinburnu among its projects this year.

Attitudes of media bosses towards being close to the government due to their investments in other areas and even giving up critical journalism or even journalism are one of the most important causes of autocensorship in the media. It seems impossible to change this situation as long as media bosses are rewarded with public tenders. As with the old regulations, although it is considered bit of a solution to prevent media bosses from entering public tenders, it also carries the risk of leading to other types of patronage relationships. For example, in Greece, such an arrangement received reactions from the European Commission on the ground that it prevented free competition, and government had to step back (Leandros, 2010: 898). Therefore, it is necessary to make a transparent and fair arrangement in the process of the media ownership and giving public tenders.

However, the only reason to exist in the media sector is not economical, and politics can also be an important reason for small and opposition publications. For example, Ayhan Durgun, the owner on Nokta magazine that started its publication life again in 2006 and ended in the 25th issue due to oppositions, described the reason for entering the market as coming to a strong political position although he demonstrated a highly respectful stance on editorial independence: "

I had a thought about getting into politics during that period. I am not a tribal leader, you cannot show yourself too much with the work you do, and the media boss was a way to get to the politically strong position." (Sözeri, 2007: 120).

While the government has rewarded its supporting investors in recent years, and it chose to punish opposition media organizations. The tension between the government and Fethullah Gülen community or Service Movement with their preferred name, which began after the decision of the closure of training centers in 2013, influenced the shareholders and media organizations close to this community. Golden mines belonging the Bugün newspaper, Bugün TV and Kanal Turk were immediately stopped. Zaman newspaper and Samanyolu TV were raided, and their general broadcasting directors were detained, Zaman Newspaper General Editor Ekrem Dumanli was released after four days. Hidayet Karaca, the head of Samanyolu Media group, is still under arrest. Since it is within the community structure and there are no organic links among companies, it is difficult to predict the results of economic pressure. However, in the process of both detaining and economic pressures applied on the community and other companies such as Bank Asia, it was observed that the members of these organizations acted in solidarity.

One of the newspapers that has reported corruption allegations the most, Taraf newspaper, was applied with TRY 5.5 million of tax penalty based on unsold newspapers that were given to scrap. This punishment was given to a newspaper in Turkey for the first time, and other newspapers were allegedly not punished even though they applied the same procedure. Stefan Füle, a member of the European Commission of Enlargement and Neighborhood Policy, criticized the government, indicated that such tax penalties destroy the freedom of the press (Today's Zaman, 2014).

Smaller in terms of capital but dissident media organizations are often the target of the government. Burak Akbay, the owner of Sözcü newspaper, has been targeted by other media organizations for allegedly evading taxes through other companies. It was reflected in the press that Yurt Newspaper belonging to Durdu Özbolat, CHP Deputy and owner of Özbolat Group Companies, experienced financial difficulties and could not pay salaries to its employees from time to time. These media institutions are also tried to be put under pressure by the penalties imposed by Radio and Television Supreme Council (RTUK) and lawsuits opened by the President, his family and the members of the government (Önderoğlu, 2015). The determination of the number of members of RTUK according to the number ratio of political party groups shows that decisions taken are also political and the institution does not fulfill its duties in an independent way.

3. PROPERTY STRUCTURE

Various media groups broadcasting in radio and television fields have emerged along with the transition to private publishing in Turkey. These media groups are structurally different from each other. According to Bay, reason for this difference is not only about technology and financial power, but also it is related to the fact that private radio and television organizations are in the hands of strong capitals, different communities and some political parties as the general structure of the Turkish media (Bay, 2007: 84-85). Similar to the examples in the world, media giants were formed in Turkey. As a result of the corporatization, holding companies as cross-media owner in the field of publishing and telecommunications have replaced the traditional model of media companies that used to belong to the family. In the second half of the 1990s, wireless, wireless telecommunications, private publishing and print media became more concentrated with cross ownership. Similarly, in the late 1990s and early 2000s, commercialization turned into conglomeration. A handful of holdings began to consolidate the press channels to dominate the industry, and this situation also continued after 2001 (Beyazıt, 2016: 390). As Kuyucu stated, the 2000s have been the years in which cross-media investments were increased for media groups, and vertical and horizontal investments were carried out and continued their conglomeration processes. Over the years, media bosses invested in different industries such as radio, television, magazines, book publishing and the Internet, and as a result of these investments, they merged their media investments under a single roof (Kuyucu, 2013: 154).

Media groups operating in Turkey as of the year 2017 are as follows: Doğan Publication Group, Turkuvaz Media Grouo, Es Media, Albayrak Group, Ciner Group, Doğus Group, İhlas Holding, Demirören Group.

The activities of the Doğan Publication Group, which was founded in 1997 and one of the leading media giants in Turkey include media, energy, retail, industry, real estate and motor vehicles, marketing, financial services and tourism sectors. In the field of media, written and audiovisual media belonging to Dogan Holding are as follows: There are Hürriyet, Posta, Fanatik, Hürriyet Daily News in the field of newspaper;

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Doğan Burda Magazine and Doğan Egmont in the field of journal and book publishing; Doğan Distribution, Doğan Printing Center ve Doğan Media International in the field of Press, Distribution and External Trade; Doğan News Agency (DHA) in the field of news agency. There are Kanal D and CNN Türk, Radyo D, Slow Türk, CNN Türk Radyo, D Productions, Doğan Music Company (DMC) in the field of audio and visual media, D Smart as Digital Platform, and Kanal D Romania and Euro D among European visual and audio activities. Company's online platforms include hurriyet.com.tr, MedyaNet, hurriyetemlak.com and hurriyetoto.com. Doğan Holding has fields of activity in energy, motor vehicles, finance, tourism sectors outside the media.

As can be seen from ownership structures of the above media companies, media companies do not only operate in mass communication but also in areas such as construction, education, energy, tourism, maritime activities. There are several reasons for media bosses to keep the media in their possession in addition to different sectors. According to Tekinalp, these reasons include the ability of bosses to use the media as a means of advertising for their other sectors and to use the media as a means of struggle with other competing sectors (Tekinalp, 2011: 276).

4. AYDIN DOĞAN and MEDIA

Aydın Doğan, about himself, said "Passing his childhood in Gümüşhane, Aydın Doğan was born on April 15, 1936. Aydın Doğan began his business careeer in the 50s. He hold the mayoralty of Kelkit, Gümüşhane for a period from CHP and district presidency of the party, completed his high school education in Erzincan and continued his education in Doğan university, then continued to Business and Economics Faculty, which became Marmara University later on. Aydın Doğan is married and has four children and six grandchildren. Aydın Doğan, who went into business in Istanbul, entered television broadcasting business with D TV (then, Kanal D) founded in cooperation with Doğus Group in the early 90s.". Establishing his own company in 1958, Aydın Doğan carried out important activities in media group by signing groundbreaking signatures.

5. AYDIN DOĞAN'S ENTRANCE AND LEAVING THE MEDIA

Doğan Group, which operates in various fields such as media, telecommunications, industry, tourism and energy, is among the leading companies in Turkey; operating in the field of energy, tourism, industry, trade and marketing, Doğan Group Holding Inc. consists of Doğan Publishing Holding Inc. which operates on media and related issues.

Aydın Doğan, founder of Doğan Group Companies, is perhaps one of the most important names that symbolizes the reconstruction of Turkish media in the aftermath of the 1990s. Doğan has entered many sectors outside the media and has achieved a large accumulation of capital in the last 20 years.

Doğan Group's relationship with the media began in 1979 by establishing partnership with Milliyet Newspaper. With the addition of Hürriyet newspaper to the group in 1994, an important step was taken in the media sector. In this process, in the 2000s, a media group emerged that reinforced its place in various sectors outside the media.

Doğan Group, which produce the best-selling newspapers of the country for years, also operates in the energy, industry, trade, finance and tourism sectors outside the media. The Group includes companies such as Çelik Halat, Ditaş, Milpa, Milta thanks to Doğan Energy Investments which is the subsidiary of Doğan Holding.

Although the company operates in many sectors, Doğan Group is the most effective in the media. The Group operates in media sector under the name of Doğan Publishing Holding (DYH) in fields of press, television and radio broadcasting, distribution and retail sailing and online media.

Today in the press area, DYH publishes five daily newspapers including Hurriyet, Radikal, Posta, Fanatik and Hurriyet Daily News. The Group has private television channels and radio stations in the audiovisual area with high viewing/listening ratios. Kanal D, Radio D, Slow Turk are among these enterprises. The Group also operates as a digital platform operator under the brand, D-Smart.

In addition, the Group signed a joint venture with Time Warner, which is accepted as the third largest media company in the world, and they established the first television channel, CNN Turk, established in cooperation with a foreign media company in Turkey in 1999. The other TV channel established in partnership of DYH-Turner is TNT.

DYH operates in Magazine Publishing under the name of Burda Magazine. A total of 25 separate journals are published in the body of DBD, a leading company in Journal Publishing in Turkey. Besides all this, Doğan Holding, which carries its effectiveness in media to written and electronic press, has expanded in the media sector over time and became one of the industry's most influential names in the field of bookselling under Doğan Kitap, in the field of music with Doğan Music Company, in the field of offset with Doğan Printing and in the field of distribution with YAY-SAT companies. D&R music and book store chain, again within the body of DYH, is an important name in the sector with its culture, art and entertainment products.

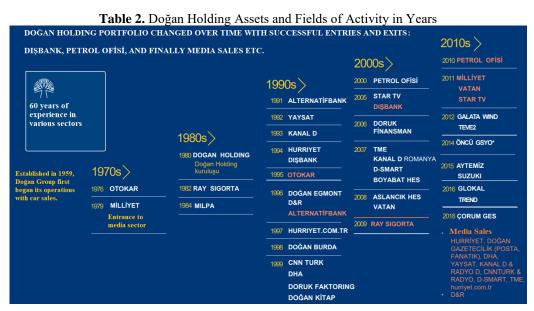
According to Adaklı, DMG be regarded as the most advanced example of the Turkish media industry in terms of a horizontal and vertical integrated sectoral infrastructure, market domination, connections with global media companies and the professionalization patterns that the company tries to develop in institutional and non-corporate relations (Adaklı, 2006).

Table 1. Doğan Group's fields of activity in media and other sectors

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Media Sector
         Hürriyet, Posta, Radikal, Fanatik, Hürriyet Daily News
Journal: 25 periodicals (DBD), child and youth journals (Doğan Egmont)
Radio: Radyo D, CNN Türk Radyo, Slow Türk Radyo, Radyo Moda
Nat. TV: Kanal D. CNN-Türk
DYH-Time Warner Partner Channels: CNN Türk, TNT
Interactive TV: FIX TV
Digital Services:
                  Digital TV Platformu-D Smart, Doğan Teleshopping
TV-Music Broadcasting:
                         D Productions, Kanal D Home Video, Doğan Music Company (DMC)
News Agency: Doğan Haber Ajansı (DHA)
Book: Doğan Kitap
Internet: hurriyet.com.tr, posta.com.tr, fanatik.com.tr, kanald.com.tr, cnnturk.com,yenicarsım.com,
venibiris.com.tr, hurriyetemlak.com, hurriyetoto.com, arabam.com, hurriyetkıyasla.com,
hurriyetaile.com, tipeez.com, yakala.co
Printing: Doğan Ofset, DPC
Distr.:
          Yaysat
Retailing:
                DPP
Foreing Broadcasting: Doğan Medya İnternational, Kanal D Romanya, Euro D, Euro Star
Mutlimedia Store Chain:
                             D&R
```

As shown in the Table above, the group is integrated horizontally and vertically in the media area. In addition, the company has achieved a large market share in almost every area of media sector such as newspaper-magazine publishing and distribution, news agency, radio and television broadcasting, book publishing, online publishing, TV and program production and music making, and it is among the most powerful holdings in Turkey.

The fields of activity and assets of Doğan Holding during years are given in the following table. The companies sold over time are shown in different colors.



As seen in the table above, Doğan Group was founded in 1959, it started its its business life in 1961 with the first automobile trade, the first entry into the media sector was realized with Milliyet in 1979, then

Aydın Doğan founded Doğan Holding in 1980, and he managed to become the leading company in other sectors with multiple companies both in media and other sectors.

Aydın Doğan existed in the media sector by growing from 1979 up until 2003. As a result of two major investigations and a wave of tax penalties along with AKP power, his company was first shone, and in 2018 it was completely withdrawn from the media.

Aydın Doğan's decline and regression period as of the end of the second period of AKP rule in July 2007 began with his purchase of shares of Kemer Yayıncılık A.Ş. and Bağımsız Gazeteciler Yayıncılık A.Ş. İn which Vatan newspaper was affiliated. The Competition Board approved this sale in March 2008; but the board brought the condition of selling Vatan newspaper in two years.

In the decision of the Board, the condition was laid down as follows "In the two years following the consent, Vatan newspaper brand and privilege rights shall be deemed free from all debts and liabilities, the brand shall be transferred to persons other than anyone outside Doğan Group or enterprises that are not controlled directly or indirectly by Doğan Group".

Doğan Media was given a total tax penalty of TRY 6.8 billion in 2009. After the July 15 coup initiative, Hürriyet newspaper made news on December 2016 about the fact that the tax inspectors having given this tax punishment were "FETÖ" members, and the newspaper defended itself.

2015 year was a year when investigations and cases against Aydın Doğan were on the rise. The investigation conducted by Istanbul Public Prosecutor's Office, the Bureau of Terrorism and Organised Crime was turned into a case. In the accusation, it was alleged that Doğan Holding smuggled fuel in the Oil Office (POAŞ) in an organized manner during the years 2001-2008. In this case known as the POAŞ case, news was spread such as Aydın Doğan would testify or he would be forced to bring to court. Another investigation was initiated by the Bakırköy Public Prosecutor's Office in 2015. Doğan Media Group was accused of propagating terrorist organization through its press organizations. In the scope of this investigation, news about calling Aydın Doğan to testify were also spread.

At the end of the process starting in 2015, Aydın Doğan sold all of his assets in the media area and had a very serious downstart in media in 2018.

Fig.1. Doğan Media Sales Details

		O
Media Assets Subjected to Sale	Sale Price (\$)	Capital Shares Subjected to Sale
Hürriyet Gazetecilik*	155.000.000	%77,6690
Doğan Gazetecilik*	132.000.000	%93,0704
Doğan Internet Yayıncılığı ve Yat.	12.751.211	%100,00
Doğan Dağıtım	7.000.000	%100,00
Doğan Haber Ajansı	5.000.000	%99,9982
Mozaik İletişim Hizmetleri	532.735	%1,1476
Doğan Media International GmbH	4.042.004	%57,5790
Doğan TV Holding A.Ş.	599.674.050	%100,00
Total	916.000.000	

^{*}Hürriyet and Doğan Gazetecilik are traded in the Istanbul Stock Exchange

Media Assets Letf outside the Sales Process*:

- Doğan Burda (Dergi şirketi)
- Doğan Müzik Yapım (Müzik yapım şirketi)
- · Rapsodi Radyo ve Televizyon (Radyonom & Slowturk radyo)
- Doğan Media International S.A. (Kanal D Romanya)
- D Yapım Reklamcılık ve Dağıtım A.Ş.
- BLUTV (OTT platformu)
- Glokal Dijital Hizmetler (Hürriyet Emlak, gayrimenkul seri ilan sitesi)
- NetD Müzik (Dijital müzik markaları & asözleşmeler)
- * Incomes of these companies (excluding business partners) were grouped under "Other" category in 1Ç17&1Ç17 financial report

Aydın Doğan, who sold a large portion of their assets in the media to Demirören Group, also sold the D&R retailer chain to Turkuvaz group. After this sale, Aydın Doğan still owned the radio channel called SlowTürk, music production company called DMC, digital media platform called Blue TV, Doğan Burda magazines and YouTube's largest music channel, Netd. In addition to these assets, Aydın Doğan has held the channel D Romania, which operates in Romania, in its own possession and experienced a noticeable reduction in the media.

6. FINDINGS: NEWS IN THE TURKISH MEDIA ABOUT THE SALE OF THE DOGAN MEDIA GROUP TO DEMİRÖREN IN TURKISH PRESS

Aydın Doğan announced on March 21, 2018 that Doğan Media Group was sold to Demirören Group. This research was carried out to determine how this issue was discussed in the press within the first three days after announcement of this sale. In this study, twenty national newspapers with the highest circulation in

Turkey were scanned, and a qualitative quantitative research was conducted about discussions on the subject.

Newspapers that published news about the sale of Doğan Media Group are presented in the table below among newspapers published on March 22, 2018.

Table 3. Newspapers published on March 22, 2018 and their Headlines

Newspaper	Title	Dimension (cm)
HaberTürk	End of an Era	8x10
Star	Doğan Media Group is now owned by Demirören	4x6
Akşam	Sold the Hürriyet	5x8
Yeni Şafak	Surprise Sale in the Media	11x7
Sözcü	Aydın Doğan Era in Turkish Media Is Now Over	12x30
Cumhuriyet	One Man One Voice	18x30
Korkusuz	Doğan Media is Sold	7x10

Among newspaper published on Thursday, March 22, 2018, Haberturk newspaper discussed the subject on its main page with a headline "End of an Era, Doğan Media is Sold". Providing details on the eighth page, while Haberturk newspaper wrote that Aydın Doğan left the media while entering his 40th year in the media, it also expressed that Doğan Holding's stock market traded shares increased by 20 percent after the announcement of this sale process. HaberTürk emphasized that one-fifth of Aydın Doğan's income originated from his media affiliates and announced that 2017 turnover of Doğan Media Group was TRY 2.3 billion.

Star Newspaper gave the new on its main page with the title, "Doğan Media Group is Now Owned by Demirören" and presented the details on the economy page in an area of 14x9 cm. While Akşam Newspaper reported the event on its main page with the title "Sold Hürriyet", the newspaper presented the details in its economy page with the title "Doğan Media Group is Sold to Demirören". The size of this news was 31x8 cm. Türkiye Newspaper used the title, "Doğan Media is now Owned by Demirören". Details of the news was presented with a title, "Aydın Doğan Resigned from the Media after 39 Years" and with a size of 15x20 cm. Yeni Şafak Newspaper announced this event on its main page with the title, "Surprise Sale in the Media" and provided the details on this event in its economy page with the title, "Doğan Media is Owned by Demirören for 1.3 Billion Dollars" and with a size of 23x14 cm.

Sözcü Newspaper was one of the two newspapers that discussed the subject on their headlines in the most detailed way among newspapers published on March 22, 2018. Sözcü Newspaper presented the headline with the title, "Aydın Doğan Era in Turkish Media Is Now Over" in a field of 12x30. In Sözcü Newspaper's news, "Hürryet is Sold" title was used, and it was detailed with a description as follows: "Demirören Group has purchased the Doğan Media, belonging to Aydın Doğan and the largest broadcasting organization of Turkey, for 1.2 billion dollars (TRY 4.7 billion). Turkey spoke of this sale". Sözcü Newspaper presented the details of this news on its economy page with 29 x 21 cm field using the title "Big Sale in the Media".

Fig. 2. News Headlines on Doğan Media Group Sale in Newspapers Published on March 22, 2018







- "a) "Doğan Media Group is Now Owned by Demirören" Having previously purchased Milliyet and Vatan newspapers from Aydın Doğan, Erdoğan Demirören signed another giant purchase and bought Doğan Media including Hürriyet, Posta, Kanal D and Cnn Türk for 1.25 billion dollars. Doğan is now completely out of media.
- b) "END of AN ERA" "DOĞAN MEDIA IS SOLD" Doğan Group has agreed with Demirören on the sale of media companies including Kanal D, CNN Türk, Posta, Hürriyet. Demirören entered the media by purchasing Milliyet and Vatan newspapers in 2011.

c) "SOLD HURRIYET"

Doğan Media Group consisting of Hürriyet, Posta, Fotoma., CNNTürk and Kanal D was sold to Demirören Media Group. It was claimed that the price is 1.2 billion dollars.

Only newspaper that commented on the sale of Doğan Media Group among newspapers published on March 22, 2018 was Cumhuriyet newspaper. Cumhuriyet Newspaper presented the sale with the title, "The last curtain in the AKP's pro-media operation: Doğan Group was sold to Demirören. One man, one voice". Cumhuriyet Newspaper presented the news in an area of 18x30 cm and became the newspaper that spare the most place to the news of selling of Doğan Media Group among all newspapers. Cumhuriyet Newspaper presented the details about this news on its 10th and 11th pages with a total field of 47x50 cm. In this detail section, the newspaper considered the issue from a political standpoint. In addition to the CHP's statement that "Competition Authority Should not Approve", the newspaper also included columns by Tayfun Atalay with the title "Main Stance Became the Essence of Media!" and by Ceren Sözeri with the title "Main stream media seems to be over". In these news, transfer of Doğan Media Group was interpreted more politically than economically in terms of media.

Korkusuz Newspaper did not make any news about the topic on its main page but made the news on its 8th page in a 7x10 cm field with the title, "Doğan Media is Sold".

The newspapers published on March 23, 2018 prepared more detailed news about this sales process. In the main page of Hürriyet Newspaper, which was included in the sold media group, Aydın Doğan's public letter related to this sales process was published with the title "Message by Doğan Group's Honorary President, Aydın Doğan".

DOĞAN GRUBU ONURSAL BASKANI DOGAN'IN BUNDAN 59 yıl önce, Gümüşhane'nin Kelkit ilçesinden yükseköğrenim icin İstanbul'a geldim. 23 yaşındayken tek basına is hayatına atıldım ve Şişli Vergi Dairesi'ne kaydımı vaptırdım. Doğan Grubu'nun temelleri bu sekilde atılmış oldu. Doğan Grubu

Fig. 3. March 23, 2018 Edition of Hürriyet Newspaper

bugün, çeşitli

"MESSAGE BY DOĞAN GROUP'S HONORARY PRESIDENT, AYDIN DOĞAN"

I came to Istanbul for higher education from Kelkit district of Gümüşhane province 59 ago. I began my business career when I was 23 and registered in Şişli Tax Office. Foundations of Doğan Group were laid in this way.

Sabah Newspaper made a news with the title, "Doğan Media Group is Sold to Demirören" in its economyfinance page and indicated that Doğan Holding's shares in the stock exchange increased by 40 percent within two days together with the announcement of the sale. One of the authors of this newspaper, Mehmet Barlas gave information about the history of media in his column titled, "Newspapers were used to be sold to the readers one by one every day".

HaberTürk Newspaper, in its news presented with the title, "After deducting its debt from the price, then received 890 million dollars" in its economy page, emphasized that Doğan Holding announced the sales at 04.48 in the morning by informing KAP (Public Disclosure Platform). The newspaper presented the article in 42x26 cm dimension.





"AFTER DEDUCTING ITS DEBT FROM THE PRICE, THEN RECEIVED 890 MILLION DOLLARS"

In the main page of Posta Newspaper, which was included in sold Doğan Media Group, Aydın Doğan's public letter related to this sales process was published with the title "Message by Doğan Group's Honorary President, Aydın Doğan" like Hürriyet Newspaper.

Figure 5. News of Sale of Doğan Media Group in Posta Newspaper (March 23, 2018)



"MESSAGE BY DOĞAN GROUP'S HONORARY PRESIDENT, AYDIN DOĞAN"

I came to Istanbul for higher education from Kelkit district of Gümüshane province 59 ago. I began my business career when I was 23 and registered in Şişli Tax Office. Foundations of Doğan Group were laid in this way.

At this point, I decided to put an end to my publishing job with my own consent. In accordance with this decision, we began sale negotiation with Demirören Family who have been our 60-year friends and who previously bough Milliyet Newspaper from our group.

Vatan Newspaper, belonging to Demirören Group, presented the details on this sale on its economy page and published news among its headlines with the title "Giant Purchase in the Media" on March 23, 2018.

Fig. 6. Vatan Newspaper's News about Dogan Media Group Sales (March 23, 2018)



"Giant Purchase in the Media"

Demirören Media Group and Doğan Media Group began negotiations on sales and transfer. Following statement was made in Doğan Companies Group's information to KAP: "Our Company has begun negotiations with Demirören Holding Inc. regarding transfer and sales of all our shares in our partners operating in visual and printed media department including Doğan Dağıtım Satış Pazarlama Matbaacılık Ödeme Aracılık ve Tahsilat Sistemleri A.Ş. ("Yaysat"), Doğan Gazetecilik A.Ş. (Posta, Fanatik), Doğan Haber Ajansı A.Ş., Doğan TV Holding A.Ş., DTV Haber ve Görsel Yayıncılık A.Ş. ("Kanal D" TV), Doruk Televizyon ve Radyo Yayıncılık A.Ş. ("CNN Türk" TV), Hürriyet Gazetecilik ve Matbaacılık A.Ş. ve Mozaik İletişim Hizmetleri A.Ş.'nin ("D Smart") over "share value" of 890.000.000\$ on condition that relevant financial debts be deducted from 1.100.000.000\$ 'business value'. Any news about this subject shall be shared with the publish within the scope of the legislation."

Star Newspaper also made news on the second day of the sales process. Reporting news on its economy page, Star Newspaper used the title, "1.1 Billion Dollars from Demirören to Doğan's Newspapers and TVs" and gave numerical information about sales. Yeni Şafak Newspaper announced the sales with the title, "890 million \$ to Doğan's Pocket" and included statement by Aydın Doğan, "I Have Put an End to Publishing Business".

In Korkusuz Newspaper's news titled "Doğan Media Group was Sold Cheaply?", price of Turkuvaz Group which included Sabah Newspaper and ATV and sold for 1.1 billion dollars in 2008 was compared with the sale of Doğan Media Group. Ümit Zileli, one of the authors of this newspaper, commented in his article titled "Unbearable Weight of Surrender" that "Aydın Doğan has betrayed both himself, media and this country's bright patriotic people".

Sözcü Newspaper was the newspaper that reported the most detailed news about the sale of Doğan Media Group Sale on its issue published on March 23, 2018. Uğur Dündar, one of the authors of this newspaper, published the interview that he made with Aydın Doğan in an Internet news portal called Turktime in 2011, under the title, "Mr. Aydın", as a full page. Emin Cölaşan commented in his article titled "Aydın Doğan Gave Up" with following words, "Dear Readers, we witnessed a very striking news in Turkey. Aydın Doğan, the biggest media boss, has come to the stage of selling all the media outlets in his possession. Maybe it is better to say, "he had to sell". The buyer, however, is boss Erdoğan Demirören who own one of the media organizations that gives endless support to the power today". Sözcük Newspaper reported the news titled "Creates Monopolization" and included the statement by Özgür Özel, main opposition party CHP's deputy, "Competition Board should cancel this sale". Sözcü newspaper also published the letter by Aydın Doğan in its economy page with the title "Aydın Doğan's Farewell Message". Sözcü newspaper, in its news titled "Giant media sales has been wide in the world press", mentioned news about Doğan Media Group Sale published in international newspapers such as Financial Times - New York Times - Der Spiegel.

Cumhuriyet Newspaper spared its entire 11th page to this sale process in its issue on March 23, 2018. This Newspaper reported Aydın Doğan's statement "I put a point in publishing with my own request," and gave information about how foreign press discussed this sale in the news titled "The Sale in Foreign Press".

Emre Deveci, one of economy authors of the newspaper, commented on the subject, "The sale of Doğan Media to Demirören also raised the issue of Competition Board that gives the final decision about mergers and acquisitions, and the law on protection of competition. Because the institution is under the control of current political power, a veto decision is not expected, but the sale is said to be against the Competition Law". Mine Söğüt, one of the authors of the newspaper, made a critical comment about company salespurchases in the media in her article titled "Sold Press".

Table 4. Newspapers published on Friday, March 23, 2018 and their Headlines

Newspaper	Title	Dimension (cm)
Hürriyet	Aydın Doğan's Message	40x7
Sabah	Doğan Media Group Has Been Sold to Demirören	17x20
Posta	Message from Aydın Doğan, Honorary President of Doğan Group	43x10
HaberTürk	After Deducting his Debt, Received 890 Million Dollars	42x26
Vatan	Giant Purchase in Media	13x25
Star	1.1 Billion Dollar from Demirören to Doğan's Newspapers and TVs	11x18
Yeni Şafak	890 million \$ to Doğan's Pocket	24x33
Korkusuz	Doğan Media Group was Sold Cheaply?	21x11
Sözcü	Creates Monopolization	37x31
Cumhuriyet	Again 'Pool' Method	55x32

It was observed that less news was published in newspapers on the third day (March 24, 2018) after the sale of Doğan Media Group to Demirören Group on March 21, 2018. Hürriyet Newspaper reported Aydın Doğan's statement, "40 years of my 59-year business life passed in the media. It makes me sad". Dünya Newspaper included Aydın Doğan's daughter Begümhan Doğan Faralyalı's statements on this sale. Faralyalı made statements about the fact that Doğan Burda magazine grouo and Blu TV would remain in the Doğan Media Group and they would focus on jobs outside the traditional media. Begümhan Faralyalı said about sale of Doğan Media Group, "We are human and emotional. I was 3 years old... Frankly, I think we have given this sector everything it deserves. I am very peaceful, and we have done everything we can. We pioneered this sector...".

Sözcü Newspaper also included Begümhan Doğan Faralyalı's statements. Sözcü Newspaper mentions Faralyalı's answer to claims that media organizations were sold to Demirören group at a low price. Faralyalı made a statement on this issue saying, "Mr Aydın is a very good merchant, he has always maintained the value of his property". Korkusuz Newspaper columnist, Can Ataklı, claimed in his article dated March 24, 2018 and titled "Aydın Doğan rose to high tones but every was lost that night" that Aydın Doğan met with President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in January, 2018 and gave his decision to leave the media on that day. In his article, Ataklı considered the sale of Doğan Media Group politically rather than economically with his words, "For those saying Hürriyet was sold, I say they are wrong, that newspaper is not sold but urged to be sold".

7. CONCLUSION

Aydın Doğan, who entered the press in 1979 by purchasing Milliyet newspaper, purchased the Hürriyet and Vatan, grew his business by establishing television channels such as Kanal D, CNNTürk and Teve2, but as of this month, he is completely out of media. Doğan first sold Vatan and Milliyet to Demirören Group, also he sold his media groups in which Hürriyet and Kanal D were included.

The sales contract was made on April 8, 2018. This hand-over in the media was described as the end of a period in the media by many people. In a statement, it was indicated that Hürriyet was sold for 155 million dollars, Doğan News Agency was sold for 5 million dollars, and television channels were sold for 600 million dollars. Thus, Aydın Doğan transferred a large portion of Doğan Media Group to Demirören Group in exchange for 916 million dollars in cash.

Aydın Doğan, after the first hearing of the news, made a statement to the T24 news site, saying that he had suffered much in this sector and had managed the media company as a single generation for 40 years. Doğan, in his farewell speech to his employees, said "40 years, I have struggled with the waves, I took a lot of suffering to not sink the ship. I tried to bring the ship safely to the harbor and the ship has reached the port as a flagship of the Turkish press... I am tired. With our heart, with our own consent, I leave you without being under any pressure."

The journalist, Aysenur Arslan, who has also worked in Doğan Group for many years, claimed that Aydın Doğan was forced to sell due to the threat that he would go to prison in the case against him related to February 28th process, and suggested that the group was "sold off cheaply". In this study, the reflections of Aydın Doğan's resignation from the media industry and commentary in the Turkish media and reflections of this historical sale were described.

In this study carried out in relation to sale of Dogan Media Group to Demirören Media Group, news published by the national press about this sale were examined. In newspaper reviews for the first three days after March 21, 2018 when the sale was announced, it was seen that a large number of news were made especially after the announcement of the sale process. Doğan Media Group and Hürriyet-Posta-Milliyet-Vatan newspapers belonging to Demirören Media Group did not report the sale on the first day of sale. News about the sale of the media group was concentrated on the second day after its announcement. All national newspapers published news about this process on March 23, 2018.

The most important detail in the research was that, although the sales process was an economic incident, Sözcü and Cumhuriyet newspapers addressed the issue with its political dimension rather than the economic dimension. In addition to Sözcü, Cumhuriyet and Korkusuz newspapers, Birgün Newspaper also commented in terms of politics about this transfer of Doğan Media Group. In these political interpretations, it was claimed that the ruling party urged this sale for the purpose of passivizing the media group. National newspapers such as Sabah - Akşam - Star - Türkiye - HaberTürk - Vatan considered the subject economically and presented the news in this direction. Yeni Safak newspaper made a reference to Aydın Doğan's income from this sale and discussed the issue in an emotional way. While mainstream newspapers evaluated this sales process in an emotional language in accordance with ideologies they supported, they became examples of reflection of political polarization in Turkey on the media.

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