

Athens Institute for Education and Research

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ATINER's Conference Paper Series

MED2012-0129

**Broadcasting of the State on
Ethnic Language and Seeking
Political Empathy**

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URL Conference Papers Series: www.atiner.gr/papers.htm

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ISSN 2241-2891

7/09/2012

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This paper should be cited as follows:

Polat, V. (2012) "Broadcasting of the State on Ethnic Language and Seeking Political Empathy" Athens: ATINER'S Conference Paper Series, No: MED2012-0129.

Broadcasting of the State on Ethnic Language and Seeking Political Empathy

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Abstract

Formation of state population from different ethnic structures, requires the sensitivity from the context of media. In particular, when these ethnic differences are signified by counter resistance and freedom-independence demand by the opposition structures, cultural control in the policies of the state is also brought to the agenda. Especially in parallel with technological development, freedom and independence demands with cross-border broadcasts began to be expressed in a more prominent manner. The supervisory difficulty created by that process, brought broadcasting in native language into the agenda as an alternative search. On a global scale, that method is known especially as a propaganda tool used by the countries against each other. Countries, in the past few years have mainly used this method by radio broadcasting in different languages. The search for being a political and economic power, made such a search essential. However, in recent times, depending on the dynamics and ethnic structures as common in the country, broadcastings made outside of the country which is out of control, has left centralized administration and potencies under difficult situations. In particular, transformation of this type of publication into TV broadcasting also put the situation a more interesting case. Satellite broadcasting in this sense transformed into a tool for announcement of opposition in other words, those who have been "alienated".

The main argument of the struggle related to cross-border broadcasts is especially indicated as resistance based on violence or attacks within the country. At this point, the belief that ethnic resistance has been coordinated and strengthened through these publications, has led the states to move from passive state to active state. This process which could not be hindered by international initiatives, has lowered the state to a position broadcasting in different languages. This orientation has led all cultural tissues of Ethnic structure to be moved to the screen by means of the state. It is also known that from time to time this situation is transformed into the competition of rating with the broadcasting establishment which is defined by the state as "illegal broadcasting". On the other hand, it has also been seen that broadcasting in ethnic language has been tried to be transformed into the show format of "political empathy" sensitivity. Sensitivity to ethnic structures by television broadcasting, and in other words, "political empathy," claim has emerged. The media which is used as a tool by political powers, has colored the television screens of the state compulsorily.

Key words: Political empathy, native language, propaganda, alienation, minority broadcasting

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Introduction

By referring to the theory of Althusser, Marx and Lenin, he makes the definition of state as follows: It is the 'summary' and dominant 'machine' of the dominant class. (Althusser; 2003:57) At this point, that the place where the denominational structure defined as superstructure exhibits a distribution centering the state also takes place among these theses. As complementary to these definitions, it is possible to show the answer given to the question of to whom the ideology belongs in the definition of state's ideology. According to this, it is emphasized that the ideology of the dominant class which possesses the state is also the ideology of the state. One of the special requests and intention areas of this ideology is also defined as "Nationalism". The essence lying in the definition of "France as the primogeniture of the church" is a noteworthy issue in terms of mentioning the characteristics of the mentioned ideology. One of the devices that Althusser has listed among the ideological devices of the state is communication. The equivalent of communication today is the newspaper, radio, television and undoubtedly social media, which is the new area of the era.

The protection and maintenance of the dominant class have entered into a new tendency especially after II. World War and an administrative understanding "in defiance of the community" has left its place to the administration by getting the approval and consent of the ruled ones. The overwhelming structure of the dominant class has gradually got away from the violence and has started to show tendency to the alternative new tools. Especially, the emphasis that Habermas made to the technical and scientific dimension of the ideology has become more meaningful with the expansion of the scientification of the politics. The administration of wide community masses has started to reshape with the data of science and this process has brought forward more integrated structuring especially with the international structuring. In essence, it is possible to observe this situation also in Althusser's determination. "The dominant device of the state operates by using force; in fact, the ideological devices of the state operate by using ideology." (Althusser; 2003:170) The media which are efficient tools of keeping the process under supervision by using ideology has protected its characteristics of being one of the sectors that the state takes place most efficiently in spite of all liberal approaches and privatizations. Especially in developing and less developed countries, it is known that this situation has more distinct characteristics. For example, in the coup processes that the army has seized control of administration, the places which are captured first have been the broadcasting organizations that belong to the state. The information has also been realized via these tools and the administration has continued.

The media dimension of the state reveals a more meaningful table with the changes encountered in the politics. The legitimacy quests of policies and administrations taking notice of the ruled ones in the politics have brought forward a new area. The cooperation of the politics with the science has started to become a current issue with a concept which will be defined as one of its dimension being "political psychiatry" and its other dimension being "political empathy". At this point, that the ruling ones produce policies by putting themselves into the places of ruled ones has appeared as a new formation of politics of this era. For example, in the countries having multiple ethnical structures, it is not at issue not to take notice of these ethnical structures. Recently, it is also known that the dominant class components which are candidate to the state power shape their political campaign processes with an understanding

considering also the ethnical structures. On the other hand, this ethnical awareness has started to show itself in the media taking place among the state's ideological devices and especially, the variety in the broadcasts within the country has started to show itself with the segregation of private channel or program. Especially in the countries which are encountering with the terror problem and having multiple textures with its ethnical structure, a more attention worthy table has appeared.

One of the most spectacular examples of these determinations is also happening in Turkey. Putting a national channel with a language other than Turkey by Turkish Radio and Television Corporation as a state broadcasting organization has shown itself as an approach which deserved to be examined in terms of the usage of ideological devices by the state. When the political dimension of this process is considered, the political party holding the political power in Turkey since 2002 has fictionalized its election strategy mainly on "oppressed ones" and "discriminated ones". While this political emphasis is mainly executed on religion, another color of this emphasis has also started to be fictionalized on the ethnical identities. A channel starting its broadcasting life as "TRT 6" and making "Kurdish" broadcasting, in a sense, has come to the fore as "political empathy" reflection by the mentioned political formation and has been highlighted. Similarly in this political empathy shown in the religion issue, with the political strategies called as "expansions", a political campaign directing to all layers of the community has been tried to be executed. As specific to this study, in the conceptual dimension, the state will be questioned with its media dimension and this questioning will be interpreted within the framework of the concept of "political empathy" and will be evaluated by applying "discourse analysis" in the context of the reflections in the print media of TRT 6 which has started in its broadcasting life in Turkey.

I. New dimensions and Identity of Violence

One of the basic problems of the politics is also to legitimize the "violence" within the definition of state. In fact, the process in which the violence is considered to be most legal is the violence that the power called as "constituent power" that has applied during the establishment of the state. At this point, Max Weber has mentioned the authority to use physical violence at certain grounds as a right accorded to the state. The reactions shown against the physical violence has emerged new tendencies. Violence gradually starts to be defined as "symbolic violence". Philip Schlesinger has tried to explain the concept of symbolic violence by giving place to this definition of Harry Pross. "Power of making the validity of the meaning effective via indicators to an extent that will ensure others to identify themselves with this meaning ... Symbolic violence is related to the materiality of the violence indicators". (Schlesinger; 1994:45) After these evaluations, Schlesinger mentions that symbolic area contains a compelling attribution in the collectivity and also defines the symbolic violence as a complementary of physical difficulty in case the political conditions allow. In its more distinct and clear expression, the concern of that "the symbolic area is the place where the struggle for the ideological dominance – for gaining the hearts and minds – happens ..." (Schlesinger; 1994:45) has been mentioned.

The international experiences such as IRA, ETA, Red Brigades, RAF, have started to bring forward non-violence solutions and quests of especially the administrations encountering with the violence in how they will get involved in this process. Of course, this process has caused especially the media to be on the screen. The discussion for what kinds of roles the media should undertake in the context of

struggle with the terror has been mentioned especially in the conference themed on "Terrorism and Media" which was organized by the International Press Institute in 1978. The discussions made and the approaches coming to the fore in this area have been locked at what kinds of attitudes the media should follow against the terror and in what of kinds of news understanding it should be. Almost all of these efforts have put forward the understanding that such sensitivity should be developed in the media and the state should be in cooperation with the media. At this point, by making reference to the Armin Grünewald which is the official spokesman of the German government, Schlesinger mentions that the media "has an important role in the logistics organization of the terrorists and this situation makes the state right in being persistent in making cooperation with the media and television ..." (Schlesinger; 1994:60).

Among the reasons why the state is interested in the communication tools, the persuasion power of the media takes place near the top. Especially television is one of the media in which this interest is the densest. (Charon; 1992:241)

It is required to mention that Turkey has been living with the problem of "terror" for long years. In the process till 1992, due to the fact that the audio-visual broadcasting organizations were under the state monopoly, what kind of media understanding against the terrorism was not the object at issue. It is possible to say that an official language and understanding are dominant in the television and radios. UNESCO's World Conference on the Cultural Politics in 1982 in Mexico City has focused on the cultural identity. In the conference, the emphasis on the universality of the culture and the fact that it belongs to all people also revealed an attitude clearly denying a hierarchical presentation or arrangement in this field. (Schlesinger; 1994:246-247) The conference highlighted a thought on the equality of all people and cultures. In fact, at this point, UNESCO has made the emphasis of "development of the national and local languages ..." In this context; the language is defined as having a central role in the cultural identity. On the other side, the determination that "as various lingual groups can reside in the ascribed nation-state or they can be connected with places beyond their borders, the *cultural identity* is not equivalent to the *national identity*." (Schlesinger; 1994:248) When these results of UNESCO have been considered, it can be said that the cultural autonomy has been put forward and an understanding beyond the national integration approaches has been exhibited. On the other side, by remarking the fact that the political and economical power is not distributed uniformly, it is mentioned that the hierarchical structure in the culture has been confessed impliedly.

II. Political Empathy

Üstün Dökmen also analyzes the conflict with its mass communication dimension in his book called "İletişim Çatışmaları ve Empati" ("Communication Conflicts and Empathy"). Dökmen mentions that the conflicts in the mass communication will happen in five dimensions by making reference to Roloff and stresses that one of the important conditions of screening of the mass communication tools is mainly possible with its reflections of the conflicts. (Dökmen; 2008:57) Another conflict dimension is based on the competition realized among the mass communication tools. The most interesting one among these conflict types is given under the name of "Intra-person conflicts and mass communication". It mentions that mass communication tools can sometimes cause inner conflicts and as an example to this, it draws attention to the cognitive contradiction that the broadcasting of negative news about the politician that

a person likes in the media creates. Mentioning the functions of mass communication, Dökmen considers being a party in some conflicts in the community, for example in political conflicts, as a function as well as informing the public. (Dökmen; 2008:63)

Especially when it is considered in terms of the evolution of the politics after 1945, trying to describe a field such as "political empathy" within the politic communication process will not be a very misleading situation. Even though its "pragmatic" side come to the fore when it is considered in terms of the ideological dimension of the politics, it is clear that the "empathy" will gain another importance in the politic change of the 21st century. Gene Weltfish realizes an anthropological research on the American Pawnee Indians. In this study, he determines that the objectives that Pawnees set for themselves are personal. Therefore, there is an objective such as passing another one to feel himself/herself valuable. (Arno Gruen; 2008:209) "According to Weltfish, the objective that Pawnee sets for himself is a personal, special and secret matter; its secrecy is just because of its relatedness with his own personality. However, its prerequisite is to be alone and this is not possible as long as the person does not break his/her connection with his/her mother-father." (Gruen; 2008:209) By setting off from the example of Pawnee Indians, the result filtered from the political past is the connection with the heartbreaker is not broken and it continues its existence in the subconsciousness. This conflict will also gain a dimension integrating the development with the violence. In fact, the belief in development has the attribution of a mask hiding the relation with the evil and is defined as ideal. This ideal "makes to see this almost impossible, when the development matures the violence and destruction The development masks the humankind pose so well that it prevents us to see even the mercilessness and horror of the wars." (Gruen: 2008:210) Fictionalizing with the media and creating with the media themselves put the most apparent examples of this ideal and empathic reflection as a separate reality.

III. New Dimensions of Media and Turkey Reflections

It is reality that the industry revolution is also meaningful for the communication process. Especially as of the second half of 19th century, the continuous development in the transformation, shipping and printing techniques is worthy of attention. Of course it is also required to mention the development of telecommunication technologies, emergence of cinema and concentrated city population. (Kejanlıoğlu; 2004:21) These developments put forward especially two important tools of 20th century. These are undoubtedly radio and television. By referring to Golding and Williams for these two broadcasting tools, Kejanlıoğlu makes the following important statement about the characteristic situation of these two broadcasting tools. Primarily, "the supply of the broadcasting opportunities has occurred before the demand". On the other side, more importantly is the determination that the state itself takes place as an actor in this field. The state has taken place in the broadcasting primarily due to the technical difficulties that the frequency allocation has and then due to the societal and political realities. (Kejanlıoğlu; 2004:22) It is known that these developments also bring forward the dual broadcasting structure. The public service broadcasting and commercial broadcasting are the terminological equivalent of dual system. While England attract attention for public service broadcasting, coming to the fore by the commercial broadcasting especially in USA also takes place among the notes wrote down in the broadcasting history. The comparison and competition of these two systems have resulted with the superiority of commercial broadcasting in the last years. In spite of all of these discussions, it is possible to say that the definition of

radio and television broadcasting as an absolute national problem loses its meaning. Especially, the developments in the satellite and digital broadcasting areas in the last years have made this process more authentic and very densely brought up the questionings regarding the existence of the state in this field as an actor to the agenda. In spite of all of these discussions, the efficiency of the state in the broadcasting has remained on the agenda due to the political, cultural and economical reasons and will continue to remain on the agenda.

Turkey is one of the interesting stages of these changes. It is possible to say that similar changes are also encountered in Turkey. Especially, the developments encountered in 1980's became valid for Turkey. In 1980's, the broadcasting monopoly belonged to Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) which was established in 1964. In two legal arrangements realized after 1980, this situation also protected its validity. Both 1982 Constitution and "Law on Turkish Radio and Television Corporation" dated 1983 were the arrangements protecting and recording this monopoly. The multiple structures starting in 1980's and afterwards in 1990's brought forward the new legal arrangements. At this point, it is possible to mention the complexity and attribution of the structure in Turkey changed. The base of this change is possible to be caught in Kejanlioğlu's authentic study. Giving place to one of the assumptions mentioned in Kejanlioğlu's authentic study has the attribution to reveal the basic weight of this study. "In 1990's, the radio and television policy in Turkey was a part of a policy of consumption culture articulated to the Islamic and national movements in terms of the usage maps of the symbols in one side. On the other side, the broadcasting whose power of 'directing by driving' has been emphasized is an area required to be get under control with the justification of 'national security.'" (Kejanlioğlu; 2004:37)

Putting also the television broadcasting as a part of the economic program executed for Southeast reveals the existence of quests for the region and local people. In fact, the last point that this quest arrived reached to its peak with TRT-6. TRT's definition regarding TRT is as follows: "TRT makes positive contributions to the international relations of Turkey and especially her relations with the regional countries with its channel making international Kurdish broadcasting. The Kurdish Family Channel TRT-6 aiming our country's unity and integrity and addressing to all ages of audience in the contemporary norms started its broadcasting in 6th January 2009." (<http://trt.net.tr/Kurumsal/TelevizyonTanitim.aspx>)

III. TRT-6 and Its Competitor

The expansion of Southeastern Anatolia Project is "fight against terrorism". Another working area getting importance due to the ethnical structure of the region is undoubtedly media as well as the economic programs regarding the region. It is clear that the studies executed related to the region are presented as "big successes" when considered in media dimension. The objectivity of the conveyances regarding the region is controversial in both broadcasts of commercial channels and TRT broadcastings. While these studies continue, the biggest discomfort regarding the region has started to arise from the emergence of the media environments which are out of supervision. As it is known, a television channel which made broadcasts over the satellite as of 1995 and making broadcast in the mother tongue of the local people came to the fore. "Med TV" which started its broadcast life in 1995 with England license made broadcasting over the satellite for five years. "As soon as the decision of closure was made in 1999 with the justification that it did not obey the objective

broadcasting principles, French licensed “Medya TV” started its broadcasting life. The mentioned channel could also continue its broadcasts till 2004 due to the fact that it was the continuation of “Med TV”. After this decision, in March 2004, Roj TV started broadcasting from Denmark via the satellite. (<http://bianet.org/bianet/ifade-ozgurlugu/135722-roj-tv-dilimiz-gozumuz-kulagimiz>) In addition to Roj TV making broadcast in the languages of Turkish, Arabic and Syriac, a music channel with the name of "MMC" started to make broadcasts. At the last stage of the initiatives for the closure of Roj TV, its license was not cancelled. In spite of this, French satellite company Eutelsat stopped the broadcast of Roj TV over the satellite by saying that "we do not want to be in a cooperative situation with a terrorist activity". With its last explanation made at the beginning of the January 2012, Roj TV announced that it started its broadcasts over satellite over “Intel Sat” again. It is known that Turkey has a very dense pressure for restraining the mentioned broadcasts. Even though Turkey's efforts give results from time to time, the existence of the mentioned broadcasts in the region has continued and its rating has continued. The technological development also brings along the difficulties in the supervision and censor. In spite of the sensitivity that Turkey has showed for the broadcast of Roj TV, the broadcast could not be blocked. Not stopping the broadcast has brought forward new quests and it has been decided to establish a new channel making "Kurdish" broadcasts by Turkish Radio and Television Corporation (TRT) which is the national broadcasting institution and as it has been previously mentioned, it started broadcasting in January 2009.

Start of broadcasting by TRT-6 has brought along many discussions. One of the names participating to this discussion with the language dimension is Ahmet Alış. By making reference to Socrates' expression of "Talk, I will say who you are", Alış has tried to interpret the TRT-6's Kurdish broadcasts in terms of language. By making an emphasis to Pierre Bourdieu's expression that the language is an important cultural and symbolic capital in the continuation of the power and power relations rather than the communication tool, Alış mentions that "the importance of language in the ethnical awareness and difference expressions" has exceedingly been brought forward in almost all of the nationalism theories (<http://birikimdergisi.com/birikim/makale.aspx?mid=683&makale=Masal+Dil+K%C3%BCrt%C3%A7e%2C+%22B%C3%BCy%C3%BCk+%C3%9Clke%22+T%C3%BCrkiye%2C+Yahut+TRT+6>) At this point, Alış has recalled the sensitivity shown for Turkish in the first years of the Republic and has asserted that the sensitivity shown in this issue has also brought about a separation and a differentiation between the generations in terms of language. In this issue, especially in issue of substitution of the political memory, the changing of the location names has also been mentioned as a separate indicator.

Arguing that a similar struggle of Turkish for generating and sustention of itself is also realized for Kurdish, Alış has mentioned that Lütü Fikri, one of Turkish intellectuals, mentioned the existence of the ethnical structures in 1913 and their acceptances were inevitable due to the "social laws". As a reflection of this acceptance, starting of broadcasting life by TRT-6 and its reflections in the printed press will be interpreted in the content of this study.

IV. TRT-6 and Its Printed Press Reflections

In a legal procedure executed in Diyarbakır, in the voice records asserted to belong to the case defendants, it has been mentioned that the defendants have said that "they do not provide alternative to TRT-6". (<http://www.trthaber.com/haber/gundem/trt-6->

[teror-orgutunun-oyununu-bozdu-23920.html](http://www.posta.com.tr/siyaset/HaberDetay/TRT_6_ROJ_dan_klip_mi_aldi_.htm?ArticleID=116841&Date=04.11.2010)) At this point, it is asserted that TRT-6 is clearly considered to be a political intervention tool and this makes contributions to the success in the political struggle in the region. The channel has entered into such a big discussion area that the assertions that a Kurdish clip shot in the Roj TV studios was purchased and broadcast by TRT came to the fore. In his resolution in which MHP Group Deputy Chairman Oktay Vural requested answers of these assertions by the deputy prime minister Bülent Arıncı, it was mentioned that the clip of the singer named Hozan Diyar was broadcast in TRT 6 channel making Kurdish broadcastings on 29th March 2012 at 15.30. Vural reminding that the clip was firstly published in Youtube in 2008 and TRT 6 was not broadcasting at that time asked the questions of "Where was this clip shot and where was it purchased by TRT? Is it true that the clip was shot in ROJ TV studios? Is there an agreement between TRT and ROJ TV for sharing the broadcasts?" and showed a political reaction to cause this relation to be questioned and bring the competition in-between them to the light. (http://www.posta.com.tr/siyaset/HaberDetay/TRT_6_ROJ_dan_klip_mi_aldi_.htm?ArticleID=116841&Date=04.11.2010)

Within the content of this study, the reactions in 2008 before TRT-6 starting its broadcasting life and the news reflected to the printed press between the dates of January 2009 in which it started its broadcasting life and 14 February will be evaluated discursively. At this point, mainly, how starting of such a channel to broadcasting was welcomed in the printed media will be questioned.

It is required to mention that the language used regarding the start of TRT-6 to its broadcastings is primarily a dominant language. For example, giving news such as "TRT'den Nevruz'da Kürtçe Yayın Jesti" (Gesture of Kurdish Broadcasting from TRT in Newroz) (Akşam Newspaper – 10.10.2008, P. 10) or "...Kurdish television channel to be established within the body of TRT will start in January 2009 with the **National Anthem** ..." (Bugün Newspaper – 01.11.2008, P. 11) in Bugün Newspaper is clearly exhibited as a presented and endowed situation and by making the emphasis of "National Anthem", the ethnical identity is highlighted. Again a question of "Will the National Anthem be read in Kurdish or Turkish?" of columnist makes this emphasis more distinct. (Candaş Tolga Işık, Posta Newspaper, 14.11.2008, P. 15) The comments that TRT-6 would fail came to the fore before its broadcasting. Sina Koloğlu mentioned the failure as well as Candaş Tolga Işık. Koloğlu mentioned that the channel would not be successful by justifying with the fact that Şiwan Perwer and Civan Haco did not participate to the opening (Sina Koloğlu, Milliyet Newspaper, 20.12.2008). The important names of Kurdish music appeared as the names which were on the front burner most in the preparations of the opening of TRT-6'. For example, it was mentioned about Şiwan Perwer that he has protested PKK and Roj TV for 10 years and Perwer signing praises for Lenin has been in religious affectivity in last times. On the other hand, the divorcement of the artist from his wife was connected with this change and it was asserted that his wife has continued to make program in Roj TV. Making of the religion emphasis by Zaman Newspaper is meaningful when Zaman's broadcasting policy is considered. (Zaman Newspaper, 21.12.2008, P.3) It has also drawn attention to the fact that Kurdish which has been defined as "Unknown Language" in the Court and Parliament minutes has been used as a broadcasting language by TRT with the start of broadcastings by TRT-6. (Newsweek Turkey, Aydın Albayrak, 22.12.2008, P. 48) It is known that this process

has been concentrated especially on the distinguished artists. In provision to the news that a program proposal has been made to Ciwan Haco, Hasip Kaplan working as lawyer of both has made a statement as follows: "TRT has not made any official proposals to Kurdish artists. All of TRT's interviews have been done off-the-record ". (Milliyet Newspaper, 25.12.2008, P. 12) All of them show that an official incentive is executed by the power in a controlled way. Again it is possible to support that this process has come to the fore as an empathy process with this comment reflected to the article: (İsrafil K. Kumbasar, Yeniçağ Newspaper - 25.12.2008, P. 10)

"In the 'betrayal' report in which the names pioneering to the signature campaign named 'I apologize from Armenians', there is also a message where it will reach in the future is certain: The state should not forget that generally the community owes at least an apology especially to Kurdish community. When the children start to go down from the mountains with their guitars at their hands tomorrow, there is no doubt that AKP members who will welcome them at the entrance of Diyarbakır with the 'red cloves' will respond to 'this expectation'. Who knows, they, may be, also put them on 'veteran' salary. Well, when these betrayers get their foot to the Parliament at the first election, will the alleged nationalists shaking the hands of their 'representatives' and patting them on the back also button up their jacket respectfully in front of them and 'apologize' from them?"

It is possible to say that a strategy has clearly been executed via state with the conveyance of the realization of the start of the broadcasting by the channel with writing of "We are under the same sky" and National Anthem. (Akşam Newspaper, 26.12.2008, P.16)

It has been frequently emphasized that the prohibitions are overcome. Especially the usage of letters such as "Q", "W", "X" not taking place in the alphabet and the broadcasting of the forbidden songs and folk songs attract attention as the main theme to be highlighted in the news. (Milliyet Newspaper, 26.12.2008, P. 26) Another situation determined in the broadcasts is that different presentations show themselves in the announcement of the mentioned development according to the publication policy of the newspapers. For example, in provision for Yeniçağ Newspaper which assumes an extremely negative attitude in this issue, another negativity appears with a more different title in Birgün Newspaper having opposite publication policy. For example, in this issue Birgün Newspaper has given places to the explanations of DTP Co-Chairman Emine Ayna and an explanation in this issue that all of Kurdish initiatives of AKP were regarded as insincere has been reflected. (Birgün Newspaper, 26.12.2008, P. 9) Again, it is possible to give Günlük Evrensel Newspaper as an example for the dissimilarity of the publication policy. For example, in the issue of this newspaper dated 27 December 2008, it has given news with the title of "From Kart Kurt to TRT Şeş – Kurdish which expelled DEP Parliamentarians from the Parliament became the broadcasting language in the state's official channel. However, Kurds approach with caution to TRT-6". It has been observed that reference names have also been applied in promotions or reflections of TRT-6. For example, while AKP Parliamentarians were giving Kurdish messages, on the other hand, the most important actress of Turkish cinema Türkan Şoray has also been given as, "Sultan will talk in Kurdish". In fact, the movie in which Şoray took role would be broadcast with Kurdish dubbing. (Akşam Newspaper, 27.12.2008, P. 15) In another news, it has been mentioned that "Reaction to TRT 6 from Kurdish associations / After Roj TV, Kurd

Institute, Association of Kurdish Authors, Azadiye Welat Newspaper, Diyarbakır Gün Tv-Radio, Dicle Fırat Culture Association and Kürdider having their headquarters in Diyarbakır showed reaction to the starting of Kurdish test broadcasting in TRT 6. The Kurdish associations making collective statement have evaluated the government's Kurdish expansion as 'deceiving Kurds' and asked whether they would apologize from the mayors punished because of Kurdish." (Takvim Newspaper - 28.12.2008, P. 10) It is required to mention that the mentioned news is also a politic empathy questioning in this sense.

One of the names which have come to the fore at most regarding the start of broadcasting by TRT-6 has been the artist Ahmet Kaya. What Ahmet Kaya encountered due to his speech regarding the Kurdish in an award ceremony and that he left Turkey and died at abroad have made the situation more dramatic. In majority of news, whether the arts of work that Ahmet Kaya performed in Kurdish would be broadcast has been brought to the agenda. In fact, in this issue, Günlük Evrensel Newspaper has given place to the interview that it has realized with Gülten Kaya, spouse of Ahmet Kaya and has brought it to the agenda. Gülten Kaya has said that 'State owes an apology' and has mentioned it. (Günlük Evrensel Newspaper, 29.12.2008, P. 15) The Kurdish "Good luck with TRT-6" message of the Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan in the opening of the channel has seemed to be a news appearing in almost all publications. In giving this news, the mistakes made in giving of the message in the Kurdish newspapers have separately been mentioned and has been explained with the comments that "Press has failed". In provision for Prime Minister's saying "Good luck with TRT-6" in Kurdish, that President Gül has not given place to the Kurdish words in his message has also appeared as news.

The broadcasting groups or newspapers which are close to the political power have preferred to give the starting of broadcasting life by TRT-6 with a more positive point of view. One of these most prominent broadcasts is also Star Newspaper. For example, Star Newspaper has deemed appropriate to give the TRT-6's starting of broadcasting on the first day of the new year (01.01.2009) as "Kurdish TV Revolution". Again, in Zaman Newspaper's same dated issue, the headline of "Silent Revolution: TRT Kurdish" has been given. At this point, against the TRT-6 starting broadcasting as an expansion of AKP, Deniz Baykal has mentioned that "State should be ethnically blind" in compliance with the CHP's known neo-nationalist structure. (Hürriyet Newspaper, 03.01.2009, P. 15) Against this, Devlet Bahçeli, the Chairman of Nationalist Movement Party which is another wing of opposition and being known with its nationalist identity has made the comment that "The structure of national state has received a mortal wound". (İstanbul Newspaper, Local Publication, 07.01.2009, P. 8) The more interesting interpretation of TRT-6 has been made as being referred to Abdullah Öcalan. It has been asserted that regarding TRT-6 Öcalan has said "The government does illegal acts ...". (Zaman Newspaper, 07.01.2009, P. 3)

Result

Together with the TRT-6's starting of broadcasting, the discussions that TRT should open to all other languages used in Turkey have also started. However, the news that have revealed this implementation as a revolution and densely treating the discomforts that not using mother tongue in every part of the life gives have appeared. At this point, it is possible to say that the ones opposing to the mentioned development from the left perspective mainly makes the questioning whether this

expansion has an attribution of democratic expansion in the real meaning and makes sincerity questioning. On the other hand, from the right perspective, it has been observed in the interpretation and press reflections made from the nationalist line that a constitutional crime has been committed and the state's peace and harmony would be ruined. In terms of political power, the situation has been interpreted as a "political empathy" and has been tried to be presented as an important revolution against the prohibitions at this point. This situation has especially showed also its existence as an area of struggle or propaganda. In fact, the news about the fact that, at this point, the mentioned initiative has been encountered with concern, fear and worries by the counterparts of the issue have been brought to the agenda. Against all of these, it is clear that the political powers want to place the fact at they act with an understanding taking care of the ruled ones as a very precise perception. By using all tools and devices at hand, it has been tried to be made effective densely with both ideological and political dimension. In fact, the TRT-6 initiative is also a reflection of such a process. Even if it deserves the questioning of "political empathy" in the real meaning, it is possible to say that such an expansion has been revealed very distinctly with its dimension of being reflected to the media in terms of image.

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